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## *The Shape of Things*

IT TAKES AN OCCASIONAL ANNIVERSARY TO drive home the swiftness with which history is being written in these days of war and change. Three years ago Americans spent a noisy Fourth of July on the beaches and the highways. The only kind of independence that seemed to matter was independence from what was contemptuously called "foreign entanglements." We were sorry, even indignant, about the fate of Prague, but only "fanatics" saw in its tragedy a forecast of what was to come. The Fourth in 1940 was grimmer. Paris had fallen, and London's capitulation looked like a matter of weeks. But we were still independent; it was not our fight. Last Fourth Moscow seemed doomed, and the breath of the dragon was hot enough to be felt even across those 3,000 miles of ocean on which isolationists predicated our independence. Still Senator Wheeler could say, "Now we can just let Joe Stalin and the other dictators fight it out." This Fourth all that is ages in the past. Our beaches have become landing places for Nazi saboteurs, our highways are almost empty, and our fighting men are scattered from Melbourne to Belfast. In a year America has come to understand that only through the interdependence of all nations can there be independence for any.

✱

PIERRE LAVAL HAS OPENLY EXPRESSED HIS hopes for a German victory and his conviction that France must integrate itself in the Nazi New Order or see its civilization disappear. Marshal Pétain, as we have noted previously, has put his complete confidence in Laval on record. Our State Department, however, still appears to have confidence in Pétain, although Secretary Hull last week restated his belief that Laval was intent on delivering France to Hitler. Nevertheless, we are resuming supplies to French North Africa, we continue official relations with a government headed by a man whom our Secretary of State acknowledges to be a German puppet, and our cold shoulder is still turned toward the Free French who are fighting and dying on our side. Is there some method in this madness? We fail to see it unless there is lurking within the State Department the same fear that Laval expressed in his speech—the fear that German defeat will mean a Europe overrun



by bolshevism. Men beset by such a horrid vision of the future might argue that it would be wise to maintain a reactionary government in France as a bulwark against the spread of this disease, even though it was a government in league with our enemies. Yet such a policy would be the most cynical betrayal of the people to whom we have repeatedly promised deliverance. They know where Vichy stands, and the vast majority of them are working to prevent it from realizing its aims. Nor has their resistance been ineffective. Laval himself acknowledged that when he said to the people of France: "I can do nothing without you." But how are we to encourage the French to refuse their support to Laval while we countenance the government of which he is the chief?

★

THE CHINESE STRUCK BACK SAVAGELY AT the Japanese last week. Linhsien, an important Japanese base in northern Honan, was recaptured in a brilliant counter-stroke that ended a Japanese offensive in that area. Japanese casualties are estimated at 5,500 in this one section alone over a thirteen-day period. Another Japanese army is reported to be isolated near Liuho, 110 miles north of Hankow. The most encouraging development of all was the appearance of the newly trained Chinese air force, which beat off, for the first time, an air raid on the Hunan rail center of Hengyang, and a few days later sank two Japanese gunboats in the Yangtze eighty-five miles below Hankow. Good news also was the reported arrival of a group of American army fliers in Chungking. Offsetting the good news is confirmation from Chungking of Japanese claims of having seized Lishui and Kweiki, the last two important air bases in the Chekiang-Kiangsi area available for attacks on Japan. However, the main Japanese column pushing westward in this drive has been bogged down at Shangjao for nearly two weeks, and Chinese resistance seems stronger than at any time in recent months.

★

THE SINKING OF A SECOND ARGENTINE SHIP and the resignation of President Ortiz combined to create a political near crisis in Buenos Aires last week. Popular resentment against the second sinking, which came only a few days after the controversy over the first had been settled, forced Acting President Castillo to forward an unusually stern protest to Berlin. The Chamber of Deputies adopted a resolution insisting that Foreign Minister Guinázú appear before it on July 2 to explain why diplomatic relations with the Axis have not been broken. A powerful movement is under way to reject President Ortiz's resignation as a rebuke to Castillo. Anti-Axis feeling in Argentina has been accentuated by German threats of "reprisals" against Brazil for the alleged mistreatment of German nationals. In view of this situation there is a possibility that Castillo may make one of his

apparent concessions by dropping his discredited pro-Axis Foreign Minister, Enrique Ruiz Guinázú, and seek a successor more palatable to the United States. A break with the Axis seems unlikely, however, as long as Castillo is President.

★

BY ELIMINATING MANDATORY JOINT TAX returns in a last-minute action the House Ways and Means Committee not only knocked off another \$420,000,000 from a much-depleted tax bill but killed a reform which the Treasury had long hoped to see enacted. The present system of optional separate returns clearly violates the principles of progressive taxation, since in cases where income is more or less evenly divided between husband and wife it makes possible a considerable reduction in the total burden on the family. This is particularly so in the "community-property" states, where half the income of either partner is automatically credited to the other. Consequently a married California millionaire whose wife has no actual income of her own pays a much smaller tax than the New Yorker in exactly the same position. The eight community-property states naturally want to keep their favored position, and it was largely opposition from this quarter that killed mandatory joint returns. On the other hand it is fair to acknowledge that while serving one important principle the Treasury reform clashed with another—the right of a married woman to separate control of her own property or income. On these grounds it was strongly attacked by many women's organizations. The opposition also made much of the argument that joint returns would lead to an epidemic of divorces. Inasmuch as joint returns have long been the rule in Britain, where the divorce rate compares very favorably with our own, this line of attack seems unworthy of the cause in which it was used. What is more to the point is the fact that Britain has found it necessary to increase the earned-income exemption for married women in order to provide them with a greater incentive to take jobs in offices and factories.

★

IF YOU HAPPEN TO THINK THAT YOUR Representative has bungled his job, say nothing about it. Should you ignore this advice and insist that your Congressman be held to account for his record, the least you can do, in the name of prudence, is to be sure that his name is not Martin Dies, Joseph Starnes, Noah M. Mason, or J. Parnell Thomas. Because these four Representatives hold themselves above reproach. They believe that they are not merely Congressmen but Congress itself and that any attack on them is an assault on the parliamentary system. Some Americans think that these gentlemen are mistaken, that they are not an institution at all but four small-time politicians whom poll taxes and public negligence have brought a long way. But whether



they are four hacks or the Spirit of Magna Charta, the point is that Messrs. Dies, Starnes, Mason, and Thomas possess the magic property of Congressional immunity. This gift entitles them to brand you a Communist, a saboteur, or a cannibal without having to answer for it, and they will do just that if you so much as suggest that they are ripe for retirement. Only last week, in their collective capacity as the Dies committee majority and without a trace of an investigation, they formally pronounced the Union for Democratic Action "part of the interlocking directorate of the Communist movement," though at the last count the Union had exactly as many Communists as the National Association of Manufacturers and a standing rule against admitting any more. The Union's criticism of Dies, Starnes, Mason, and other obstructionists, said Dies, Starnes, and Mason, was an attempt "to obliterate the Congress of the United States and Nazify the country." Perhaps this will teach the U. D. A. not to advocate the defeat of men who may slander without risk.

## *The Willkie Boom*

BY FRED A. KIRCHWEY

THE Willkie boom is not a product of politics; it is a product of the war. It was launched by Vote for Freedom, an offshoot of Fight for Freedom, organized to keep isolationists and appeasers out of office in the November elections and to support trustworthy exponents of a vigorous democratic war and peace policy. It was taken up by a new non-party group, the Draft Willkie Committee, formed for that specific fight. It has won the support of some—but not enough—Republicans, particularly the "Willkie before Philadelphia" contingent. And various independents of both parties have signed up.

The boom has found strength in strange quarters. Who would have thought, two years ago, to find the Tamiment conference, traditionally the scene of rather solemn left-wing discussions of economic and political problems, converted into a Willkie rally? Who would have expected a labor leader like David Dubinsky, who no doubt denounced John L. Lewis for supporting Willkie in 1940, doing the same thing himself in 1942? In the Willkie-for-Governor ranks are to be found New Dealers of early vintage. Men and women are backing Willkie today precisely because they backed Roosevelt in 1940 and are pro-Roosevelt still. I suspect the Willkie boom may even have found some measure of encouragement deep in the heart of the Administration.

The election in New York this fall has acquired some of the aspects of a war-time by-election in England. We have in this country no truce to freeze candidates and obliterate issues. But we have party machines which

pursue a political business-as-usual policy and offer the patriotic voter no valid choice.

Tom Dewey is so completely a hedger and equivocator that it is impossible to label him. He is whatever the political circumstances of the moment seem to suggest. Perhaps he can best be described as an out-and-out, unqualified Deweyite. He hasn't had much time to waste on world affairs because the position of Dewey in the Republican Party had to be established by a great concentration of effort. He has done the job well; Willkie is titular leader of the Republican Party, but Dewey controls the machine. Dewey will be nominated for governor unless a miracle intervenes; it is too late now to unseat him by the slow and laborious methods he used in securing his hold on the party apparatus.

Dewey as Governor of New York would be a powerful contender for the Presidential nomination in 1944; he would have overcome the obstacles of youth and political unpreparedness that tripped him up at Philadelphia in 1940. It is not even outside the range of a good imagination that he might be elected President. Stranger things have happened—as, for example, in 1920. Apart from this threat, however, which at least is two fateful years distant, we face the imminent certainty that the election of Dewey as Governor of New York would obliterate the influence Willkie still exercises in the party councils and weaken his position in the country.

Only the miracle of a thundering public demand will give Willkie the Republican nomination. But Philadelphia witnessed something like that miracle, and Willkie's friends have hope.

Their hopes are not limited to the Republican convention, however. They know their chances there are slim. The Draft Willkie movement is no one-front war; on the contrary it is an all-out defiance of the Old Guard and is based on the belief that Wendell Willkie will run as an independent if he fails to get his party's nomination. His supporters believe this with such determination that one suspects some solid basis for their faith. If they are right, the political drama becomes pure fantasy. When the national leader of a major party deserts the party to run for a state office against its chosen candidate, something like revolution is in the air.

Willkie, running as an independent, would certainly get a good chunk of the Republican vote, that part of it that cares more for defeating Hitler than for perpetuating the control of the machine. He would split the party, even though a majority might stick to regularity and Tom Dewey. Willkie, as an independent, would get a large proportion of the Democratic vote—a far larger proportion than if he were to win the Republican nomination. Many Democrats would support him rather than John J. Bennett, Jr., the unknown Attorney General who looms as the all-but-certain Democratic nominee. If Mead or Poletti should be named, New Deal



Democrats would probably stick to the party; but neither one has more than an off chance. Direct intervention from the White House in behalf of one of the two might help; but it might not. In any case it is not expected. Farley called on the President and then plumped for Bennett. If Bennett is nominated, Willkie can split the Democratic Party, too, though less fatally than the Republican.

But the real loss the Democrats face is the Labor Party vote. The Labor Party holds the balance of voting power in the state; it may easily decide the election. Already it has repudiated Bennett, and if no liberal candidate is nominated, it will probably swing its support to Willkie, whether he runs on the Republican ticket or as an independent. If he runs, the state election will attain the tension and importance of a national campaign, and that is what it will be. No campaign can be a local party fight this year—as the politicians are about to find out.

Many liberals and labor people will shy off from supporting Willkie. They remember 1940 more vividly than they anticipate 1944. They know that Willkie is not a converted New Dealer; no doubt he still cherishes his faith in "free enterprise," at least in times of peace. They say: "Of course his position on the war is good, and on civil liberties, and race questions, and even on labor. But, after all, it's not up to us to tell the Republicans whom to nominate. And anyhow we don't want to help push them toward power in 1944." They feel detached, spectators of a game they aren't called upon to play. But many others look upon the election of Willkie as a contribution to the war and the peace. These people are war-time opportunists. They say: "We have no organization or leaders on the left to put into the field against Dewey and Bennett. Let's admit that and not parade our impotence as if it were a virtue. Let's back Willkie in order to defeat the Old Guard in both parties—the political Colonel Blimps who would dilute our fighting strength and sell out the peace. We can drop Willkie later on if he doesn't give us what we want. The war is today. Electing Willkie is a war measure."

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Too late for extended comment in this issue comes word of the total number of Jews killed by the Nazis. A report presented in London at a session of the World Jewish Congress puts the figure at 1,000,000—almost twice the number of Jews who lived in Germany when Hitler came to power. Some 6,500,000 more Jews have been deported or driven into exile. Race discrimination which began with minor legal restrictions flowered logically into mass extermination. We recoil with almost physical pain from stories of the death of innocent hostages in the civil war consuming Europe today. Let us never forget that the Jews of Europe are hostages for all of us.

## Challenge to Churchill

MR. CHURCHILL has returned home to face the first motion of no confidence ever directed against his government. At previous moments of crisis—after the fall of Singapore, for instance—the Prime Minister has jumped ahead of his critics by asking for a vote of confidence. This time a mixed group of Parliamentary back benchers, under Tory leadership but including Labor and Liberal elements, have forestalled him by giving notice of a resolution expressing "no confidence in the central direction of the war." Other groups, avoiding such an outright challenge, have tabled motions urging changes in the government machinery, such as the separation of the offices of Prime Minister and Defense Minister and the institution of a unified command.

These Parliamentary moves followed the fall of Tobruk, but it now seems possible that by the time the debate takes place the government will have to face the loss of Egypt. The momentum of victory is carrying General Rommel forward at a furious pace, and the disorganized British Eighth Army is being given no opportunity to make a stand. Within a few days a last battle for Alexandria and Cairo may be in progress amid the tangled waterways of the Nile Delta, accompanied by an uprising of the many Axis sympathizers in Egypt. The outlook is extremely black, for if Egypt is overrun, the whole stretch of Middle Eastern territory from Suez to Teheran will be in jeopardy. Hitler will be within smelling distance of oil and in a position to put the screws on Turkey to bring it into his camp. Even without fresh victories in Russia this summer, the economic situation of the Axis will be immensely strengthened and Germany's morale will receive a boost sufficient to carry it through a fourth winter of war.

Against such a grim prospect Churchill can only set the fruits of his Washington visit, which, as displayed in the official joint communiqué, do not appear to be very rare and refreshing. The President and the Prime Minister were able to note promising developments in the production field but were constrained to add that transportation continues to provide a major problem. They promised forthcoming operations to divert Nazi strength from Russia, and they concluded by voicing the conviction that the over-all picture was more favorable than at the time of their previous meetings.

This cautious and vague statement is hardly likely to satisfy Mr. Churchill's Parliamentary critics, who can feel with some reason that they are voicing a rising tide of discontent among the people. This was exemplified by the victory at the Maldon by-election of a member of the independent Nine-Point Group described by Tom Wintringham in last week's *Nation*. Nevertheless, the chances are that Mr. Churchill and his government will weather



the present storm if only because there is no alternative in sight. Sir Stafford Cripps, who is sometimes mentioned in this connection, has a considerable popular following, but it is extremely unlikely that he would be able to command a majority in Parliament. The more moderate critics of Mr. Churchill, therefore, are hoping that his leadership will be continued but that he will consent to turn over the Defense Ministry to other hands. This would enable him to give more attention to the government as a whole and to take up the task of eradicating that bureaucratic dry-rot which may prove on inquiry to have had a major share in recent British defeats.

## *The New Draft Policy*

FOR the first time since the passage of the original Burke-Wadsworth selective-service bill in the summer of 1940, draft procedures have undergone a fundamental reorganization. As a result of provisions written into the bill giving financial aid to the dependents of fighting men, the Selective Service Administration last week requested the local boards to shift the draft classification from the familiar Classes I, II, III, and IV into four new categories which would include, in turn, single men without dependents, single men with dependents, married men without children, and married men with children. This is a basic change because it takes away from the local draft board the necessity for probing deeply into a married man's financial status before deciding whether he should be deferred. It makes family relationship rather than dependency the determining factor with respect to deferment.

There is undoubtedly much to be said in favor of the change. In the past many draft boards have deferred all married men, but others have taken them unless dependency could be established beyond question. This lack of uniformity in policy has been the cause of some bitterness and much needless anxiety on the part of men and women with established families. It is probable that if the change in policy had not been made mandatory many local draft boards would have regarded the new allotments for dependents as a green light for the immediate reclassification and induction of large numbers of married men. The new provisions should also be helpful in checking the withdrawal of married women from jobs because of fear that their employment will affect their husbands' draft status, and in encouraging married women to seek jobs in war industries, where they are badly needed.

The revised policy does not, however, meet the basic problem of keeping skilled agricultural and industrial workers where they can make the maximum contribution to the war effort. Local draft boards still must decide

which men, in their opinion, are subject to deferment as "necessary men" in their civilian jobs; and in most cases local boards have been very reluctant—despite pressure from Washington—to grant deferment on occupational grounds. The new regulations may make this situation worse by increasing the pressure for the induction of single men, regardless of their occupations.

Under the law local boards cannot be forced to induct men merely to meet their quotas. The Selective Service Act specifically says that "quotas of men to be inducted . . . shall be determined for each state . . . on the basis of the actual number of men in the several states . . . who are liable for . . . service *but who are not deferred after classification.*" But the average draft board is probably unaware of this provision of the law; and being under constant pressure to meet quota requirements may be tempted to reclassify men previously deferred for occupational reasons. General Hershey's order to the local draft boards specifically stated that new categories had no effect upon occupational classifications, but it is doubtful whether this warning will be sufficient to prevent a rather general reclassification of single men in essential industries. The horizon of local boards has far too often been limited to the town or area in which they work. They have been particularly unsympathetic in the case of workers who have left their home districts to take war jobs in some distant city.

The War Man-Power Board has sought to meet the problem by a directive, issued last week, instructing local boards to consult the United States Employment Service before classifying draft registrants skilled in critical occupations. But as industrial needs increase, it is evident that more drastic steps will be necessary if we are to make the maximum use of the skills of our population. Many men possessing skills badly needed in the war effort are not now engaged in war industries. Unless prompt action is taken, the single men in this group are likely to be inducted en masse within the next few months. To avoid this some sort of a "work-or-fight" order such as was adopted in the last war might well be issued.

There are, of course, many other imperfections in the selective-service machinery that have not been removed by the new procedures. The burden on the unpaid, understaffed, overworked draft boards has, if anything, been increased by the new orders. The least that should be done to ease the task of these men, who have sacrificed all their spare time for the country, is to provide them with clerical assistance. It is desirable also that there should be a general strengthening of federal influence over the local draft boards in the interest of uniformity and as a means of obtaining a broader view of national man-power policies.

[I. F. Stone is on vacation, and for the next three weeks his regular Washington articles will not appear.]



# Defense Will Lose the Near East

BY ALEXANDER KIRALFY

**V**IEWED in proper perspective, Tobruk with its aftermath, the Nazi-Fascist invasion of Egypt, was neither a defeat of Britain's Eighth Army nor a reflection on its leadership and equipment. It was the inevitable result of the system of war adopted by the United Nations. Had the positions been reversed, with Marshal Rommel holding Tobruk and being attacked under similar circumstances by General Ritchie, Tobruk would still have fallen. The campaign thus far has been a repetition of the old story of the ineffectiveness of the defense against a carefully prepared attack. It is an example of what is bound to occur whenever the Allies' philosophy of winning a war tomorrow comes into contact with the Axis theory of winning a war today. Our methods are understandably based upon our late preparations and the desire to avoid more Dunkirks. The dilemma, however, is ours, not the enemy's, and he may be expected to take advantage of it at every opportunity.

The first principle upon which the Nazi-Fascists are acting is that Egypt is a primary front, whereas to the United Nations it appears to be a secondary front. According to our theory of war, the Russian is the primary front, and it is planned to create a second primary front, for instance in France, first to relieve the enemy pressure upon the Soviet armies, and then to cooperate with them in a drive into Germany. With this theory there can be no quarrel. If it can be worked out without decisive hindrance from the enemy, then obviously Egypt and a number of other regions will automatically fall into the category of secondary fronts.

The Axis powers, however, have created a number of fronts which they consider primary because they have dedicated them to the task of destroying the Allied primary fronts, actual and potential. The Egyptian front can easily become such a front, if it is not already one.

Marshal Rommel's drive appears to be part of a pincers movement which, together with the Axis drives farther north, is intended to outflank the Soviet armies from the south, sever their communications with the Indian Ocean sea lanes, and expel the Allies from the Near and Middle East. A concurrent drive to cut our lifelines to Murmansk would not only weaken Russian resistance but enable the Nazis to withdraw troops from the Soviet front to counter our attempt to establish a second primary front in Western Europe.

Since the initiative in such operations rests with Hitler, one cannot for the moment be certain whether this grand strategic movement is fully under way, or whether

the present drives are an attempt to lower the Russian guard and expose the Leningrad-Moscow front. Berlin has the alternative of trying to crush the Red armies now or of continuing its push into the Near East.

In their attacks upon Malta, the Germans, in addition to observing their principle of having a number of primary fronts, employed a peculiar type of diversion which is significant in that it might be applied to Cyprus, a British island off the coasts of Syria and Turkey, and to other points. It consisted in bombing Malta so heavily as to suggest that an actual invasion might be expected. During the raids the defensive air force was compelled to remain close to the island, and British warships necessarily kept away. In the meantime, enemy troopships and transports were crossing from Italy to Africa in large numbers. This suggests that in such strategic positions a proportion of the defensive aircraft should watch for Axis shipping even when their station is under attack.

Other principles of war applicable to the present operation are directly derived from the defects inherent in any defensive system. Defense involves waiting, and during this time many opportunities are open to the attacker. Thus the Nazis have on a number of occasions adopted a pendulum-like method of operating. This consists of a number of partial moves culminating in an unexpected all-out dash. The latter can be successful if the defenders believe it to be just another partial movement. An Italian advance into Egypt stopped in mid-September, 1940; a Nazi-led thrust died out in the middle of 1941; and the extent of the present invasion may depend as much upon the entire scheme of German strategy as upon the sufficiency of the defenses of Egypt.

The last Axis advance upon that country took place over a year ago, the intervening period having been punctuated by a limited British invasion of Libya. During this time-gap the Germans were able to consign more powerful equipment to their Afrika Korps. The German Mark IV tank and the highly mobile eighty-eight-millimeter all-purpose gun appear to have been grim and decisive novelties on the Libyan-Egyptian front. The same time-gap may have permitted the enemy to devise means of overcoming difficulties of climate and terrain and of solving the attendant communications problems.

If it is not wise to rely too strongly upon such obstacles to continued invasion as distance, desert heat, and lack of watering facilities, it is also undesirable to minimize the importance of interrupting hostile communications across the Mediterranean. London has re-



ported that on some occasions these have been severed for a week or more at a stretch, and that at other times Axis shipping had been reduced by one-half. Inasmuch as a full year elapsed between the halting of the last Axis offensive in Africa and the beginning of the present movement, great stores must have been accumulated in the Italian colonies. The greater the length of coastline that the enemy is able to conquer, the more protection he can furnish his shipping, and the farther United Nations airmen must fly to strike at important Axis bases.

Yet another principle that should be taken into account in the Egyptian operations is the distinction between the Axis and United Nations concept of neutrality, in this case as applicable to Turkey. There can be little question that the Nazis will move into Turkey when it suits them. An open plain funnels out before them to Istanbul, which is highly susceptible to aerial assault. This being the case, the importance of the Dardanelles diminishes considerably. As it is, the fortifications are already threatened in the rear by German positions in Thrace. In the Dodecanese Islands the enemy is within a

stone's throw of Asia Minor, and the rumblings of the twenty-four-inch Nazi guns reported to be in action against Sevastopol are undoubtedly echoing in Turkey, to which country the Soviet naval base is no insignificant key. In the meantime Asia Minor acts as a shield for the Nazis' southwestern flank, and beyond, in Syria and Iraq, two other British armies are tied down and unable adequately to bolster the defenses of Egypt.

Unless some diversion can be created in this region, Britain's Eighth Army must remain exposed to all the pitfalls of a defensive campaign. Its leaders are facing no small task. The swelling ranks of the United States army and our ever-mounting production are compelling the Nazis to take drastic steps in an effort to make our strength innocuous by the expedient of seizing all possible territory from which we can bring our pressure to bear. And the more effective the bombings of Colognes and Bremens, the more will Berlin turn to Southeastern Europe for factory sites. All factors combine to indicate the Near and Middle East as a proximate Axis objective, and to this whole region Egypt is an important key.

## *Keep Them Out!*

### IV. THE REVEREND GERALD B. WINROD

BY WILL CHASAN AND VICTOR RIESEL

ON JUNE 5, 1940, the stenographer in a Wichita, Kansas, courtroom recorded an unusual proceeding. Mrs. Gerald B. Winrod, suing the Reverend Gerald B. Winrod for separate maintenance, testified that she could no longer tolerate his pro-Nazi views. Her husband, she told the court, "was preaching the gospel but filling it with Nazi propaganda against the United States." He was teaching their children that "everything Hitler did was right and that everything England and France did was wrong." He had unnerved her by asserting that he was to become "dictator of the country after the revolution," and that if any trouble developed he would take her to a hideout in Wyoming. He had made the threat of trouble seem ominous enough, she testified, by talking of the government's "closing in" on him and of conspiracies to capture him. He had kept their windows shut and their shades drawn, and had moved about the house with a gun in his hand. Finally, concerned for her safety and that of her three children, Mrs. Winrod said, she had fled to the sanctuary of a Wichita hotel.

Is the Reverend Gerald B. Winrod a fascist? The paunchy, Bible-thumping revivalist who plans to be a candidate for the United States Senate this fall says a

"blacker lie was never spawned in the diseased brain of a red propagandist." His wife, he intimated darkly, had somehow fallen under the influence of international Jewry, which had circulated the charge of fascism to prevent him from obtaining the Republican Senatorial nomination in 1938. "The destroyers," he wrote in a recent open letter to Kansas Republicans, "knew that I possessed inside information concerning their plot of world revolution. They knew . . . I was informed regarding the true nature of the international Communist conspiracy to wipe Christianity from the earth. They knew, also, they could never hope to control me by the power of gold, or otherwise."

Winrod, who was the inspiration for Sinclair Lewis's Buzz Windrip, unearthed his international Jewish conspiracy shortly after Hitler came to power. His magazine, the *Defender*, which he began to publish during the Fundamentalists' war against the evolutionists, became stridently anti-Semitic and announced that Jewish conspirators were plotting to overthrow our government. Later he was to reveal that President Roosevelt's name really is Rosenfelt, and that the New Deal therefore represents not only a political but a "biological" problem. He was also to charge that the kidnapping of the



Lindbergh baby was part of a Jewish-Communist plot. In January, 1935, after a visit to Germany made at the invitation of Dr. Otto H. S. Vollbehr, a propagandist for the Reich, he informed a meeting of his followers that his experience abroad had convinced him that Jews were responsible for all the ills of the world. Since then he has deluged the Bible Belt, in which he has concentrated his activities, with vast quantities of anti-Semitic propaganda, typical of which is a statement that Jew-Communists are getting Negroes to do their dirty work by promising that after the revolution Negroes will have all the white women they want. More significant politically, perhaps, is his frequently repeated accusation that "international Jewish communism is basically responsible for the present chaotic state of affairs." "The invasion of communism into the Orient two decades ago," he says, "sired the damnably vicious spirit of aggression that produced the tragedy of Pearl Harbor."

Now in his middle forties, Winrod was born in Wichita, where he was educated at the local grammar school. His father, a Fundamentalist preacher who is reported to have had the distinction of serving drinks in the first saloon invaded by Carrie Nation, then apprenticed him to an itinerant evangelist. Aside from a correspondence-school course in journalism, this concluded Winrod's education. He worked for a while as a clerk in a public-utilities company at Eldorado, Kansas, before he plunged into his career as a tent evangelist and rabble rouser. Along with William Jennings Bryan, he zealously campaigned against evolutionist teaching in the schools, threatening his opponents with lightning bolts and other manifestations of the wrath of God. When interest in the monkey battles ebbed, Winrod turned to Catholic-baiting, which was popular in Kansas during the Klan ascendancy. His experiences on the stump made him an effective orator of the somber, finger-pointing school, and his attacks on evolutionism and Catholicism endeared him to Bible Belt bigots.

Winrod's fascist activities, his wife's testimony indicated, date from his German visit; so do his Senatorial ambitions. On his return he told the *Defender* staff somewhat pontifically, "I am now absolutely sure of going to the United States Senate. When there I will make it my sounding board." Three years later, in 1938, he almost made good his boast. To "serve God and my generation"—Winrod usually implies that God is an active partner in all his ventures—he entered a four-cornered race for the Republican Senatorial nomination and immediately assumed the lead. Republican leaders, many of whom saw no possibility of heading off the "Jayhawk Nazi," became thoroughly frightened. William Allen White privately expressed the belief that Winrod's strongest opponent, Clyde Reed, a former governor who had actively opposed the Klan, had no chance of victory and warned that Kansas was "threatened by an

outbreak of Nazi hysteria." Shortly before the primary Robert S. Allen reported in the *Philadelphia Record* that Winrod was an "easy three-to-two bet as the winner."

Winrod finally was beaten by a last-minute campaign directed by White, the Reverend L. M. Birkhead, a number of other churchmen, and the Wichita Allied Printing Trades Council. His opponents were badly hampered until the closing weeks of the primary race by the reluctance of John D. M. Hamilton, then National Chairman of the Republican Party, and other prominent Republican spokesmen to declare themselves for Reed. Hamilton, who dislikes Reed because the latter had elbowed him out of a nomination for governor, finally was induced to issue a statement against Winrod. But despite Hamilton's statement and one from Alf Landon, and the fact that Kansas was flooded with quotations from Winrod's pro-Nazi, anti-Semitic, and anti-Catholic writings—he once described the Roman Catholic church as the "harlot woman of the Bible" and said of Jim Farley, "being a ring-kissing Catholic, his first allegiance is to the temporal ruler of the Vatican, a certain Mr. Pius"—he polled 53,000 votes. This was not altogether surprising in a state which for a while was dominated by the Klan and in 1930 almost elected Dr. Brinkley, the goat-gland quack, to the governorship.

An aspect of Winrod's campaign which puzzled Kansas newspapermen was that it had very substantial and unexplained financial support. His finances had been the subject of general suspicion since his return from Germany. One reporter wrote, "Prior to a European trip in 1935, during which he visited Germany, Rev. Winrod had worked and lived on a modest scale. Upon his return he began blossoming out." It was estimated that Winrod was spending \$5,000 a week, an unprecedented sum in Kansas politics, and probably more than the combined expenditures of his three opponents. Politicians familiar with the frugality of the average Kansan scoffed at his claim that he was being financed by dollar-bill contributions from his followers and the profits of his publishing house. Some believed he was being aided by reactionary business elements; others attributed his affluence to German support.

Another noteworthy aspect of the 1938 campaign was Winrod's lamb-like disavowal of racial or religious bigotry. He appealed to Republican voters with anti-New Deal broadsides, asked for the repeal of "experimental legislation," and, in the Bryan tradition, demanded the "restoration of the right to create money to Congress so that duly elected representatives of the people shall control the flow of currency." But he refrained from praising the accomplishments of the Third Reich, which he had commended to the *Defender's* more than 100,000 readers as the only regime that "has ever dared to try and completely extricate itself from the control of international Jewry." He represented himself as a pious,



peace-loving Christian and democrat who had been greatly maligned.

Actually he has disseminated more genuine fascist propaganda than any other American pro-Nazi. The *Defender* has been an American version of the *Stürmer*; in addition, he has published two other magazines, both now defunct, and hundreds of pamphlets, and has delivered thousands of speeches, all embodying the Goebbels doctrine. He justified Germany's invasion of Czechoslovakia by saying that "Czecho-Slovakia was red and virtually a military base for Soviet Russia." He similarly justified Japan's aggression against China as a fight against the "red menace," and called the Spanish civil war the result of "Jewish fierceness." After his German visit he diligently spread the story that religious freedom had not been impaired by the Nazis, and that "no synagogues have been closed in Germany since Hitler came to power nor have the religious liberties of the Jewish people been jeopardized." Echoing the *Stürmer*, Winrod has charged that the Jews, whom he usually alludes to as the "Hidden Hand," got us into the last war and into this one through their control of the press and radio, that they drove Russia into communism, slaughtered millions of Christians, and dominated the French Popular Front government, and that the international Jewish banking fraternity controls the New Deal hierarchy and the Churchill Cabinet. He characterizes liberalism as a "cancer, a disease eating into the flesh of American life." In a weird pamphlet entitled *The NRA in Prophecy and a Discussion of Beast Worship*, he charged that the NRA was the mark of the beast—"Satan's messiah." In the same pamphlet he wrote, "I am reliably informed that there are places in Russia where in order to get work, food, and a tax rate that is endurable one must have the Hammer and Sickle tattooed on his flesh."

Winrod's activities have been closely integrated with those of other members of America's fascist network. This was especially obvious during the foreign-policy debate, when he delivered numerous speeches against aid to England, circulated anti-war petitions, and quoted most of the known American fascists in the *Defender*. The list of those whom he has published and praised in the *Defender* reads like a who's who of American fascism. It includes Father Coughlin, Gerald L. K. Smith, Colonel Sanctuary, James True, ex-Congressman Jacob Thorkelson, R. E. Edmondson, Lawrence Dennis, and a score of others. He has been praised in turn by most of them; Smith recently placed him on his list of outstanding Americans, and Edmondson once named him on a fascist roll of honor. Winrod has made extensive use of World Service, a German propaganda agency.

Most of Winrod's own publications are a bizarre mixture of fundamentalism and fascism. The *Defender* prints along with its anti-Semitic screeds articles which

denounce the cigarette as an instrument of Satan and demand a new prohibition amendment. A typical one begins, "Should Christians play cards? That is the burning question before all Christians today." The answer is No. Winrod does an extensive mail-order business in religious publications and articles. He issues a catalogue which advertises everything from pencils to neckties, all with appropriate religious inscriptions, and has published a booklet called "What Is Wrong with the Movies?"—a nothing-is-held-back exposé of sin in Hollywood.



Gerald B. Winrod

Winrod's chief backing comes from a group of thirty to forty influential Fundamentalist preachers, who accept his leadership, invite him to address their congregations, and write for the *Defender*. One of them, the Reverend George D. Blomgren of Chicago, accompanied Winrod to Germany. Another, Dr. W. D. Herrstrom of Akron, once replied to the charge that pamphlets written by him were being sold in the Aryan Bookstore, a Nazi agency in Los Angeles, with the observation that it was "as important to evangelize Nazi Gentiles as it is to evangelize Communist Jews." The Reverend Harry H. Hodge of Beaumont, Texas, a close friend of Congressman Martin Dies, is also a Winrod associate. There is excellent reason to believe that in the summer of 1937 Hodge was instrumental in having Dies call off an investigation of Winrod. As a matter of fact, a Dies committee investigator visited Newton, Kansas, where the *Defender* is printed, but was mysteriously recalled.

Winrod's Fundamentalist followers provide him with an excellent political base, and those familiar with the Kansas electorate regard his political activities with misgivings. No one concedes him a chance of victory over Senator Capper, who is a Kansas institution and an old-line Borah isolationist, but it is felt that if he becomes a candidate, as now seems likely, he may poll 75,000 votes. Pearl Harbor has wrought no change in his views. His circular letter to Kansas Republicans rehashes his old diatribes against the Jews, blames the war on the Communists, and refers to the New Deal as if it were some colossal sin. That he is a crackpot pure and simple does not alter the fact that his insistent propaganda has won thousands of supporters. Unless he is watched, he may some day be shouting his ugly opinions from the floor of the Senate.



# Housekeeping in France

BY AMO PALLAVICINI

FOUR weeks ago I arrived in this country from France. While my memory is still fresh, I should like to describe my daily life there, which was that of the average French housewife.

It is the last day of the month, and rationing cards must be renewed for the coming month. A quick glance at the newspaper to see when people whose names begin with P, the first letter of our last name, are to be called. Our turn comes tomorrow; the office is open from eight in the morning until noon.

I make sure to get up early. The morning air is cold, and the night's stars still glow faintly. As I reach the Town Hall of the little place in the south of France where we have been living for several months, the church clock is striking seven. Even at this early hour there are ten people awaiting their turn. You never arrive early enough! Young women and old stand patiently in line, all of them bundled in sweaters and knitted cap-mufflers which cover the head and shoulders. The little old woman just ahead of me is not wearing shoes. Instead, she has wrapped her feet in rags held on by strings carefully tied around her legs. She tells me she made a written demand for shoes three months ago but has received no reply.

At nine o'clock my turn comes. The fat man at the desk doesn't seem to be in very good humor.

"How many people in the family? Your identity cards, please."

I hand him the cards with my ration book. "Five, sir," I answer; "three children, my husband, and I."

Each person has a ration book and, in addition, special coupons renewable each month which entitle him to bread, meat, oils and fats, cheese, milk, soap. The ration book itself contains coupons for monthly allotments of sugar, coffee, noodles, rice, chocolate—the last two items issued only to babies and growing children. Each book is marked with a number and letter indicating the classification of the owner—for example, adult, worker, child, baby. The classification determines the quantity and kind of food allotted.

The clerk takes my five sheets marked Bread and painstakingly inscribes on each names and numbers corresponding to those on my five ration books, a procedure repeated for meat, cheese, and the rest.

By the time I reach the grocery with my precious coupons a line of fifty has already formed. If I take my place at the end of it, not only shall I surely miss my turn at the butcher's but by the time I reach the bakery not an ounce of bread will be left. I quickly decide:

about face and off to the butcher's. After a half-hour's wait I manage to get my allowance of meat (the meat ration is two ounces per person twice a week). Veal again! For two months we've had nothing but veal. Have I the right to buy any delicatessen? The butcher says that my number will come up in three days and that if I'm lucky I may be able to get a slice of ham for my two-year-old daughter. But he warns me to arrive by seven in the morning or no ham will be left.

Back to the grocery store. Fifteen people are still ahead of me. By the time I get inside there is little left—some carrots in a basket, on the counter a few cabbages, and in a corner four leeks. I have brought an empty bottle—you must have a bottle for liquids and a bag or piece of paper for wrapping your noodles, sugar, and the like.

"Your turn, madame. I haven't very much for you today." This is the grocer's formula. Hopefully I hand him my bottle and ask for some cooking oil.

"No more oil or sugar until the fifteenth, madame."

For the past eight days I haven't had a single drop of oil or an ounce of butter in the house. I'll have to cook in water. My booty at the grocer's is meager indeed; I've managed to buy six carrots, a leek, and a little cabbage. As I go out the door the grocer advises me to get there early tomorrow morning, because he is expecting some vegetables.

With my half-empty shopping bag I go home, planning our dinner and supper on the way. "Let me see, I still have some potatoes in the cellar, and with the slices of tomatoes I strung together and dried last fall, I can make a sauce. Two potatoes for each of us. That will be the *plat de résistance*. There's no fruit in the house, so I had better pull up some salad from the garden. But I have no oil. Well, I'll make a dressing without oil—without vinegar too. And what shall we have this evening? I'll add some carrots, the cabbage, and the leek to the water I cooked the potatoes in. Perhaps I can put in some lettuce leaves and a handful of noodles. That will make our evening soup." By the time I reach the house, the menu is decided on.

It's cold in the house, and the children are half frozen even though fully dressed for outdoors. But we can't make a fire. Our coal ration is 660 pounds for the whole winter and wood is scarce. We light the fire only in the evening and only in the room we use from five until eight. It's never really warm there, but once the stove is going we can bear to take off the coats, berets, scarves, and gloves we've been wearing all day.

As most French mothers have no one with whom to



leave the children while shopping, children stay in bed, securely tied for safety, and are at least warm during the long morning hours when their mothers are in queues.

Now, about my midday dinner. First of all, everything must be peeled, sliced, and ready for the evening soup before the gas is turned on. Gas is furnished for only two and a half hours a day—half an hour in the morning, an hour at noon, and an hour in the evening. I peel the potatoes, add water, and set them on the stove. On top of this pot I must put another for the tomatoes. The steam from the potatoes will heat the sauce at the same time, and I shall then have a free burner for the laundry. On another burner I put the evening soup.

Today is Monday, wash day. Last night I soaked the clothes in tepid water to which I added "soap powder," a chemical compound that actually contains very little soap. The clothes can't be washed with regular soap, for the soap ration is barely enough to keep us clean. This afternoon I shall wash the clothes with the doubtful "soap powder." Usually I add a little wood ashes to the water, wrapped in an old rag. After the water has boiled, the clothes go in, and the ashes manage to bleach them in an hour.

In the evenings I usually busy myself trying to darn the children's clothes. The word "darn" is a euphemism because darning cotton, needles, buttons, and elastic are no longer to be had. And anyone who doesn't happen to have some left over from earlier days must resign herself to torn clothes. Every scrap of material is precious. Each button or bit of elastic is jealously guarded. This evening I rip two of my old sweaters to make a pull-over for one of my three daughters. The colors don't match well, but that doesn't matter as long as the sweater keeps her warm. The other day I finished making a pair of children's stockings out of an old scarf.

Shoes are another problem. To obtain a pair of shoes you must go to the Town Hall and make a written request for a shoe-purchase card. You must be able to show that you have no other shoes at home and that those you are wearing are completely worn through. You make your request, fill out a detailed form, and then one fine day the answer comes—"Application rejected."

The problem of repairs is equally serious. Shoemakers find it impossible to obtain thread, leather, or nails. Most women and many men are wearing shoes with soles and heels of wood and uppers of canvas trimmed with a bit of leather. Almost all the children wear wooden shoes.

Tuesday comes, and, shopping bag in hand, I go down to the corner and wait for the street car. Today we're going into Marseilles to celebrate Jean's birthday. A quick look at my shopping bag to make sure that I've forgotten nothing: coupons for bread, meat, butter, cheese, and a little wooden box containing a few lumps of sugar. I've also put in some presents for Jean. Not pre-war presents to be sure; I've pulled up some turnips,

radishes, and four magnificent heads of lettuce. He will be pleased with the gifts, for in the city the food problem is even more acute than it is in the country.

I'm the last to arrive. Madame D. is there with her daughter. The pretty brunette in the corner has just arrived from Cannes. My Paris neighbor, who has been living here for some time, is just as gay as ever. There are half a dozen men at the party.

The major topic of discussion is food. What else is there to talk about? We exchange menus—and also the names of dressmakers who provide their own thread. My Paris neighbor describes how to cook eggplant with very little oil. Madame D. tells me you can find dried bananas at one of the stores. They're delicious and nourishing, and you don't have to be on the store's list of regular purchasers to get them. Poor Madame D. was rash enough to use up all her provisions, thinking she could soon leave the country. But still her visa does not come. One of the men, who is said to be well informed, says: "These gentlemen [the Germans] are badly in need of leather and have been slaughtering a large number of cattle, which explains why my butcher can offer nothing but veal." And it appears that in Cannes people have only rutabaga to eat.

"Everyone come to the table," says our hostess.

We rush to seat ourselves. Silence settles down over the table. Everyone takes a quick glance at the casserole and begins to calculate how big a serving he will receive. The courses are served in the casseroles in which they were cooked; not a drop of oil or sauce can be wasted. Each one furtively compares his serving with that of his neighbor. Hunger does strange things to men and women. You are ashamed, but you will continue to make those secret calculations, those furtive comparisons. Wine has been rationed at a liter a week per person, so we content ourselves with water. When the plates are carried back to the kitchen one might think that they had never been used. Not a speck of food or sauce remains on them.

Then comes the sorest point of the evening, the moment when the men take out their cigarettes. Only the men are entitled to a tobacco rationing coupon. It provides four cigarettes a day. Everyone saves stubs, and not only his own; if a visitor should by chance leave a stub in the ash tray it is quickly retrieved and stored away in the "stub box." With the stubs of four cigarettes you can eke out a fifth smoke.

Even in the midst of these hardships we retain our sense of humor. The evening in town was amusing, and waiting in queues in our own village I've often laughed at a "good one" told with all the savor of a singing Marseillais accent. And now and then, too, I've detected a glimmer of hope among my neighbors that the Germans will soon be worn out and that then they will be driven out of France.



# Thoughts on "World War III?"

[The article by J. Alvarez del Vayo, *World War III?*, published in *The Nation* of June 20, raised questions of great importance both in waging the war to a democratic victory and in achieving a people's peace. The *Nation* asked a number of persons of various nationalities, expert in the field of international relations, to contribute comments on the main points covered in Mr. del Vayo's article. They were asked specifically (1) whether they believed that the new agreements with the Soviet Union provided a basis on which the democratic forces in the United Nations could work toward the establishment of a democratic peace; (2) whether they believed that a new and more thoroughgoing system of collective security should be developed to replace the League of Nations and if so, what form it should take; (3) whether they thought that a Socialist reconstruction of Europe was necessary to insure a durable peace; (4) whether they believed that Article III of the Atlantic Charter should be amended so as to make it possible to prevent the establishment or continuance of fascist governments; and (5) by what means they thought the interests of the peoples themselves could be expressed in the future world organization. Some of the comments received appear below. Others will be published in subsequent issues of *The Nation*.]

## RUSTEM VAMBERY

Dean emeritus of the Law School of the Royal University of Budapest; at present chairman of the American Federation of Democratic Hungarians

EVERY honest democrat should welcome Mr. del Vayo's well-considered suggestions. He will realize, too, the difficulties which they imply. Mr. del Vayo's parallel between the Congress of Vienna and the Paris Peace Conference seems to me somewhat inaccurate. Napoleon's warriors, after all, carried the ideas of the revolution in their knapsacks, and the Holy Alliance served as a Maginot Line against liberty until the July and March revolutions cracked it. This is probably why the British preferred the Reform Act to the Holy Alliance. After World War I it was merely German megalomania which the treaties were supposed to keep in check.

Clemenceau, in a whimsical mood, once said that war was much too serious a business to be left to the military, but apparently peace was not serious enough or it would not have been left to military-minded civilians. The conflict between military and civilian authority has to be faced in every war that is fought against an aggressor in order to maintain the status quo, of which reactionaries are always

the strongest supporters. Some of them still do not realize that Hitler's objective is not the protection of their property. Even less are they aware of the hopelessness of defending liberty and the democratic way of life without "a drive toward social security and economic democracy."

In spite of this I do not quite share Mr. del Vayo's pessimism, because in the long run the people are always stronger than any international conspiracy of appeasers and reactionaries. "Men," as Count Sforza has recently so well put it, "die only for ideas—for moral ideas."

## MICHAEL STRAIGHT

Washington editor of the *New Republic*

OF COURSE I agree with Mr. del Vayo's analysis of the dangers present in this war, and with his insistence on the necessity of organized political action for liberal ends. I would be still more specific: everyone who agrees with Mr. del Vayo has the immediate duty of joining some such organization as Free World and spreading its ideas, and at the same time of undertaking community action in the November elections to rid Congress of the potential betrayers of the next peace.

Three points raised by Mr. del Vayo might be re-emphasized. First, it is necessary to clarify the relationship between popular movements and governments. Mr. del Vayo fears the Foreign Offices; but, after all, the British and the American governments are good governments, and, more important, they are allied with the governments, not of Metternich and Talleyrand, but of Litvinov and T. V. Soong. Our duty is first to strengthen the interrelations of these governments, which still are weak, then to maintain for these governments a freedom of action that will enable them to create the future.

Second, in Mr. del Vayo's skepticism about our ability in war time to dispossess the forces of reaction I sense a defensive attitude toward the war. I am sure the Foreign Secretary of the government which first showed to the world that war could be a time of glorious democratic development is not so burdened. Why does our thinking here still tend to be defensive? War itself is working for us when it demands the conscription of wealth and the full utilization of resources, if only we can understand the process. Because conservatism opposes world organization and liberalism leads the fight for it, we need to develop to the utmost this domestic struggle, insisting that war is only an example of a nation working at full blast, and that any nation which wishes to continue at full blast must retain and develop the kind of controls which war creates.



Third, Mr. del Vayo writes of the Third World War. But who is to be the aggressor in this war? From what causes is it to arise? We need to be very clear about what war is likely to follow this war.

Mr. del Vayo suggests that the next war may arise from a return to power politics. I doubt this. Because the foundations of world organization are already in existence, there are even in this war elements of civil war. These foundations cannot be destroyed by a political settlement, however bad. So it follows that the next world war, if we permit it to come, will not be an imperialist war, but a civil war. I doubt that Germany will play a primary role in this war. It will be a war between Russia and ourselves to determine which of our two systems will become the basis of world society.

Four score and seven years passed between Philadelphia and Gettysburg. For the next hundred years our object will be to unite the world without a world civil war. We shall succeed only if we simultaneously create a world allegiance among all peoples and destroy the primary basis of civil war, which is social conflict. That we shall do only if our government retains permanently the functions and powers which it now possesses.

### HENRI LAUGIER

*Former director of the French Foreign Office; at present general secretary of France Forever*

THE article by J. Alvarez del Vayo is of capital importance because it invites the United Nations to "reflect." The coalition needs greatly to reflect, not only to win the war, but to organize the world after the peace.

1. The third point of the Atlantic Charter cannot serve as a basis for the peace. It is the duty of the democracies concerned to establish in the countries which they will have conquered or liberated, democratic governments founded on popular sovereignty; it is equally their duty to set the people on the road to liberty by placing their economic, financial, and military resources at the service of these young governments.

2. A peace based on balance of power would be absurd. Only those who still cling to the hateful remnants of the past can think of such a peace. The new peace must create a spirit of "world citizenship." The sovereignty of the states must be subordinated to the well-being of morally and materially powerful international organizations.

3. Given the present development of science, techniques, and thinking, narrow nationalisms, shut in by the physical delimitations of their frontiers, are an offense to the mind. I am certain that the reconstruction of Europe can be founded only on forms which respect the value of manual and intellectual labor and which free all workers from the bonds imposed on them by powerful economic systems.

4. The problem of the relations between the democracies and the Soviet Union after victory is won is assuredly a grave one, rich in promise but charged with dangers. My feeling is this: if, after the destruction of Nazism, the democracies have faith in their own cause, if they show themselves to be constructive and resolutely face the future, if a *mystique* of a conquering, universal democracy is created—then the pacts between Soviet Russia and the democracies concluded during the war have every chance of developing and drawing the whole world toward a fertile cooperation in the future. On the other hand, if on the morrow of victory the democracies return to their conservatism and show themselves hesitant or hostile to broad social experiments, black days are in prospect for them.

### CARLO SFORZA

*Former Foreign Minister of Italy*

SINCE I believe that general discussions of this sort are at present more suitable for Americans than for foreigners I shall limit myself to a few facts and recollections.

I do not believe that any political party as such can assure peace and progress to Europe. History is made by men, not by formulas. Can we forget the pitiful show made by the German Socialists when they came to power? At the end of 1918, however, Wilson demonstrated that a man possessed of a religious idea may exercise a powerful influence on the world. Why, then, did he partially fail? Because having gone to France as a prophet, he there accepted the role of diplomat, specifically when he compromised with the Japanese on Shantung. He thought that since he had created, in the League of Nations, the remedy for the ills which led to the war, any injustices and blunders in the peace could be corrected later on. History is, of course, interwoven with blunders and remedies. But the normal, indolent course was too dangerous to follow just after millions of men had died—many of them for an idea—in the trenches from the North Sea to the Piave. And after this war such a course would be even more dangerous.

The history of Europe before 1931 is not designed to create a feeling of optimism concerning its leaders. When public opinion in England and, to a lesser degree, in France revolted against the policy of complicity with Mussolini in the Ethiopian crisis, Anthony Eden and Delbos replaced Sir Samuel Hoare and Laval. But shortly thereafter an even more dangerous crisis arose—the Spanish civil war. And Eden and Delbos committed, passively if not actively, the same errors for which they had denounced their predecessors. Is it possible that the disease of the democracies is the same that has afflicted all great European dynasties and families, which after a few generations lose their possibilities of leadership?



As for the League of Nations, even as it was it might have saved the peace of the world. It was the men who should have used it loyally as an instrument of peace, not the League itself, that failed. The League of tomorrow needs two things, both of which are much simpler than an "international police force." First, it must give up unanimity in favor of a majority quorum. Second, it must return to the basic idea stated in the first draft of the League Covenant, namely, that only those states may be members which are governed according to the freely expressed will of their citizens. Wilson's first error, under pressure of the "realists," was to drop this provision from the final draft. Such a clause in the Covenant would have prevented Fascism in Italy.

The Italian people would have overthrown Fascism at the start of the Ethiopian adventure if the honest backing of the League had been given them. The responsibility for their failure to do so rests with the "official" foreign foes of Mussolini, who were in reality his secret supporters. This strange phenomenon has not yet quite disappeared. For that reason the United Nations may, with regard to Italy, face new disillusionment, further loss of prestige and precious time.

### THEODOR DAN

*Russian Socialist leader, formerly a member of the Executive Committee of the Second International*

**M**Y FRIEND del Vayo is right: the destiny of the future peace depends upon the social forces that shape that peace.

Peace will not last if, after the present war, human society is again ruled by social forces that place the preservation of property and profit over the interests of men, and the principle of competition among individuals, groups, classes, races, and nations over the principle of human solidarity. Under such conditions it would be impossible to find forms of organization that would enable diplomacy, the new League of Nations, and the police force at its disposal to act as agents of peace and freedom.

The present war has tied with unbreakable bonds the countries of the world, and it has revealed so clearly the connection between their form of government and the menace of war that talk about "non-intervention" cannot be taken in earnest. As a matter of fact, "non-intervention" has always been a delusive phrase. The only thing that has mattered is the question how and for what purpose to "intervene." Brute force is not always needed for this; the German and Austrian Socialist revolutions of 1918-19 were not strangled by military intervention but by economic pressure. With them the new-born democracy was strangled, too; the way for Hitler was paved; and war became inevitable.

Fascism in all its varieties cannot be uprooted from

European soil without a European revolution, and today even more than in 1918-19 this revolution can be only a Socialist revolution. Will this European revolution be smothered by military force or economic pressure, or will the tremendous military and economic resources of the victors help it? Not the academic question of the "right of intervention in internal affairs" but the how and the purpose of intervention, a question vital for freedom and peace, will become pressing as the military collapse of Hitler draws nearer. The way this problem is solved will decide whether the peace will inaugurate a long epoch of progress or whether we shall have only a short respite before the outbreak of World War III.

## *In the Wind*

**S**EVERAL DRAFT BOARDS in Virginia and other Southern states have been classifying Indians as Negroes. After inquiries were made, the War Department was asked for a ruling not only on Indians but also on men of mixed Negro-white origin. Indians, it said, should be classified as whites. In cases where there is doubt as to whether white or Negro blood prevails, an investigation of the selectee's associates is to be made. He will then be classified in the group to which most of his friends belong.

ACCORDING TO the Socialist *Call*, one of the liberal Congressmen was prepared to introduce a bill to repeal the restrictions on Chinese immigration. He was prevailed upon to withhold it by certain State Department officials, who asserted that the Chinese government felt that it was unwise to raise the issue now in view of increasing race sentiment in this country. A short time later Ambassador Hu Shih was asked about his government's attitude toward the bill. He said that he had never heard of it.

THE LONDON *TABLET*, leading Catholic paper in Britain, approved the appointment of Professor Carlton Hays to the Madrid embassy and interpreted it as evidence that the United States was trying to please Franco. It went on to say: "Crude attempts to present the war as not primarily a struggle against the aggressive, nationalistic Germans, but as a war in which all countries are more or less divided into fascists and anti-fascists, is all too popular among American writers, but it finds no reflection in American foreign policy."

FRANCO'S PROPAGANDA BUREAU in this country, the Spanish Library of Information, has been expanding its activities. A new daily release publishes only news emphasizing Spain's ties with Britain and this country.

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of \$5 will be awarded each month for the best item.—EDITORS THE NATION.]



# BOOKS and the ARTS

## How Russians Fight

**RUSSIA'S FIGHTING FORCES.** By Captain Sergei N. Kournakoff. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. \$2.50.

**RUSSIANS DON'T SURRENDER.** By Alexander Poliakov. E. P. Dutton and Company. \$2.50.

THE two books under review approach the subject of Russia's armies from completely different points of view. Captain Kournakoff's book is an academic history of the fighting forces of Russia, supplemented by a studious analysis of the operations of the Soviet-German campaign in 1941. Alexander Poliakov, on the other hand, gives a stirring, hour-by-hour account of the activities of a Red Army unit in action in July, 1941, as seen by a participant.

Captain Kournakoff's main thesis is that Germany lost the war in July, 1941, because of a series of blunders on the part of the German High Command and the Red Army's strength, fortitude, and equipment. The author analyzes these factors in detail. His figures on the quantity and quality of Soviet material are based on Soviet publications. They seem as accurate as any estimates I knew of in Moscow and are probably more complete than any published to date under one cover in this country.

The Captain's outline of the history of Russia's armed forces, which goes back to medieval battles against Teutonic knights, has interest for students of military history but not much excitement for the layman. His play-by-play account of the Soviet-German war, based on the daily communiqués, is enlightening to anyone who tries to follow the operations of the present war. In a number of places, however, he gives no sources for his rather glib assertions—for example, on page 210, where he writes that "allowing for all kinds of mistakes and inaccuracies there is no doubt that the Russians are inflicting at least twice as many losses in men as they suffer themselves."

Throughout his book Captain Kournakoff adheres rigidly to the "party line." He suffers, moreover, from a narrow military point of view, and his book falls somewhat short of a 100 per cent orthodox characterization of Russia's fighting forces. Certain phases of the Red Army's history and activity considered important in Moscow are not mentioned. For example, Stalin, as quoted in the *Red Star* for February 22, 1940, characterize the Red Army as "... the army of the world proletarian revolution, the army of the oppressed and exploited peoples of the whole world. . . ." The captain interprets the Russian armies in terms of Russia's military history and the Red Army's present leadership, equipment, and personnel. The revolutionary character of the Red Army, which Stalin emphasizes, is hardly mentioned.

Captain Kournakoff, as he himself relates, comes from an old family of Russian military men. He served in the White Army against the Bolsheviks during the civil war, and for the past twenty-one years has been a resident of the United States. Although he has unquestionably been a careful student of Soviet military publications, the fact that he has neither

been in Russia nor had any direct contact with the Red Army for more than two decades limits the value of his work.

"Russians Don't Surrender" is a much more forceful book than Captain Kournakoff's, though it is hardly fair to make a comparison. The author, a correspondent for the *Red Star*, was attached to an unidentified unit, probably a division, which, passed by the advanced German army spearheads during the first days of the war, spent nearly a month—from June 27 until July 22, 1941—behind the German lines. According to all the traditions of modern war a unit thus surrounded, left dozens of miles behind the front, surrenders. Russians, however, do not surrender. The division had some munitions, a little food, and an indomitable will to destroy as many Germans as possible while behind the enemy lines, fight its way back eastward, and rejoin the main forces of the Red Army. The men suffered terrible privations. Poliakov himself, though a correspondent, took part in the fighting and was wounded three times. For three and four days running the men had no food, no water; they were shelled by enemy artillery, bombed by enemy planes.

The local peasantry, embittered by the German atrocities, gave every support to Poliakov's division. Village boys of eight and ten would go whistling up to a pool where German officers were bathing and while one or two boys cheerfully scrubbed the backs of the officers, others stole their dispatch cases from under their clothes on the bank and disappeared into the woods to give the valuable papers to the commanders of Poliakov's unit. The division not only fought its way back to the main Russian forces, but burned German supply dumps, misdirected enemy mechanized units, captured tanks, trucks, armored cars, and artillery, and destroyed whole units of the German army.

Poliakov does not mention the history or tradition of Russia's fighting forces. It is not necessary. He recounts only what he saw, and what he and his comrades did. It is an incredible story told in such a matter-of-fact manner that I frequently found myself under the impression I was reading a fairy tale. I had to thumb back over old newspapers to see that both the German and the Russian communiqués during the summer of 1941 had spoken of whole Red armies which, though left behind Hitler's mechanized units, did not surrender, but fought with what the Germans referred to as "insane Oriental bravery."

JOHN SCOTT

## Mitchell on Baldwin

**STRATEGY FOR VICTORY: A PROGRAM TO DEFEAT THE DICTATORS.** By Hanson W. Baldwin. W. W. Norton and Company. \$1.75.

FOR a nation at war the only important problem is how to win. "Strategy for Victory," by Hanson W. Baldwin, well-known military critic of the *New York Times*, is perhaps the best of several recent books on this subject. The author has the good sense to stay away from partial and easy



answers, and he does not, like Colonel Kernan, try to fit his book to the popular mood or overlook pertinent facts which might interfere with his conclusions. Nor is he a pleader for any special type of warfare. Add to these qualifications the fact that Mr. Baldwin is probably the best-informed military critic in the United States today, and the result is a volume that is thorough, objective, well-balanced, and to the point.

The book starts with an analysis of the present military situation of the United Nations. The vital fields of the war which they must hold in order to win are defined as Britain, the Caucasus, and the Middle East in the western theater of war; and Siberia, India and China, Hawaii, and the Alaska-Aleutians line in the Pacific. To these he would doubtless add the Atlantic lifelines. He does not find the physical possession of Australia any great advantage as it is at best a distant and insufficient base for use in a campaign against Japan. However, the holding of all of these territories is essential to our ultimate victory since the Axis has already made such immense gains that any further losses might be fatal. We can win, but only if we cease repeating the mistakes that Britain made before us.

These mistakes are rather definite. Internal divisions and pressure groups may be as fatal a handicap as weak organization and lack of responsibility where responsibility is needed. Mr. Baldwin justly condemns a public-relations policy which has kept from the American people essential war facts already known to the Axis and a propaganda that has wet-nursed the public by emphasizing minor successes and glossing over serious blunders and reverses. Public relations should be based on a policy of telling all the truth possible and should be more intelligently directed. He has no sympathy with pressure groups and no excuses for the clearly avoidable blunders of our Washington bureaucracy. Nor can he detect a well-thought-out plan for concentrating our power in vital areas in the present spraying of armed strength all over the map.

The use of army, navy, and air forces for taking a genuine offensive is well described. Present army plans are entirely inadequate to give us a victory on the continent of Europe without continued Russian resistance. The torpedo and bomb have replaced the gun as the dominating weapon in naval war, but the superiority of land-based over carrier aviation does not make as much of an impression on Mr. Baldwin as it does on Major de Seversky. Mr. Baldwin does not feel, for example, that the possibility of carrier raids on Japan or a sea-air offensive through the Japanese mandates is eliminated by the presence of enemy air bases.

By their very nature, such studies as "Strategy for Victory," written as they must be several months before publication, are open to criticism. The strategic situation in the Pacific, for example, has changed in several particulars since the book went to the printer. One surprising omission is the total lack of any mention of the plan prepared by the Joint Board of the War and Navy Departments in the fall of 1941, which, as a result of a departmental leak, was published in part in the *Chicago Tribune* three days before Pearl Harbor. The authenticity of this plan has never been denied, and subsequent happenings have tended to confirm its genuineness. It should therefore receive very careful consideration in any discussion of basic war strategy. A misspelling of the

name Cyprus on page 139 offers evidence of somewhat careless proofreading.

Some newspaper reporters have described Hanson Baldwin as "nerveless." It would be more accurate to say that he has strong emotions—at times he writes feelingly, almost passionately—but that they do not in the least affect his cool, realistic mind. Save for an underestimation of the Soviet Union and an inability to foresee the full weakness of Italy in the Greek campaign—in both errors he had plenty of company—his analyses and predictions have come remarkably close to the truth. The Hanson Baldwin fans, of which this reviewer is one, will not discover a great deal that is new in "Strategy for Victory." It does offer an impersonal, hard-headed approach to the problem of winning the war.

DONALD W. MITCHELL

## New Deal Washington

WASHINGTON IS LIKE THAT. By W. M. Kiplinger. Harper and Brothers. \$3.50.

WITH the aid of forty assistants, Mr. Kiplinger has turned out a useful and much-needed volume. In 502 highly readable pages the machinery of New Deal Washington is removed for the average citizen from a plane of suspicious theory to a level of concrete problem-and-solution. Rich in personal and chatty detail yet retaining the crispness of the Kiplinger letters, this combination guide and political handbook tells exactly how Nelson and Henderson go about the business of ordering war production, how farming has already become the most highly centralized industry in America, how each of the alphabetical agencies functions and through what kind of personnel, how lobbying has become a respectable and vital part of the American government, what Congressmen do when they're not going through the motions on the floor, how Supreme Court decisions are prepared, and a host of other pertinent facts ranging in scope from the raising of campaign funds to the regulation of prostitution in the capital. There is an optimistic chapter on the progress toward a fairer deal for Negroes in the federal structure and a well-intentioned, if theoretically dubious, discussion of Jews in government. Many chapters deal with Washington as a municipality and the daily lives of its citizens, and the book is generously sprinkled with thumbnail sketches (not too acute) of government, labor, farm, business, and society leaders.

Mr. Kiplinger's thesaurus is journalistic rather than ideological, but its rambling content is unified by two prime convictions, contradictory on the surface though not in fact. The first is that centralization of control over the national economy, call it state socialism or merely government planning, is here to stay and has in fact already gone a long way. Mr. Kiplinger sees the farm program, for example, as an accomplished "social revolution," furnishing "a general pattern for efforts to bring about an integration of other industries in the future." He expresses neither favor nor disfavor; he merely reports. But his reporting is hopeful, and he looks forward to "the greatest building era in history after the war." What makes him optimistic is the prospect that the economic planning of the coming new order will be a joint



project of government and private minds. Thus along with an increasing degree of centralized control he sees a trend toward a purer democracy, to be exercised through legitimate pressure groups and private cooperators, with Congress presumably acting as an arbiter, weighing the objectives of one pressure group against another. To further this working relationship between citizen and government he counsels a greater popular intimacy with the problems of administration and a greater degree of participation in politics. "Shrinking from politics," he writes, "is really a shirking. The reason people shrink is that they regard politics as something dark and mysterious." His book is intended to resolve the mysteries, and as far as the mechanics of government go—which is far enough for one book—it fulfils that purpose admirably.

ROBERT BENDINER

## Poems by Kenneth Patchen

**THE DARK KINGDOM.** By Kenneth Patchen. Harriss and Givens. \$2.25.

HERE is proof, if proof is needed, that Mr. Patchen is a poet. But he is also a seer, and there seems to be some danger that the seer will eat up the poet. It is possible that the seer has already taken a chunk out of the poet. What is left is, however, interesting enough. There is a wealth of exciting images and sharp phrases, sometimes splendid, sometimes horrible, always violent and apocalyptic ("Three naked girls hung by their hair/From the pole of the roof," "His tail was a spool of snakes," "My skeleton boy picks roses/in the infinite river of my walking," "Like the thinking/Of a mad man in a woolen cell," "The sick who sauce their doings with God"). The world of these images is only a nightmarish refraction of our world, and it is hard to see exactly how it is related to our ordinary world. No two poets establish this relationship between the ordinary world and the world of poetry in precisely the same way, but it seems that the poet is under some obligation to indicate the nature of the process by which the world of non-poetry becomes the world of poetry. The trouble is not that Mr. Patchen disregards the obligation, but that he accepts it too impatiently and desperately. He is not content bit by bit to lead us to discover his world. Instead, he affirms his world too vehemently, too whole-heartedly. The seer cannot wait on the slow process of poetic exploration. And this means that though there is poetry in this book there are few poems with a recognizable structure.

It would be interesting to try to define the vision which the seer seems to be too impatient to define fully in poetic terms for us. Provisionally, one might surmise that Mr. Patchen is struck by the contrast between the "horror" and the "beauty" of life at the level of nature, and is led to affirm the possibility of reconciliation upon another level. But that affirmation of the seer is, at present, vague and, it seems, too easy. Perhaps the affirmation needs more of the documentation which the poet in Mr. Patchen might provide.

ROBERT PENN WARREN

[Coming soon in *The Nation*: A review by Reinhold Niebuhr of "The Problems of Lasting Peace," by Herbert Hoover and Hugh Gibson.]

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## IN BRIEF

### THE HOUR BEFORE THE DAWN.

By W. Somerset Maugham. Doubleday, Doran and Company. \$2.50.

The twilight hour of Mr. Maugham's professional life is dark indeed. His latest novel, written with his chin up, his tongue in his cheek, and his eye on Hollywood, lacks the old cynicism, but it lacks, too, the old craftsmanship. However, in a stock story of how the war affects the lives of a typical English county family there is a point worth comment, that Mr. Maugham has a single refugee in the book, a young Austrian girl who turns out to be a Nazi spy and betrays the family and country that gave her refuge. It seems strange to have to remind the author of "Of H-m-n B-nd-ge" that to kindle suspicion of refugees in the minds of his large audience is scarcely cricket.

**GENTLE ANNIE.** By MacKinlay Kantor. Coward-McCann. \$2.

Want to read a Western? If you do, this is a first-rate one, with no pretensions to be anything but what it is—an exciting, two-listed, two-gunned yarn to sell to the movies. Mr. Kantor seems to be that rarest of all creatures, a person who can appear in his shirt-sleeves without needing to assure you that he has a coat in the closet. Recommended reading for a cheerful hour of escape.

**THE OTHER HORSEMAN.** By Philip Wylie. Farrar and Rinehart. \$2.

America wasn't at war when Mr. Wylie wrote this story of an American boy who comes home from war-torn England to find his family and his entire town fiercely isolationist. When written it was propaganda, but six months after Pearl Harbor Mr. Wylie's novel reads like history; it is published in the hope that like all history it has a lesson for the present. Mr. Wylie's anger produces a well-intentioned anatomy of reaction rather than good fiction.

**AND NOW TOMORROW.** By Rachel Field. Macmillan. \$2.50.

Rachel Field's last novel ran in *McCall's*. It is as good an example as you'll find of the talent it takes to write bad fiction for a wide public—the right blend of sentimentality and sincerity, the proper veneer of educated prose over stock situations and hollow characters. The story is made to formula: there's a heroine, of good family but diminishing

means, who loves unwisely, becomes deaf, loses her fiancé to her sister, regains her hearing, and marries the doctor who cures her. It is faintly interesting that "And Now Tomorrow" includes a labor situation; the world in which we live seems to require that even the women's magazines cast an occasional sympathetic but well-bred glance at the other side of the tracks.

**THE FOUNDATIONS AND THE FUTURE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW.** By P. H. Winfield. **DEMOCRACY: THE THREATENED FOUNDATIONS.** By Reginald Leonard. The Macmillan Company. \$1.25 each.

These two recent titles in the Current Problems Series, edited by Ernest Barker, compress authoritative information and timely interpretation into small compass.

### RECENTLY PUBLISHED

*The Globe Playhouse: Its Design and Equipment.* By John Cranford Adams. Harvard. \$5.

*Parity, Parity, Parity.* By John D. Black. The Harvard Committee on Research in the Social Sciences. \$2.

*Shooting the Russian War.* Written and Photographed by Margaret Bourke-White. Simon and Schuster. \$2.75.

*Education for Citizen Responsibilities: The Roles of Anthropology, Economics, Geography, History, Philosophy, Political Science, Psychology, Sociology.* Edited by Franklin L. Burdette. Princeton. \$1.50.

*The Judicial Function in Federal Administrative Agencies.* By Joseph P. Chamberlain, Noel T. Dowling, and Paul R. Hays. The Commonwealth Fund. \$3.

*Fair Is Our Land.* Designed and Edited by Samuel Chamberlain. Introduction by Donald Moffat. Hastings House. \$5.

*The Pocket Entertainer.* Compiled and with an Introduction by Shirley Cunningham. Pocket Books. 25 cents.

*Assignment to Berlin.* By Harry W. Flannery. Knopf. \$3.

*The Post-War Industrialization of China.* By H. D. Fong. National Planning Association. 50 cents.

*Pan American Progress.* By Philip Leonard Green. Hastings House. \$2.

*What's in a Novel.* By Helen E. Haines. Columbia. \$2.75.

*The Indian Problem.* By Viscount Halifax. Oxford. 15 cents

*Three Poets and Reality: Study of a German, an Austrian, and a Swiss Contemporary Lyricist.* By Ruth J. Hofrichter. Yale. \$2.

*Youth in the CCC.* By Kenneth Holland and Frank Ernest Hill. American Council on Education. \$2.25.

*Dialogue with Death.* By Arthur Koestler. Macmillan. \$2.

*Colloquial Japanese.* By William Montgomery McGovern. Dutton. \$1.85.

*Sonnets to Orpheus.* By Rainer Maria Rilke. Norton. \$2.50.

*Refugees at Work.* Compiled by Sophia M. Robison with a prefatory note by Eleanor Roosevelt. King's Crown Press. \$1.50.

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*Lincoln Among His Friends.* By Rufus Rockwell Wilson. Caxton. \$5.

## DRAMA

WITH his variety entertainment entitled "Laugh, Town, Laugh" (Alvin Theater) Ed Wynn helps "bring back vaudeville." More sensationally, "Star and Garter" (Music Box Theater) brings back burlesque—which hasn't been dead so long but which died violently at the hands of the Lord High Executioner Moss. At \$4.40 per seat burlesque is physically a good deal cleaner and brighter than it used to be but otherwise just about as dirty.

Ed Wynn's show has a number of good acts in addition to the featured performers—Jane Froman, a kind of female crooner if that is what you call them, and the Latin American dancer Carmen Amaya. It also has Wynn himself as master of ceremonies, but it is very economically produced and despite a good deal of talent somehow manages to add up to no more than a rather mild if perfectly decorous entertainment. "Star and Garter," on the other hand, is quite another matter. Michael Todd, the producer, has laid about him with a lavish hand to achieve one of the gaudiest and most generally splendidous orgies seen here in some time. He has also employed Bobby Clark to cavort while Gypsy Rose Lee poses or struts, and my guess is that though not everybody is going to like it, the show will be a big hit. I must confess that such aphrodisiac exhibits have always seemed to me a bit in the nature of Barmecide feasts, but the girls are unusually handsome and most artfully displayed. The minimal costumes (credited to Irene Sharaff) are especially original and display a kind of satiric wit which is quite delightful. It is, however, unfortunate that Miss Sharaff didn't write the words too. The Bunny, an elaborate, skilful, and childishly naughty "production number" has a good tune and comes off very well indeed. JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH



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## RECORDS

THE additional May records that I have been expecting from Victor have not yet arrived; but I have received Victor's June set of its abridged version of "The Barber of Seville" (Set 898, \$8.93), which is offered as something more than a mere collection of some of the favorite arias and a few of the duets and other concerted numbers. The version is called a "recordramatization"—the point of the title being that what has been recorded constitutes an abridged drama which is complete and continuous as far as it goes—which, in other words, is not dramatically discontinuous at any point because of anything that is omitted at that point. "The aim was to preserve all of Rossini's great solos, duets, and other ensemble pieces, as well as several of his most delightful recitatives. In addition, the problem was . . . to make, as far as possible, only those cuts which would impair neither the continuity of text nor a sensible presentation of the action." And there is also the statement that this is a recording of the production that Charles L. Wagner sent out on tour, which offered an abridgement that one would suppose was a dramatically continuous whole.

Since the claim is made I am bound to note that we get on side 11 the amusing "Peace and joy be with you" entrance of the Count disguised as Don Alonzo, and on side 12 the consternation-producing entrance of Basilio, but not the material that leads from the first entrance to the second and that is responsible for the consternation. And side 6 begins with Basilio's "You speak very well," omitting the statement of Bartolo which Basilio is commenting on. From this I suspect that the recording cuts the Wagner abridgement further; but having noted the discontinuities because of the importance that Victor sets on dramatic continuity, I will add that this continuity is essential in an abridgement for a stage performance, but not in a series of recorded excerpts which are going to be listened to with a printed text carrying the listener from one excerpt to the next. More important than the discontinuities I have mentioned, then, are the difficulties created by the fact that side 11 begins with Bartolo's solo recitative "Ma vedi il mio destino," whereas the text for this side omits this and begins with the Count's "Peace and joy," and that the text gives all the material leading from

the "peace and joy" passage to Basilio's entrance without indicating that this material is omitted on the record; and the difficulties created throughout by the way the text is arranged and inserted. What the set calls for is an alternation of (1) summary of what is omitted, to the point where something begins on the record, and (2) words that are sung, to the point where something is omitted—and all this printed in a booklet that can be held and followed easily. Instead the set gives a complete synopsis of the story first, then the isolated texts of the passages on the records, so that one is obliged to refer back to the synopsis to discover the context of a particular passage; and the sheets on which all this is printed are inserted in the album between the pockets containing the records—which would have point if what is on a sheet corresponded to what is on a record, but which is worse than pointless without this correspondence, since if one is playing the records on a machine without a record-changer one has to hold the heavy album filled with records and to keep flipping back and forth, first from the sheet with the text of the last record to the pockets of this record and the next, then back to the sheet with the text of the next record, then back to the synopsis to see where this occurs in the story, then back to the text.

These, fortunately, are defects which can easily be remedied, and which in any case affect what is less important than the music that is on the records and the way it is performed and recorded. This music is charming, amusing, at times delightful; it is conducted with appropriate lightness and sharpness by Bamboschek; some of it is well sung; and the recorded sound on a Scott 23 with either the light, wide-range Brush PL-25 pickup or the heavy, limited-range Astatic Tru-tan is very good—one difference being that Reggiani's soprano is agreeable with the Brush but cold and piercing with the Astatic, and another that the surfaces are a little gritty with the Brush and quiet with the Astatic. Reggiani's singing is in other ways—agility, accuracy, style—good; and Ramirez is an excellent Figaro. But Landi's tenor is unpleasant when he sings loud or fast or both; and in quiet passages his distortion of phrases is that of the Italian tenor at his worst (for the phrasing of the Italian tenor at his best listen to Schipa's Victor record of "Ecco ridente" and "Se il nome"). Garney has a beautiful bass, but not the voice nor the

style that can make Basilio's "Calumnia" aria effective or convincing. The others are acceptable in what they are called on to do.

Two groups are working to provide army camps, naval bases, and marine stations with records. Records for Our Fighting Men Inc. intends to collect old, unused records for sale to the record companies as scrap, and to use the proceeds for new records. Armed Forces Master Records Inc. is asking not for old scrap, but for good records—records of good music and in good condition. And inasmuch as the buyer of records nowadays has to surrender or pay for old records when he buys new ones, because the retail dealer has to obtain old ones to turn in to the manufacturer if he wants new ones, I would take scrap records to the dealer and give good records to Armed Forces Master Records Inc.

B. H. HAGGIN

## CONTRIBUTORS

ALEXANDER KIRALFY, an authority on military and naval strategy, has contributed to *Asia*, *The Nation*, and official publications of the United States army and navy. He is the author of "Victory in the Pacific: How We Must Defeat Japan."

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VICTOR RIESEL is on the staff of the *New York Post*.

AMO PALLAVICINI is a Frenchwoman recently arrived in the United States.

JOHN SCOTT, former Moscow correspondent of the London *News-Chronicle*, is the author of "Behind the Urals: An American Worker in Russia's City of Steel."

DONALD W. MITCHELL, a close student of naval and military policy in the United States, is *The Nation's* regular military analyst.

ROBERT PENN WARREN was until recently on the staff of the *Southern Review*. He has just published a new book of verse entitled "Eleven Poems on the Same Theme."

### INFORMATION FOR SUBSCRIBERS

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## *The Shape of Things*

CONGRESSMEN OF ALL PARTIES APPEAR TO be worried about their political fates in the coming elections, and their nervousness is manifesting itself in strange ways. It has led some of them, for instance, to challenge the right of citizens to examine and comment on the speaking and voting records of their representatives. More normal are the attempts to sidetrack supposedly unpopular issues, the efforts to propitiate organized groups, and the heightened interest in patronage. We should like to suggest that, far from smoothing its path to reelection, Congress as a whole is encouraging a movement "to turn the rascals out" which will result in sweeping changes on Capitol Hill. The temper of the electorate is absolutely against politics as usual. People are not interested in being let down gently in the matter of war sacrifices if as a result the war effort is hampered. They would like to have from their Congressmen more courageous leadership and less querulous straddling. They are not likely to overlook such matters as the Congressional record on inflation control, which has combined timidity and delay with downright obstruction. Price control was postponed for many months and when finally authorized was left with a yawning gap owing to Congressional subservience to the farm bloc. Now an attempt is being made to hamstring the Office of Price Administration by cutting down its appropriation from the \$161,000,000 requested by the Bureau of the Budget to \$75,000,000. If the Senate confirms this action by the House, Leon Henderson will be left to fight inflation with one arm tied behind him. It will be impossible to police effectively the price-ceiling orders, and the majority of defense districts are likely to be deprived of rent protection. Congress should understand that any upward revision in the cost of living will sit very badly with the voters.

✱

ANOTHER ACTION BY THE HOUSE CALLING for a lot of explanation is its blocking of the Department of Agriculture appropriation as amended by the Senate. Two points are at issue: the authorization of the sale of government-held farm commodities at below parity prices, and the appropriation of \$222,800,000 for the Farm Security Administration. Faced by a surplus of



wheat beyond all possible needs, the government wants to sell part of its stocks for feed at prices which will encourage the production of more meat and eggs. Both of these are commodities the demand for which threatens to outrun supplies. Many farmers and farm organizations support this move, but it is strenuously opposed by the Farm Bureau, which, representing mainly the large farmers, is determined to maintain the parity principle at all costs. This organization has also lobbied constantly against the Farm Security Administration, for reasons discussed by Dale Kramer in an article on page 28. The House has followed the Farm Bureau line, while the Senate has supported the Administration, although its amendment failed to restore to the bill the full appropriation asked for the FSA. Now there is a deadlock which has left the Department of Agriculture without funds to operate in the year which started on July 1. Replying to a letter signed by leaders of seven farm, labor, and religious organizations on July 3, the President strongly condemned the "pressure-group tactics" blocking the sale of government surplus grain and indorsed the Senate's proposals for the FSA appropriation as important to the war program.

✱

THE STRANGE, UNHAPPY POLICY OF THE United States toward our fighting allies, the Free French, is symbolized in the observance of Free French week, which begins this Wednesday. This is a popular celebration—as it should be. The people of the United States have a keen emotional regard for the courage and devotion to freedom which have led Frenchmen to leave their country and fight on every sea and continent for its liberation from the tyranny of Hitler. But Free French week will go unnoticed by our government. The celebration will open with an exchange of greetings between Wendell Willkie, speaking in New York, and General Charles de Gaulle in London. While our President keeps a discreet silence—the silence of appeasement—the honors are done by Mr. Willkie, who has somehow managed to become a sort of unofficial President who can do the things and say the things that Mr. Roosevelt would like to do and say but dare not. Though we admire his stand, we begrudge Mr. Willkie the role of spokesman for freedom; it should belong to the man we elected President.

✱

OUR NAVAL FORCES IN THE NORTHWESTERN Pacific celebrated July 4 by successful submarine attacks against Japanese destroyers, three of which were sunk while a fourth was left burning. These vessels were discovered in the westernmost Aleutians, where at least three islands have been occupied by Japanese forces of unknown strength. Added to previous losses inflicted by our airmen, the sinking of these warships makes the total bill paid by the enemy for his excursion into Alaskan

waters a fairly heavy one. Nevertheless, behind a curtain of fog which seldom lifts sufficiently for our air reconnaissance to observe their activities, the Japanese appear to be extending their hold in this desolate but strategically important region. Whether they are planning to pursue their island-creeping technique with a view to an eventual attack on Dutch Harbor and the Alaskan mainland, or whether their primary purpose is to establish bases for interrupting communications between the United States and the Russian Far Eastern provinces, it is impossible to say. But in either event Japanese occupation of the outer Aleutians is a menace which ought to be ended at the earliest possible moment. Air attacks, limited as they are by adverse weather conditions, are unlikely to be sufficient to accomplish the job, but it was the only form of activity reported by the army and navy until the Independence Day submarine foray. Consequently, there has been a tendency in some quarters to suggest that our service chiefs were not taking the Aleutian invasion seriously enough. We find this difficult to believe, but we hope that plans for expelling the Japanese will not prove long in maturing.

✱

BY THE TIME THIS ISSUE OF *THE NATION* appears, a New York draft board will have decided whether Ralph Ingersoll, editor of *PM*, is of more value to the country than Private Ingersoll of the United States army. When the board decided in the first instance that he belonged in the armed forces, Mr. Ingersoll—who volunteered in the last war a year before he was subject to the draft—quietly reported for induction, declined to appeal, and asked his employer, Marshall Field, not to appeal on his behalf. Despite this request, and we believe with good reason, Mr. Field did appeal, contending that the editor was waging an important battle on the home front—a fight for better morale, a fight against disrupters, intellectual saboteurs, and other war-time luxuries. But this kind of warfare breeds bitter enemies, and the appeal in Ingersoll's behalf has given his favorite targets an opportunity they could not fail to snatch. "He allows his country's call to go unanswered," says McCormick's *Chicago Tribune*, which has now to compete with Field's *Chicago Sun*. "Dodging the draft," says Cissie Patterson's inflammatory *Washington Times-Herald*. "So far as I know," says the brave Representative Rankin, hiding under the cover of Congressional immunity, "he is as patriotic as any man who ever dodged the draft—by proxy." And Coughlinite defenders of fascism, with fine irony, picket his offices. Do these mean-spirited little people demand that Ingersoll be drafted because they think he would make a great soldier, do they consider service in the United States army a punishment, or do they just want to get rid of a man who knows them for what they are and has had the courage to expose them?



HITLER BOASTED IN "MEIN KAMPF" THAT it would be a "simple matter" for him to produce unrest in the United States. "We shall soon have storm troopers in America . . . we shall have men whom degenerate Yankeedom will not be able to challenge." Yet in the six months that the Third Reich and "degenerate Yankeedom" have been at war Hitler and his agents have not accomplished a single large-scale act of sabotage against the American production that means their ruin; and when, for lack of inside talent, they were reduced to the desperate device of landing two contingents of Nazi wreckers with their supplies on the beaches of Long Island and Florida, these supermen were challenged so quickly that they had hardly had time to fill up on good American food before they were arrested and headed toward trial and swift judgment. As Francis Biddle pointed out the other day in his report on the campaign against sabotage, espionage, and sedition, we should not derive a false sense of security from the cheerful record of the first six months; but we can't help crowing a bit over the fact that the Nazis have had about as much success here as they had in Russia in recruiting a native fifth column of saboteurs; otherwise they would not be forced to attempt fantastic landings on our coasts.

✱

IN GENERAL THE LAST FORTNIGHT HAS been unhealthy for German agents in this hemisphere. Max Stephan, German-born, was convicted of treason in Detroit for assisting a Nazi prisoner of war, Hans Peter Krug, who had escaped from Canada and had been lavishly befriended by Stephan. Gerhard Wilhelm Kunze, Bund leader, who is wanted in Connecticut on charges of espionage, was arrested in Mexico after he had failed in an attempt to escape in a fishing boat. He has already been sent back to Hartford. And from the Canal Zone comes news of the arrest of twenty persons whose subversive activities included the supplying of fuel and information to Nazi submarines operating in the Caribbean. They are no doubt directly connected with many of the sinkings of the past weeks. The central figure in this story, which is, as usual, more sensational than fiction, is a business man of British Honduras who was also trying to escape by sea, presumably to board a Nazi submarine, when navy patrol planes captured his boat.

✱

BOTH THE INDIAN NATIONALISTS AND THE British government appear to be feeling their way toward a reduction in the gap that separates them, and as a result there has been some easing of political tension in India. A reorganization of the Viceroy's council has made possible increased Indian participation in the government on the lines proposed during the abortive Cripps mission. Sir Firoz Noon Khan, a moderate

Moslem, has been appointed Minister of Defense, and Dr. B. R. Ambedkar has been named Minister of Labor, thus giving the 60,000,000 "untouchables" of whom the latter is the leader a representative on the council for the first time. With the enlargement of the council non-official Indian members enjoy a clear majority. At the same time two Indians have been appointed to sit with the War Cabinet in London; this puts India in the same position on that body as the Dominions. While Britain has been making these concessions, Gandhi, in his usual frank way, has announced a change of views. He now believes that "foreign troops are necessary for a defense of India" and is therefore prepared to welcome the Anglo-American forces provided they leave as soon as the crisis is over. However, the Mahatma's statements are always subject to interpretation, and the gloss he himself offers on this occasion leaves much unclear. For instance, he thinks that the military forces protecting India should not exercise any authority over the people of India—a proposition which, to put it mildly, seems to offer insuperable administrative difficulties. Nor will practical Western minds be attracted by the suggestion that India express its philosophy of non-violence by sending ambassadors to Rome, Berlin, and Tokyo, "not to beg peace but to show them [the Axis powers] the futility of war."

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FRANCO'S ORDER PUTTING GENERAL QUEIPO de Llano under "forced residence" in Malaga could be dismissed as one more incident in the latent struggle between the army and the Phalanx if the past behavior of the General did not contribute a special flavor to this latest clash. As an officer Queipo's record in the Spanish war was neither better nor worse than Franco's, though he could at least boast of having won Seville and Cadiz at the very beginning and so of rendering a great service to the rebellion. But he injured his considerable military prestige by his ungoverned passion for oratory. Every night in broadcasts to Spain and Latin America he expounded his remarkable views on the war and the world at large—views which, it was generally believed, found their source in the excellent sherry of which Queipo was a connoisseur. Nevertheless, he held his high post of military boss of southern Spain until the end of the war. The peace did not agree with him. He was the first officer of his rank to take an open stand against the hegemony of the Phalanx, and Franco, in order to get rid of him, sent him to Italy on a special military mission. But on his return to Spain he came into constant friction with the group around Serrano Suñer, and his nationalist feeling hardened against the increasing, humiliating submission to Hitler's half-visible army of occupation. If he really went so far as to take part in an embryonic conspiracy, it would not be for the first time. He revolted against the monarchy at the end of



the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera; he revolted against the republic with Franco. Each time he revolted on the winning side; but for all that, his latest rebellion could easily be exaggerated, and we hope the State Department and the British Foreign Office will not be carried away by the illusion that they have at last found their Man.

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ABOUT 40 PER CENT OF THIS COUNTRY'S garment industry is located in New York City, not more than 5 per cent in the South. Yet when the War Production Board allocated contracts for army uniforms, the South got more than 40 per cent of the work and New York got less than 5. The explanation lies in the supposed saving on labor costs, the result of lower Southern wages, but in its zeal for economy the WPB has managed to upset the labor situation in both places. Lack of army contracts and war-time restrictions on civilian production have already cost 84,000 New York workers their jobs; the unions estimate that between 100,000 and 150,000 more will soon be unemployed. While the New York workers are idle, the Southern employers face a labor shortage. They must hire workers off the farms, where they are desperately needed, and spend valuable time teaching them the trade. While the New York shops are idle, the Southern operators, some of whom did not even have factories when they accepted contracts, are diverting critical materials from war production to build plants and machinery. Senseless and wasteful as all this is now, it is likely to have even worse consequences after the war, for both the plant capacity and the labor supply of the garment industry will far exceed the probable demand. The leaders of the needle-trade unions deserve a hearing on their request for an immediate reallocation of contracts.

## Odell Waller

TO MANY persons Odell Waller was just a man who had committed murder under somewhat extenuating circumstances. For such persons Waller's death, as the *New York Times* suggests, marks the "end of a chapter." A crime was committed and the appropriate penalty was exacted. But for thousands of other persons Odell Waller was a symbol of the faults which lie deeply imbedded in American democracy. The fact that Waller was both poor and a Negro made his case symbolic of the struggle of the under-dog in our society and—more especially—of racial discrimination. For this group his death does not mark the end of a chapter. Instead, it obstructs the solution of some of our most grievous social problems. It causes division in our ranks at a moment when unity is essential.

When, as a result of technicalities, all legal recourse

was blocked, we hoped to see the sentence against Waller commuted on purely humanitarian grounds, and we think Governor Darden made a grave mistake in sending him to his death. There was at least some reason to believe that the share-cropper killed his landlord in self-defense, and there was even better reason to question the fairness of the trial. He was convicted by a jury made up, in accordance with Virginia practice, only of poll-tax payers; as a consequence Negroes and share-croppers were automatically—though not legally—excluded, and it had been argued that Waller was therefore judged not by a jury of his peers but by men drawn from a higher economic level. As a matter of fact, all but two members of the jury were landowning farmers like the man he killed. Although the Supreme Court had refused, on purely technical grounds, to review the case, it was widely felt, especially among Negroes, that the Waller conviction was a bad case of class justice. This feeling linked the trial to the disturbing problem of the morale of America's 13,000,000 Negro citizens.

Negroes have heard the President define our war aim as freedom and democracy for all without regard to race, color, or creed. They have heard, within the past fortnight, an appeal for loyalty from Federal Security Administrator McNutt. Yet almost every day they read in their papers of some new indignity imposed on a member of their race by white men. Negro soldiers are beaten up in the South because they happen to offend some white person. Despite the President's Fair Employment Order, Negroes are barred from decent jobs not only in the war industries but in the government itself. They are barred from restaurants, hotels, and the better residential sections of most cities. In some instances, as in the case of the Red Cross blood bank, offense seems deliberately intended. And even where the bars are beginning to be let down, as in the navy, Negroes are often warned that the change is a result of war-time necessity and is not permanent.

With Japan making a bold bid for the solidarity of the colored races against "white imperialism," one would think that as a matter of essential strategy, if for no better reason, official Washington would be making every effort to strengthen Negro morale. McNutt's speech for the Negro Labor Victory Committee in Harlem indicates that at least some officials are deeply concerned over the situation. But the time has passed when Negroes are likely to be impressed by speeches or promises. They see that the government still discriminates against them in federal jobs, in the army, the navy, and the Marine Corps. And they attach great importance to cases like that of Waller.

As McNutt pointed out in his Harlem speech, we are today fighting two wars—one abroad, the other at home. When Odell Waller died we lost a battle on the home front.



# Taste of Defeat

BY FRED KIRCHWEY

IN WASHINGTON last week the atmosphere was tense—as it must have been in every capital from Moscow to Cairo. One American official expressed a bitterness that sounded like defeatism in commenting on the lack of capacity in the Allied war councils. He even mentioned the Waller case as one count in his indictment. But most of the people I talked to were grim rather than discouraged. They seemed to believe that the taste of defeat would rouse democratic energies and create more rather than less fighting spirit. American officials seemed calmer than the two or three Europeans I ran into. These latter live with the sense of Nazi power always in their minds. They read into the news from Egypt and London and Moscow the defeats their countries have suffered, the fatal weaknesses their governments—even they themselves—revealed in hours of decision. Americans are calm not only out of innocence. Their self-confidence has behind it power and the sense of power. But it may lack realism.

One European diplomat said of both the British and the Americans: "They seem to treat each defeat as if it were a single episode. It is explained or deplored and then dismissed as something past that mustn't happen again. They don't see these things as part of a sequence—a mounting accumulation—new ground lost to an enemy that so far has held all but a few miles of the thousands conquered. They don't seem to sense the cumulative effect of the whole series of defeats on those still fighting, on the conquered who must revolt, on the neutrals who must side with us."

Everyone seemed to assume a Western European front was necessary but would be delayed by the struggle in Egypt. One or two Americans spoke of a second front as if the announced decision to open it was in itself an accomplishment—something done. One diplomat from a conquered country expressed the utmost skepticism about it. He said Russia was facing the greatest danger it had yet encountered and could only be saved by a powerful diversion in the West. In place of that he expected talk, promises—and delay.

Much of the talk centered on Churchill's visit and his speech, then in progress, before the House of Commons. It was assumed by everyone I met that the Prime Minister would survive the test but would be weakened by it. "What can they do? There's nobody to replace him," was a frequent comment. Neither Cripps nor Eden seemed to be a possible successor to Churchill. Eden's unbroken record of weakness in time of crisis is held against him, despite his recent success in negotiating the agreement with Russia; Cripps is looked upon as able, stubborn, of

fine moral fiber, but weak in Parliament and incapable of winning the confidence of the military.

There was some talk—but vague—of the need for a united high command, some suggestion that it should be headed by an American. What had we done to merit such responsibility and power? Nobody knew. Our virtue seemed to be that we had been less badly defeated than our allies and that the greatest potential strength lay in America. It was generally admitted that both China and Russia had been subordinated—for no conceivable reason apart from pride or prejudice—in the Allied councils. And it was agreed that this is bad strategy.

So much for Washington. I pass on these comments only because they indicate the state of mind I sensed in one of the blackest weeks since 1939—though no one even suggested the possibility of ultimate defeat.

Since my return, the situation has improved in Egypt and worsened in Russia. Sevastopol was counted lost last week. Today that heroic defeat has taken its place in the spreading eastward drive of the Nazi armies. There will be no Tobruks along the way, but the Red Army is yielding ground and German wedges have been driven through its lines to the Don River and the crucial railway connecting Moscow and Rostov. Resistance continues to be terrific. But as this page is being written it is clear that the great German offensive is at last under way. Whether the Russians single-handed can stop the Nazi machine is a question that hangs like a cloud over the Allied councils. Whatever may ultimately be done about a second front, the bitter fact is that no diversion is in sight at this hour when it is so desperately needed.

Meanwhile, the pressure in Egypt has been relieved, at least for the moment. The British counter-attack may have broken the momentum of Rommel's drive. But it is too early to feel confident. Auchinleck has drawn reinforcements into Egypt from Syria and other Middle Eastern countries, weakening defenses already hardly adequate. Meanwhile the Germans are said to be moving mechanized troops through the Balkans into Greece. Whether these forces will be sent to bolster Rommel's position or are being assembled in preparation for a drive through Syria to Iraq and Iran is still uncertain. A serious weakening of Allied defenses in those countries might easily provoke an attack.

Whatever may be the outcome of the momentous battles now under way in Russia and in the eastern Mediterranean, one thing is certain: a single, comprehensive pattern of conquest is taking shape in which the Axis forces are combining to put pressure on all fronts at once and prevent the beleaguered armies of the United Nations from gaining the offensive anywhere. At some point—in Russia, in Egypt, in the West—that pattern must be smashed. Somewhere the Allies must seize the initiative. Until that happens we cannot expect any relief from the bad news that crowds our newspapers.



# *Ships and New Fronts*

BY PAUL MAXWELL ZEIS

**T**HREE hundred ships torpedoed close to our shores have made America acutely aware of the shipping crisis. The great tanker traffic to our Eastern ports has virtually ceased; imports of coffee, bananas, cocoa, and other products have been sharply curtailed; supplies for our allies have begun to pile up on the docks awaiting shipment. The output of our yards has increased rapidly, but we are still losing ships more rapidly than we are building them. The amount of merchant shipping at the disposal of the United Nations today is little if any larger than the 45,000,000 dead-weight tons controlled by the Allies in 1918. This tonnage scarcely met our needs in what was primarily a North Atlantic war. Now we need fleets of merchant vessels in every ocean. Yet even if we withdrew virtually every ship from the Pacific and Indian oceans, we should hardly have enough for effective prosecution of the war in Europe.

During the summer of 1918, with shipping being utilized at its maximum efficiency, about 18,000,000 dead-weight tons were used to supply the Allies with essential imports. Britain alone required a minimum of 9,000,000 tons. Essential service for the coasting trade, the colonies, and neutrals required another 10,000,000 tons. About one-fifth of all Allied ships were assigned to military or naval service. Some of these vessels served as naval auxiliaries; others were engaged in transporting and supplying the armies in the field. Most of the remaining tonnage was undergoing repairs made necessary by enemy attack or obsolescence. Under the rigid rationing system prescribed, British imports fell 50 per cent below pre-war amounts.

Britain's shipping requirements in this war are certainly far greater than in 1918. It imports as much food now and considerably more raw materials. Its industrial plant today is larger and is more completely engaged in the production of war supplies. One factor increasing Britain's need for ships has been the enormous expansion in the use of petroleum and its products. Britain has no oil and must import enough to satisfy the tremendous demands of its navy, much of its merchant shipping, and a considerable portion of its industrial plant. The use of gasoline for planes, tanks, and other military equipment is many times that of 1918. Whereas Britain's bare import requirements totaled 35,000,000 tons during the last war, its minimum annual requirements today must be at least 45,000,000 and possibly 50,000,000 tons.

Not only does a vastly increased amount of goods have to be transported, but port facilities today are strained in a manner undreamed of twenty-five years ago. The danger of enemy air attack has destroyed much of the usefulness of England's Channel ports and impaired the effectiveness of those on the North Sea. The remaining ports can operate only during daylight. The cumulative effect of these difficulties is to diminish the number of voyages which each vessel can make.

Even more significant is the elimination of short-haul voyages, the necessity of bringing all supplies from countries several thousand miles away. In normal times Britain received nearly one-third of its imports from Europe, and this was largely true even in 1918. The Nazi conquest of the Continent has of course eliminated all possibility of obtaining food, lumber, ore, or other products from sources close at hand. Finally, the virtual severing of Britain's life line through the Mediterranean has required the rerouting of all shipping from India and the East around the Cape of Good Hope, and reduced by at least one-third the effective carrying capacity of this shipping. In these circumstances the minimum tonnage necessary to satisfy Britain's requirements is probably nearly 15,000,000 dead-weight tons.

The submarine is perhaps even more effective in this war than it was twenty-five years ago. The Germans now have free use of French ports, while the Allies are denied access to the southern Irish bases which were so valuable in anti-submarine work during the last war. It is no longer possible as in 1918 to establish a semi-blockade of the enemy's submarines by laying mine fields across the English Channel and the North Sea. Improvements in design have enabled submarines to operate with success even on this side of the Atlantic, and heavy Allied naval requirements in the Mediterranean and the Pacific have reduced materially the number of anti-submarine craft available in the North Atlantic and along our own coasts. While we shall probably be able to prevent losses at the catastrophic rate of 1917, it is unlikely that with the naval units available we shall be able to reduce sinkings much below the 250,000 gross tons a month incurred during most of 1918. Since Dunkirk there have been relatively few months when shipping losses dropped much below this figure. Many factors not now foreseen may effect a change in the rate, but on the basis of what has happened it would be unwise to expect British and Canadian shipyards to do more than replace the ships that are sunk in the Atlantic.



Net additions to the Allied fleet and replacements for Pacific sinkings must come from American production.

As new shipping becomes available, some of it will surely be earmarked for supplying the Soviet Union. A glance at the map reveals the tremendous difficulties involved. The shortest route from New York to the Arctic ports is approximately 5,000 miles, through waters which may be impassable for much of the year. The long route around Africa is nearly 15,000 miles. Ships on this route cannot hope to complete more than three voyages a year. A third route across the Pacific to Vladivostok has been closed by Japan's entry into the war. To send two ships a day to Russia, certainly not a vast amount of help, will require the continuous service of at least 200 ships.

If the war is to be won, it seems certain that a second front must be established in Western Europe to take the pressure off the Russians in the east. The assembling of an American expeditionary force in Britain clearly foreshadows an invasion of the Continent. The establishment and maintenance of this front will require a vast amount of shipping, an amount for which no reliable measure is furnished by the shipping requirements of the French, American, and British forces in the last war. The troops at the front then were supported by French factories and farms, but now they will have to obtain the bulk of their supplies from overseas. In 1918 shipping experts estimated that between 7,000,000 and 10,000,000 tons of shipping would be necessary to transport and maintain an American army of 2,000,000 men in France without aid from that country. In this era of mechanized warfare the estimate would have to be raised.

The problem is further complicated by the destitution of the conquered peoples. The Nazis have already drained away from Western Europe nearly all the reserves of food, clothing, and materials. If they are driven from France, or Norway, or Italy, they will certainly destroy everything of value before they leave. The invading Allies will face the immediate problem of supplying the minimum requirements of food, clothing, and fuel for millions of people. How much tonnage might be needed for this purpose is a matter of conjecture, but certainly the establishment of a second front in Western Europe will ultimately require millions of tons of shipping in excess of that which entered the ports of continental Europe during the last war.

Moreover, in at least two other regions of the world—the Middle East and the Orient—great Allied armies must be maintained or established. In both areas the paucity of industrial plants in the immediate vicinity makes it necessary for the vast bulk of military supplies to come by sea over routes many thousands of miles long. Under strong protection the British have been able to

get a few convoys through the Mediterranean, but losses both to shipping and to the naval escort vessels have been severe. Even the ships circumnavigating Africa have risked destruction by German submarines operating presumably from some point on the west coast of Africa, and this route has become far more perilous now that Japanese surface raiders are able to penetrate the Indian Ocean. Lack of shipping has been the most important factor restricting the striking power of the British Middle Eastern armies. To strengthen these armies it seems almost imperative to reopen the Mediterranean sea route. But this can only be achieved by the opening of a western front either in Europe or in French North Africa, which in turn will create vast new demands for ships. In whatever direction Allied strategists turn, the difficulty is always the same—there just are not enough ships.

In the Pacific the crisis is even more severe. It is estimated that Japan has used about 500,000 troops in its conquests of recent months. Pitted against a greatly inferior enemy, its forces were operating in waters relatively close to Japan itself or to well-established Japanese bases. In retaking the ground lost to Japan the United Nations will be confronted with a problem of quite different magnitude. Whether Japan is finally defeated in the East Indies, in China, in Russia, or in Japan proper is immaterial for the purposes of the present discussion. In any case it is obvious that tremendous naval and air forces and powerful expeditionary armies will be required. Considering Japan's great strategic advantages it is conservative to estimate that 2,000,000 well-equipped troops will be needed to destroy its fighting power. These soldiers may come from Australia, India, China, or Russia, as well as from Britain and America, but most of their equipment will have to come from America. Ships will have to make round trips of nearly 20,000 miles while constantly running the risk of destruction by Japanese submarines or surface units. It is no exaggeration to say that the maintenance of supplies to these armies may require more than 2,000 ships. In fact, ultimate shipping requirements in the Pacific will probably exceed those in the Atlantic. Distances across the Pacific are so much greater that it takes two or three ships to transport the same amount of cargo in a year that can be carried by one Atlantic vessel.

The one bright spot in the picture is the tremendous increase of construction in American yards. The present construction program of the Maritime Commission is for 2,900 vessels totaling about 31,000,000 dead-weight tons. This is nearly twice the projected program of the Shipping Board in the last war. And this time ships are actually being completed in time to be of use. Few of the vessels contracted for by the Shipping Board after our entry into the war in 1917 were completed in time to be put in service before the Armistice. Our ship-



building program aided the Allies only in the sense that they were able to reduce imports below the safety point in 1918 on the assumption that excess tonnage would be available in 1919.

The last three years have witnessed a phenomenal increase in the number of yards and ways available for the construction of merchant shipping. Production has increased from a little more than 100,000 tons a year in 1938 to 700,000 tons a month at the present time. Ships are now being launched at the rate of about two a day, and before the end of this year it is hoped that they will be completed at a rate of three or four a day. On the basis of progress already achieved it seems probable that the program of 786 ships of 8,000,000 tons to be produced this year can be fulfilled. In subsequent years production of 10,000,000 or even 15,000,000 tons of shipping a year can be attained. Ultimately American construction will more than compensate for ship sinkings and create a constantly increasing reservoir of essential shipping for use in the war effort.

But the increased output of American yards can do little to alleviate our shipping shortage this summer and

fall. Our military strategists will be plagued with transportation difficulties throughout this critical year. Developments in Europe and Africa may compel the establishment of a western front regardless of risk. By careful planning and rigid rationing of tonnage we *may* find the necessary shipping. We cannot do so, however, without placing serious restrictions on our effort in the Middle East and the Orient.

In brief review, the present Allied tonnage of some 45,000,000 dead-weight tons is just sufficient to furnish essential neutral services, to supply auxiliaries for existing navies, to ferry supplies to Britain, and to maintain relatively small forces in the Middle East and the Orient. Invasion of Western Europe or North Africa with large armies and the maintenance of really strong forces in the Middle East might well require a 50 per cent increase of present tonnage. Any great war effort in the Orient would require another 50 per cent increase. For really adequate conduct of the war the United Nations need two ships for every one they now possess. The hope for victory rests with the American shipbuilding program.

## *Farmers vs. the Farm Bureau*

BY DALE KRAMER

**B**EHIND the battle in Congress over appropriations for the Farm Security Administration is a struggle which conceivably may change the direction of American agriculture. It has been smoldering for a long time. On the surface it appears to be a difference between the top third of the farmers, who take the cream of agricultural income, and the rest, who divide the blue milk. But the effort of the New Deal to assist the bottom group and the alliance between the spokesmen for the well-to-do farmers and the lobbyists for big business have added far-reaching political implications.

Of immediate importance is the effect that an adequate appropriation for the FSA will have on the Food for Victory program recently outlined by Secretary of Agriculture Wickard. The department's chief economist, H. R. Tolley, summed up the situation briefly in testimony before the Joint Committee on Reduction of Non-Essential Federal Expenditures, headed by Senator Byrd of Virginia:

Low-income farmers usually do not have the capital or the credit for machinery or the ability to use labor effectively. They have not used their labor effectively, by and large, in past years, and there is a great reservoir of partly employed farm labor that is going to be, we believe, very needed in 1942 and in 1943, and as long

as this [war] keeps on, to produce the food that is needed by the people of our country, by our allies abroad, and by our armed forces.

More specifically, the Farmers' Union, second largest farm organization and the most progressive of the major groups, estimates that in 1943 half a million low-income farmers, if given FSA help, can supply an army of 2,400,000 men with milk, cheese, and eggs for a year, and with potatoes, pork, and butter for six months.

The attack on the FSA by the economy forces in Congress, like that on the CCC and NYA, was anticipated. Many diatribes against assistance to marginal farmers were delivered before the Byrd committee. When Southern politicians learned that FSA clients had enfranchised themselves by paying poll taxes out of their loans, their protests became even more violent. It developed that FSA officials were aware of this use of the loans. As soon as the Southern Senators—Glass of Virginia, McKellar of Tennessee, George of Georgia, and Byrd—had recovered from this shock, they put C. B. Baldwin, FSA administrator, through a sharp cross-examination. Baldwin, supported by Senator La Follette, fought back, justifying the payment of poll taxes out of FSA loans on the ground that it helped to rehabilitate farmers by giving them a feeling of greater responsibility as citizens.



The debate became so acrimonious at one point that Senator Glass threatened to bar Baldwin from Virginia, despite the fact that Virginia is the FSA administrator's home state.

The Senate finally voted the appropriation, though it cut \$70,000,000 from the sum requested by the President. The House balked, and in recent weeks liberal farm groups, labor organizations, and religious bodies have been trying to break the deadlock.

From the long-range point of view the most important development of the battle has been the appearance of leaders of the Farm Bureau, the most powerful member of the farm bloc, against the appropriation. The Bureau's president, Edward A. O'Neal, an Alabama planter, not only opposed the FSA but showed his organization's growing animosity toward the New Deal's whole agricultural program, speaking with some bitterness of both ex-Secretary Wallace and Secretary Wickard. On the other hand, representatives of the department placed in the record some facts showing the Bureau's misuse of its government connections. The undercover struggle thus brought partly into the open is the more interesting because the Department of Agriculture created and nourished the Farm Bureau.

During World War I county farm bureaus were established by the department in rural areas to help increase production. County agents distributed literature on scientific farming and gave personal attention to knotty problems. Later home demonstrators advised farm women on better methods of canning, chicken-raising, and the other tasks of the farm wife. Boys and girls were organized in 4-H Clubs which became schools of scientific farming. In time the county farm bureaus were consolidated into state groups, and in 1920 the American Farm Bureau Federation was established as an independent organization. In the years that followed, Republican administrations recognized the advantage of an organization which, as the Farm Bureau's first national president boasted, helped to keep down "unrest" among farmers.

Other government-financed services were tied in. The county agent's office housed the local Farm Bureau; the agent solicited Farm Bureau dues, sent out Farm Bureau letters in franked envelopes, and put Farm Bureau news in the local newspapers under his name. The 4-H Clubs were brought under the auspices of the Farm Bureau, and the government-paid home demonstrator organized her meetings under the Farm Bureau banner. Some state legislatures were induced to grant financial aid; in Iowa, for example, each county must furnish a sum double the total of all Farm Bureau dues. To swell the treasury small-town business men were enlisted as members. Naturally, leaders of other farm organizations found it difficult to compete against such ample funds and were infuriated. The late Milo Reno, a prominent officer of the Farmers' Union and a leader of the farm risings in

the latter days of the Hoover Administration, early warned department officials. "You are creating a Frankenstein monster," he said, "and some day it will destroy you."

Certain unsavory operations of the Farm Bureau leaders during the 1920's, revealed in the Muscle Shoals investigation, caused Senator George W. Norris to declare that "the time will come when . . . American farmers will realize by whom they are being deceived," but the department passed over the unpleasantness. In his investigation Norris discovered that Farm Bureau leaders had sold their organization lock, stock, and barrel to the American Cyanamid Company and others who opposed government operation of the fertilizer project—though under government operation farmers would have obtained cheaper fertilizer. Evidence read into the record showed that Farm Bureau officials had also sold their educational facilities—along with the services of the government-paid county agents, home demonstrators, and 4-H Club leaders—to other big-business groups. Among the purchasers were the Asphalt Institute, the National Lumbermen's Association, the Copper and Brass Research Association, and several utilities. Farm Bureau officers made a proposal to the American Ship-owners' Association to propagandize for ship subsidies in return for a fee of \$94,000, but it was rejected, as was an offer to assist the chain stores. The investigation showed that men posed as Farm Bureau speakers when in reality they were paid representatives of big-business groups, and that propaganda was inserted into so-called educational moving pictures. The smaller government employees and volunteer workers were unaware that they served the selfish ends of national Farm Bureau leaders.

The New Deal agricultural leadership is not entirely without responsibility for the present situation. Early in 1933, after more than three years of depression, disillusioned farmers had left the Farm Bureau by the hundreds of thousands. The AAA gave the organization new life by permitting the tremendous stream of benefit checks to flow partly through the Farm Bureau machinery. The county agent became a more powerful figure in rural areas than ever. In Alabama, O'Neal's home state, blanks were franked out which, when signed by the recipients, authorized the Farm Bureau to deduct dues from the benefit checks. It was government mail and the AAA worksheet was mentioned; the hint could not escape the farmer. An investigation conducted recently by the department, some of the results of which were inserted into the records of the Byrd committee, showed that in the South, particularly in Alabama, government-paid officials still assisted in membership drives, letters of an organizational nature were franked out, and Farm Bureau officers often sat at the side of the government representative who handed out the benefit checks,



to cash the checks and deduct Farm Bureau dues. H. L. Mitchell, general secretary of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, in a comprehensive survey revealed that a great many tenants and farm workers are Farm Bureau members without their consent and even without their knowledge, since landlords "set off" their dues from wages and crop shares.

The conflict between the Farm Bureau and the department developed partly because the wealthier commercial farmers who dominate the Bureau have no desire to see their poorer neighbors come into competition with them, partly because these leaders are conservatives who have always worked closely with the large corporations. Whether or not the policy of selling the organization's apparatus directly to interested parties for propaganda purposes has been discontinued is impossible to say, but a new investigation like the one once conducted by Senator Norris should be worth a Senate committee's time. Some of the worst offenders, it is true, have left the Farm Bureau pay roll. But they have gone directly to one or another of the big-business groups they formerly served secretly, and they retain influence in Farm Bureau councils.

The department is finding, like Dr. Frankenstein, that its "monster" has unexpected vitality. In some states statutory action will be necessary to separate the Farm Bureau from the department's extension service. Efforts to enact such legislation by enemies of the Farm Bureau in Minnesota and Iowa have failed. Many of the exten-

sion leaders, some holding posts in state agricultural colleges, others protected by civil service, are conservative and want to see the Farm Bureau retain its power. But if the department enforces its rule against the use of government funds or employees in organizational work, the Farm Bureau will suffer greatly.

The chief beneficiary of such a policy is likely to be the Farmers' Union. The Grange, which though generally conservative is opposed to government assistance to the Farm Bureau, will be aided to some extent, but it is less aggressive than the Union. In some states—Wisconsin, the Dakotas, Montana, Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado, and Oklahoma—the Farmers' Union is already more powerful than the Bureau, and it is gaining elsewhere. Its president, James G. Patton of Colorado, is young and aggressive; most of the narrow-minded, breast-beating leaders typical of old farm movements have been shaken out. Patton has established close working relations with the C. I. O., the A. F. of L., and the railroad brotherhoods. The Southern Tenant Farmers' Union has under consideration a plan to join the Farmers' Union in a body. Meanwhile, the Farm Bureau national leadership has suffered an added blow in the defection of the Ohio and Vermont units, whose representatives differed sharply with O'Neal at the FSA hearings. It appears probable—unless John L. Lewis's farm drive proves too disruptive—that a progressive organization which can speak for a majority of the farmers is at last on the way.

## Thoughts on "World War III?"

[In The Nation of June 20 J. Alvarez del Vayo raised questions of such importance for the achievement of a democratic victory and a people's peace that the editors asked a number of persons of various nationalities, experts in the field of international relations, to contribute to a discussion of the main points of his article. Some of the comments received were printed last week, others appear below, and the rest will appear in subsequent issues.]

### G. A. BORGESSE

Professor of Italian Literature at the University of Chicago and author of "Goliath: The March of Fascism"

I DO not think that the new pact between Russia and Britain or Russia's understanding with the United States offers a basis on which the democratic forces in the United Nations can work toward the establishment of a people's peace in Europe and the world. Needless to say, the agreements of Stalin with the Tory gentle-

men are infinitely more palatable than his pact of 1933 with the Nazi gangsters. Russia, however, not only has endorsed the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other states—a principle which, as Mr. del Vayo points out, includes the germs of a Metternich peace—but has also, in the treaty with England, insistently separated the European sector from the global war and, what is worse, admitted the possibility of a period of twenty years or more during which the balance of power should rule the world. Now this is exactly the "cooling off" period in which the egg would be preserved for the Metternich-Talleyrand peace to hatch.

The heavy pressure, military and political, to which Russia is subjected may explain the deal. It does not make of it the base for a new world.

I do not think that disarmament and the creation of a new League of Nations with broader powers backed by an international police force would be a strong enough alternative to a peace based on the balance of power. I do think that a different and more thoroughgoing system



of collective security should be substituted for the League.

The form of the new system, whatever the transitional stages may be—though let them be as brief and purposive as possible—should be world federation under a collective supreme power.

I think, with Mr. del Vayo, that only a socialist reconstruction of Europe can provide the basis for a durable peace. I also think that socialism—whatever the temporary and local qualifications of its meaning—is a universal way of life and that a socialist peace in Europe cannot be durable unless Europe is a part of a peaceful and progressively socialist world.

I do not approve of Article 3 of the Atlantic Charter, which makes possible the continued existence of fascist states after the war. Nor do I approve of the clause "with due respect for their existing obligations," which leaves, in Article 4 of the Atlantic Charter, a large loophole for economic imperialism. Nor do I approve of the clause in Article 8 "pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security," which, however involuntarily, includes the germs of the "cooling-off" period and of a Metternich-Talleyrand—or neo-clerico-fascist—New Order.

I do not think that the interests of the people can make themselves felt at the next peace conference, or in the international machinery that already is being set up, through the intervention of the existing political parties or through the creation of new ones, which would have little opportunity for adequate development or for effective intercommunication in the various sectors and continents of the world at war. Nor do I think it desirable, and I hope it can be avoided, that "ultimate control be taken out of the hands of the old-line diplomats" by the explosion of bloody, destructive, and uncoordinated revolutions.

It was clear immediately after Munich that a different way should be attempted. A group of people offered a mode of action which they called "The City of Man." It was described in *The Nation* as a "realistic Utopia." The concept was that a few people, as responsible intellectually as they were free of commitments to established parties and of ambition for direct political power, should examine systematically but promptly the most decisive issues, thus providing the masses with inspiration and the leaders—in so far as they need it—with the content for their leadership.

With that name, or with whatever other name may seem preferable, with that group or another, and with other people—not too many—added to the initial group, I believe more firmly than ever that such an approach is the only way to obtain results in thought and action before it is too late. This is a concrete proposal for the friends of *The Nation* and for Mr. del Vayo to consider. His admirable article should not remain unproductive.

## JULIUS DEUTSCH

*Former Minister of War of Austria; General in the Spanish Republican army*

THE old diplomacy which del Vayo describes so sarcastically cannot rid itself of the old concepts regarding an international order. But we live in an era of upheaval that yearns for new forms. The balance of power, the traditional requisite of diplomacy, would—if it were to be reestablished—be again upset, as always, and this disturbance would lead to new wars. To prevent this the new order in the world must no longer be built upon the sovereign power of individual states but upon the sovereign power of a superstate organization. The individual states would then have less power but more rights. The task we should have to perform would, in this event, not be the establishment of a balance of power, but the securing for each state of as many rights as are essential for its existence and further development—a balance of rights, in short, rather than a balance of power.

Within the limitations of a short article this thought can only be touched upon, but perhaps I shall succeed in making myself understood if I describe in broad outline the international organization of states I have in mind.

The post-war international federation of states should be controlled by an international parliament. Thus there would no longer be career diplomats; in their stead, direct representatives of the people would participate in leading positions. Thus the question whether fascist states should be permitted to take part in an international federation would solve itself. Their participation would in practice be impossible since the exercise of political rights by the citizen is a prerequisite of the international parliament. Whether members of the international parliament should be elected by the citizens of a country or appointed by its national parliament is a question of secondary importance.

An international federation of states without sufficient authority would be still-born, as was the League of Nations after the Versailles treaty. At least the following prerogatives should be considered within the sphere of the federation:

1. International police authority (the armed services).
2. Control of national currencies by a federation bank.
3. International economic regulations (trade and commerce).
4. International control of means of transportation on land, by sea, and in the air.
5. International judiciary.
6. International education.

This enumeration is, of course, not complete; it is merely designed to point to some of the more important possibilities. Once an international superstate has been



formed, the sphere of its authority is bound to develop.

On one point no concessions must be made if future wars are to be averted: policing is the business of the federation; the individual states are and must remain disarmed. A period of transition will of course be unavoidable, for without immediate and complete disarmament of the vanquished dictator states there can be no real peace. Disarmament of the dictator states is a problem that is quite capable of solution—technically as well as politically. Just one example: if these states were deprived of the right to develop aviation—including aviation for commercial and transportation purposes, too—they would have no opportunity to rearm in a field decisive for modern warfare.

It is self-evident that an international order along such lines presupposes a certain homogeneity in the political life of the nations, although it need be by no means uniform. But even far-reaching social assimilations would come to pass more or less swiftly. The states will have to gain control over the vital production centers lest the producers some day set themselves up as masters of the nations' destinies. In other words, to destroy the economic springs of fascism—in Germany, heavy industry and the big landowners—is for democracy no less than a question of life or death.

## REINHOLD NIEBUHR

*Professor of Applied Christianity at Union Theological Seminary*

MR. DEL VAYO is quite right in his apprehensions about the hazards we face in establishing a decent peace. Complacency in regard to the war might still cause victory to elude us; and complacency about the possibilities of a durable peace might prove equally disastrous. The democratic forces are on the whole weak and disorganized. Who, for instance, can believe that British labor will be the dominant force in a post-war Britain?

There are, however, some hopeful elements in the situation. It can hardly be denied that Britain has learned the lesson that it cannot maintain order on the Continent merely by manipulating a precarious balance of power between Continental nations. It is probable, though not certain, that we have learned the necessity of participating responsibly in building a community of nations. We may, of course, succumb once more to a psychosis of fear, disillusionment, and withdrawal from the world. But it is not likely. These lessons, which nations learn by bitter experience, are not merely the acquisition of the radical and labor forces. While it is certainly true that a triumph of reaction in the field of domestic politics would seriously imperil creative international arrangements, it is not true that a decent peace depends altogether upon the victory in the domestic struggle of the traditional radical and labor forces. The

fact is that an understanding, or lack of it, of what the international situation requires has cut across the traditional party lines in a remarkable way in recent years. I should think that the British political situation offers better hopes for the future than the weakness of the Labor Party would seem to justify.

Mr. del Vayo seems to me to be in error in fearing that the world may revert to the traditional balance-of-power politics. I should regard the peril of a new imperialism as much greater than the danger of an old balance of power. The four great powers—Russia, China, Britain, and America—are bound to dominate the peace in the event of an Axis defeat. The new understanding with Russia increases the chances of war-time arrangements becoming the basis for mutual commitments after the war. There is bound to be some balance of power in a post-war world, in the sense that politics is never freed from the necessity of seeking an equilibrium of social forces. The question is whether the balance of power will be organized or unorganized. I think the prospects are that it will be organized, and that the danger we must guard against will be a too imperialistic organization.

However, the understanding at which we have arrived with Russia is likely to prevent the domination of the post-war world by a purely Anglo-Saxon imperialism, and that is a gain. Mr. del Vayo's excellent analysis does not offer any positive suggestions about the method of world organization. On that task the democratic forces are all equally vague and weak. We know that a balance of power won't do, and we are equally certain that the old League of Nations is inadequate. What shall take its place? Regional and hemispheric federations? World federation? Federation of the democracies only?

Whatever the end toward which we must strive, we must undoubtedly begin with new constitutional commitments by the four great powers, seek to include other powers in these commitments as much as possible, beginning with the other United Nations, and strive and hope for the extension of responsibilities to all nations in time, so that imperialistic corruption of a new world order will be avoided.

## OCTAVIO MANGABEIRA

*Former Foreign Minister of Brazil*

I LIVED in Europe before the war and during the first nine months of the war—until the fall of France. I have the impression that the great mistake of the democracies has been the tolerance, even the goodwill, with which they cooperated in the development of the dictatorships.

It is clear, as the facts have proved, that dictatorship and democracy cannot coexist. One nation is devoted to pacific and civilized activities. Another nation, sometimes



its neighbor, is prepared and educated for fighting. It is not extraordinary if the second nation one day takes advantage of its education and preparation for war to attack the first.

The choice is not between democracy and totalitarianism. The choice is between civilization and crime. Civilization cannot exist where there are not some fundamental liberties, no matter what the name of the political system. On the other hand, there are no effective liberties in the absence of adequate conditions of economic life. Democracy without a social and economic organization corresponding to democratic ideals is not democracy; it is fraud.

Mr. del Vayo is absolutely right when he warns against the methods of the old diplomacy working for the forces which have so injured democratic institutions. Nowadays the only way to secure intervention by the people in the great decisions is to have their real representatives in the government, because only the actions of governments are effective: every day governments become stronger, and every day they draw closer to one another. Therefore the kind of men in power is of the highest importance.

Nobody can defend intervention by one nation in the internal life of another nation. But everybody must recognize that it will be imperative to create an international organization and to endow it with the material force necessary to implement it—otherwise it would be as platonic as the League of Nations. This organization must assure, not the same regime for all peoples, which would be nonsense, but civilization in the world, that is, a minimum of liberty and economic security, the only basis for an enduring peace.

The theory that the people of each nation should choose its form of government is perfect if the people indeed make the choice. But if the form that the government takes is imposed by a tyrant, as history shows it often has been, then application of the theory will result in the consecration of tyranny.

The Atlantic Charter has interpreted the facts and the circumstances of a given historical moment. However, for the world of the future which will arise from the victory of the United Nations there is something to be added to it from some of the speeches of the President of the United States.

The treaty between England and Russia, supplemented by the understandings between the United States and the Soviet Union, offers a wide basis for the reconstruction of the world through the readjustment both of communism and of democracy.

I don't believe in communism because I don't believe in a way of life based on pure materialism. But I do believe that a just and honest socialization, on the basis of real fraternity, is the only means by which democracy can survive and peace endure.

# Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

## A Tax on Spending

CONGRESS has done singularly little so far to implement the President's seven-point program for the prevention of inflation. On the one hand, it is hamstringing the Office of Price Administration by cutting down its appropriation and refusing to grant it funds for subsidizing producers squeezed between rising costs and the price ceiling; on the other, it appears to be yielding to the demands of the farm lobby that government-held grain be not released below parity prices. Still worse is the emasculation of the Treasury's tax program at the hands of the House Ways and Means Committee.

Heaven knows Mr. Morgenthau's proposals were over-modest in relation to the vast total of government expenditure scheduled for 1942-43 and to the volume of purchasing power unmatched by goods which is a constant threat to all efforts at price control. But the Ways and Means Committee in its tentative report has lopped \$2.8 billion off the Treasury request for an additional \$8.7 billion. It has left estate tax rates at present levels and scaled down sharply the income-tax and excise increases suggested by the Treasury. The one significant addition it has proposed is a 5 per cent excise tax on freight transportation, which, since freight is an important item in most costs, is likely to play hob with the whole price-ceiling system.

In easing individual and corporation income taxes the Ways and Means Committee was responding to the pressure of the business lobbies. It turned a deaf ear, however, to the cherished money-raising plan of these same interests—the sales tax. At one time it seemed as if there might be a Congressional majority for this levy, but rumblings from back home convinced many Representatives that it was bad medicine for an election year. Nevertheless, this alleged solution to the fiscal problem is still being assiduously urged by a large part of the press as the only way to tap the pool of war-generated surplus income. We may have been saved from a sales tax this year, but it will inevitably be brought forward again in 1943 unless meanwhile some alternative has been found.

One possibility that is now exciting a good deal of interest in Washington is a tax on spending which would avoid the unfair incidence of the sales tax and at the same time restrict purchasing power to a total corresponding to the volume of goods available. Among the several variations of this proposal is a scheme developed by Jerome Weinstein, a well-known New York tax attorney, who has kindly given me permission to quote from a memorandum he has prepared.



The essence of the Weinstein plan is "a progressive tax on the exercise of purchasing power in excess of a specified exempt amount during the fixed period." Two factors would determine the amount of exempt purchases allowable: the estimated annual expenditure on absolute necessities and the estimated volume of civilian goods available. Probably this amount would be in the neighborhood of \$400 annually for each adult, who at intervals of two or three months would be issued a book of coupons entitling him to make purchases up to the face amount of such coupons. In the event that the coupons were exhausted before the end of the period to which they were applicable, extra ones could be obtained on payment of a premium or tax which would be progressively increased in order to act as a deterrent on the exercise of surplus purchasing power. For instance, the tax on extra coupons bought within a year might be 20 per cent on the first \$200, 35 per cent on the next \$200, and so on; but it would probably prove desirable to impose an absolute limit on the total purchasable by any one person within a fixed period.

Mr. Weinstein does not propose that these coupons should be used in connection with all forms of expenditure but only for goods and services for which potential total demand is likely to exceed potential total supply at ceiling prices. This would mean primarily food and clothes, while such items as rent, insurance, electricity, and most services would be exempt, at least until such time as labor shortages or other factors made restriction of their consumption desirable. As Mr. Weinstein points out, by rationing spending itself his plan would probably obviate the future necessity of setting up rationing schemes for many individual items. At the same time the scheme is flexible enough to deal with temporary commodity situations. For instance, in the event of a local glut of eggs, the regional administrator of the plan could exempt their purchase from the requirement of coupons for a limited period.

This scheme is only incidentally a revenue measure. Its main object is to achieve a balance between purchasing power and available goods. Considered as a brake on inflation, the plan has considerable advantage over a general sales tax. To quote Mr. Weinstein:

A general sales tax makes no distinction between the use of minimum essential purchasing power, which should be exempt, and the use of surplus purchasing power. The payment of a general sales tax, the amount of which is necessarily limited by its application to the lowest income groups, cannot effectively restrict purchases by higher income groups, to whom the payment of a 5 per cent sales tax would not be a deterrent. Furthermore, and by reason of its uniform and equal application to all sales, a general sales tax cannot operate progressively as a deterrent on the use of surplus purchasing power.

Considerations of space forbid a detailed exposition of Mr. Weinstein's proposals for effective operation of his scheme. It is not without its administrative difficulties, but I do not think these would be any greater, if as great, as those involved in the collection of a sales tax. In any event the plan is one which deserves public discussion and the closest examination by the tax experts.

## *In the Wind*

MARTIN DIES dined with a friend the other day and pondered over the growing popularity of the Russians in this country. "They're putting up a great fight," he said, "and everybody over here is for them. Maybe the committee had better lay off the Communists and get to work on the Germans."

ONE OF THE MOST intricate of the plans for post-war reconstruction now in circulation was drafted by Ely Culbertson, the bridge expert.

GEORGE SOKOLSKY is ghost-writing many of Thomas E. Dewey's campaign speeches.

JACOB THORKELSON, the first open fascist to be elected to Congress, won in 1938 largely because Senator Wheeler refused to support his own party's candidate. Thorkelson is running again this year, but Wheeler is actively opposing him and backing Wellington Rankin, Jeannette Rankin's brother.

THE REVEREND GERALD WINROD of Kansas, who was running for the United States Senate, has suddenly withdrawn his candidacy. His reasons are not known.

COMPANIES WHICH BROADCAST from army camps or navy stations have in the past refrained from using the prestige of the services for advertising purposes. The policy was breached in a recent broadcast by General Motors from the army air base at Patterson Field in Ohio. The G. M. advertising copy, a letter signed by C. E. Wilson, president of the corporation, was read by the commanding officer at the field.

A RADICAL who in the past has had many run-ins with the government recently registered in the forty-four-to-sixty-five draft group. On the line where he was asked to name someone who would always know where he could be located, he wrote, "the FBI."

AN OFFICIAL of a Norwegian town planned to join the local Quisling organization, and his intentions somehow became known to the people. When he left his house one morning he found a path of evergreen boughs leading from his doorstep to a cemetery nearby.

[The \$5 prize for the best item received in June goes to J. L. of New York for his story about Representative Barry of Queens, published June 13.]



# BOOKS *and the* ARTS

## The Bugbear of Pragmatism

*THE PRAGMATIC TEST: ESSAYS ON THE HISTORY OF IDEAS.* By H. B. Parkes. The Colt Press. \$3.

*AS WILLIAM JAMES SAID: EXTRACTS FROM THE PUBLISHED WRITINGS OF WILLIAM JAMES.* The Vanguard Press. \$2.75.

**I**S THERE a pragmatist under your bed? If you are not too frightened to find out, I think you may discover the person you see whenever you look into a mirror. For pragmatism is very precisely what William James, its reputed inventor, called it: a new name for some old ways of thinking. Nevertheless, pragmatism continues to be the *bête noire* of every critic, poet, and historian whose own mission requires a dragon to make him a St. George. One hero crushes pragmatism under the accusation of materialism; another slays it as Puritan morality in disguise; a third proves that it justifies big business and the swank of success; still others call it a license to believe anything, a low form of cunning, or, worst of all, a fad that started fascism.

This is a William James year, marking as it does the centenary of his birth, and it would be desirable if by means of the many publications the date will call forth the old spook of pragmatic horror could be laid. But this is too much to hope for when even a learned and brilliant critic such as H. B. Parkes sees only half of the whole. He tells us, in a book fittingly called "The Pragmatic Test" and devoted to some of the major figures in our recent intellectual past, that he tests ideas by their working in practice. Ideas presumably affect conduct; conduct has concrete consequences; and therefore concrete consequences enable us to pass one kind of judgment on ideas. Moreover, in the essay on James himself Mr. Parkes clearly sees and clearly says that James's statement of pragmatism is a correct description of scientific procedure. A scientific idea is true when it adequately accounts for the facts, when it "works," not as a plausible explanation merely, but in the working out called proof. For in science no one has yet accused "success" of being contemptible and gross.

But where Mr. Parkes and others, less competent, boggle at pragmatism is in its application to thought in general, to art, ethics, and religion. With seeming finality Mr. Parkes says: "... there is a vast difference between proving a scientific theory by making experiments in a laboratory and proving the existence of God by observing the cheerful faces of those who believe in Him." As he puts it, of course, the case is open and shut. We are too familiar with the lure of superstition and self-deception to say anything but "Fie!" when we detect their presence in others. But I think Mr. Parkes conceals an unwarranted assumption in his dramatic contrast; it is the same assumption that made Mr. Van Wyck Brooks assert many years ago that James's taste in art must be crude. It is, indeed, the invariable assumption of anti-pragmatists, and it is this: the belief that the pragmatic test has the same meaning no matter who applies it, no matter

what it applies to, and no matter how it is applied. To go back to Mr. Parkes's example, it assumes that under pragmatism if Humphrey Clinker was made cheerful by eighteenth-century Methodism, then Methodism is proved absolutely true for all mankind and all time.

"But," the anti-pragmatist will say, "who then can guarantee the truth of a religion, a moral code, or an aesthetic doctrine?" To which the rejoinder is: Choose your witnesses and do it with care. If St. Thomas is made cheerful by a given creed, he furnishes the very kind of proof we require. And there is no law against being your own St. Thomas if you have the will and the intellectual equipment. But let no one be misled by the word "cheerful," which, if used pragmatically, must imply a real, and not a deceptive, satisfaction. A fastidious pragmatist will not be cheerful in this sense until the most exacting demands of logic, consistency, and beauty, which *are* practicality, have been fulfilled. The higher and more complex the demands you make upon a truth, the more pragmatic your behavior. If this implies relativism, as it does, it is a guaranty that no limited or inferred truth will be palmed off as all inclusive. In some matters, as Pascal pointed out, man must take a chance, he is "embarked." To which the pragmatist adds, "I have no confidence in certainty."

But that is not all. The anti-pragmatist carps also at the origin supposedly assigned to ideas by the pragmatic philosopher. The "anti" says that something he calls mind or reason, and holds to be independent of another entity called will, is the true source of true ideas. Unless it is so, he maintains, the contemplative life has no meaning but merges with the practical life. Yet all good things, he is sure, come from "disinterested" motives. Of course! This part of the argument rests on a quibble: disinterested does not mean *uninterested*. Commonplaces mislead us: when we say we listen to music "for its own sake" we mean no such thing. We listen to music for our own sake; but this again can mean two things. It can mean that we are looking for some clear external benefit, as when we trade on our musical knowledge in order to feel superior or to teach the violin, and it can also mean an imponderable inward benefit: we listen to music because we like it. The contemplative life, in other words, is good not in the air but good for us. Now, whether we have a *will* to achieve it or simply have a *mind* to is a matter of wording. To detach mind from will, idea from feeling, "benefit" from "contemplation" is to make an abstract distinction of very limited value. It becomes one of unlimited danger when it leads the anti-pragmatist to assert that we do things not for the satisfaction of our interests or the fulfilment of our ideals but for the thing itself and the ideal itself.

The causes of this long misunderstanding of James are deeply rooted in our linguistic habits no less than in our moral poses. But a more remediable cause lies in the rigid way intellectual history is written. Mr. Parkes frequently avoids this fault, but just as frequently falls into it, particularly in his earlier essays, where he describes by means of



single notions such complex events as Puritanism or Emerson's thought, or Jonathan Edwards's career. The practice involves a reduction, and a reduction which generally takes the form: "X's whole life amounts only to the error Q." One would like to know in virtue of what finally established truth every previous thinker has "failed" or sacrificed his soul to error. It is easy to match modern "confusion" with the simplicity of truisms like Aristotle's "the good man is the standard of good and evil," but this is hardly more than the old trick of comparing a chaotic present with an artificially tidied-up past.

A second historical mistake consists in lumping together James, Dewey, and Bergson as "the anti-intellectualists." The cases are separate. James must be studied by himself, and, needless to say, the place to study him is in his own text. Mr. Parkes, I feel sure, has been as careful with James as with all the other subjects of his essays, but I am astonished to find him citing the "Psychology" as quintessential James. That work is not a plateau but a crest dividing two doctrines—the scientific materialism of its period and James's rejection of it. And the final chapter on Necessary Truths refutes most of the stock arguments against the later "Pragmatism."

As an introduction to the James canon, Elizabeth Perkins Aldrich has edited a varied and entertaining collection of sayings grouped by subject and attractively printed. The volume is made still more valuable by the addition of a dozen hitherto unpublished drawings by James himself. In these pages, and with slight effort, the general reader can get a truer notion of the man and his thought than can be found in the professionals' handbooks. The variety and depth of his perceptions, the fineness of his moral and aesthetic fiber, the subtlety of his mind, and the elasticity of his prose will, it is hoped, blot out the fantastic but common image of an inartistic but powerful Yankee thinker, a philosophical P. T. Barnum, who might have come to some good if he had been born outside America and received "proper training."

As to the ultimate value of James's thought, if anyone must do less than judge for himself on the basis of the written word, he had better rely on Professor Whitehead, who said that James, like Descartes, was the founder of a new philosophical epoch.

JACQUES BARZUN

## Mr. Hoover on Peace

*THE PROBLEMS OF LASTING PEACE.* By Herbert Hoover and Hugh Gibson. Doubleday, Doran and Company. \$2.

A BOOK on the problems of peace and reconstruction by a former President and his chief confidant on international affairs might well be, as the publishers claim this book is, "a lasting landmark in the literature" on that subject. It might be, but it isn't.

The two authors have had some valuable experience, and they point to it again and again as the source of their wisdom. But experience alone does not generate wisdom. In this case the wisdom is compounded of experience and dogma, and in consequence it is not very illuminating. The dogma which

informs the book is that of classical liberalism; the authors apply it rigorously to domestic politics and, with some lapses into inconsistency, to international affairs. When they use the term the "fifth freedom," they mean, they say, the right "to engage in enterprise so long as each does not injure his fellow-man. And that requires law to prevent abuses." They seem to think that their willingness to grant the necessity of law to prevent abuses prevents their system from being "laissez faire or capitalistic exploitation." At any rate the fear of government control dominates their thought. According to them, "the attempt by Blum to mix larger doses of totalitarian economics into free economy contributed to the demoralization of the country." Of the United States they say that, "impatient with recovery from world depression by the hard way, it became infected with managed economy in 1933." This statement occurs in a historical analysis, and the authors generously forgo further consideration of our plight under the New Deal with the remark that "whether managed economy in the United States had extended over the line where recovery by voluntary and cooperative action of free enterprise was stifled and liberty infringed is not a part of this discussion."

Applying their laissez faire doctrines to international affairs, they would outlaw "governmental buying and selling, unstable currencies, special agreements such as reciprocal and preferential agreements, quotas, monopolies, cartels, and tariffs." They believe that "if there is to be a restoration of a real volume of international trade, there must be assurance of ultimate removal of all government buying and selling in foreign markets, except for possible storage of raw materials for international stabilization." They would stabilize currency by returning to "gold convertibility," which has been the "world's solution for 6,000 years."

Their whole plan for world peace is characterized on the one hand by a rigorous adherence to classical liberal doctrine in international as well as in domestic affairs and on the other by rather obvious and inconsistent departures from their principles. One departure is prompted by old-fashioned Republican prejudices. Having included tariffs among the hindrances to world peace, they recant their consistency, observing that "tariffs have occupied an exaggerated importance in public discussion," that "they are, through centuries of universal use, deeply imbedded in the economy of nations," and that they must therefore be dealt with more gently than other barriers.

Most of their other departures from their formula are prompted by the fact that they know too much about the necessities of international relations to be able to maintain their thesis without deviation. Thus though they have outlawed government buying and selling, they conclude "that the governments of the world must bear the burden of shipping, credit, and the distribution of supplies. And they will have to bear these burdens for the enemy as well as for liberated countries." Presumably this kind of government action is to be confined to a very brief period after the war.

It is not easy to say how far the authors depart from their fear of government control when they envisage plans of world organization. For when they come to that problem they adopt the method of an impartial presentation of the various plans of organization without committing them-



selves to any, though they do say that "some organization of force methods to preserve peace will be necessary for some years to come." They are inclined to believe that "the victorious powers will, with military means, jointly dominate the world for so long as their interests do not clash. They will need to do so at least during a period for political and economic recuperation." Thus a program for a "lasting peace" envisages no more than joint military domination by the victorious powers "so long as their interests do not clash." This illuminating conclusion illustrates the difficulties encountered by two confused authors who are driven in one direction by their experience and in another by the resolutely held dogma that "the least possible government is the best possible government."

It ought to be mentioned that Hoover and Gibson are on the side of the angels when dealing with the problem of a vanquished foe. They believe that "there can be no lasting peace in Europe with a dismembered Germany," and they have some very sane advice on the necessity of relieving distress in the defeated countries as soon as the war is over. They abhor post-war blockades.

The first half of the book analyzes the history of past centuries as a preliminary to the presentation of positive proposals for peace in the second half and is a curiously textbookish production. Seven forces in world affairs are isolated and listed as follows: (1) ideologies, (2) economic pressures, (3) nationalism, (4) militarism, (5) imperialism, (6) the complex of fear, hate, and revenge, (7) the will to peace. In analyzing recent epochs of Western history, the authors ask how each of these forces acted in each particular period. It is all rather artificial and not very illuminating. One is reminded of school pageants of years ago in which various symbolic characters appeared in turn with no more dialogue than the announcement, "I am the spirit of hate" or "I am the spirit of good-will." Such pageants had about the same relation to real drama as these abstractions have to history.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

## The Free French in Africa

**MIRACLE ON THE CONGO: REPORT FROM THE FREE FRENCH FRONT.** By Ben Lucien Burman. The John Day Company. \$1.75.

**B**EN BURMAN didn't believe Pétain was France. Away from Hollywood he kept hearing about Vichy, Montoire, and collaboration till he had had enough. A quiet man, still shaken from wounds received at Soissons, he wanted a gun and a chance to fight for the real France. The Free French persuaded him to take a typewriter instead.

Mr. Burman discovered Free French Africa for the American press. His news dispatches and magazine pieces put a spotlight on the dark jungle where France was being reborn. Home again after nine months spent between Brazzaville and Beirut, he rounded up and trimmed his African stories into this book. The result is an honest, loyal testament to the brave men who have transformed the black continent into a fortress for the democracies. In its compact, lucid analysis of the factors which led to the Bordeaux armistice, its indictment and proof of Vichy villainy, its catalogue of Free

French contributions to Allied victory, and its assault on the injustice of non-recognition, "Miracle on the Congo" strikes a hard blow for a cause which deserves more friends.

There are some faults of style and a few dubious opinions. Too many pages, packed with tom-toms, crocodiles, and tropical mystery, read like a Grade B scenario. Trustworthy observers returning from France do not confirm the assertion, unfortunately, that De Gaulle has 80 to 95 per cent of the French people behind him. Nor is every man in the Free French movement as pure and white a knight as we are asked to believe. Hangers-on and opportunists have afflicted every creed in history, and it is no slur on the Cross of Lorraine to note their presence here too. But these are errors of enthusiasm. The book, in the main, is good and true.

Congo fact puts Mississippi fiction in the shade. The author of "Steamboat Round the Bend" and "Blow for a Landing" left off novel-writing to explore a land where quinine is "a sort of hors d'œuvre" and terrible armies of man-eating red ants march like Prussians in mile-long parade. In Brazzaville he interviewed General de Gaulle and learned that Pétain's first words upon joining the Reynaud government, almost a month before the end, were, "We must capitulate." He voyaged north through equatorial forests and desert wastes to lonely Free French outposts in the Chad where camel patrols stood guard against Axis Libya. In Syria he beat the Allied forces of occupation into Beirut, traveling by car over the mine-strewn Damascus road, after watching Free and Vichy Frenchmen die in fratricidal battle. In burning Transjordan his host was the legendary Glubb

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HAL LEHRMAN

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## Lafayette

**LAFAYETTE AND THE CLOSE OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.** By Louis Gottschalk. The University of Chicago Press. \$4.50.

PROFESSOR GOTTSCHALK is without doubt an authority of distinction on all matters concerning the Marquis de Lafayette. It is entirely probable that he knows more of the doings, correspondence, friendships, hatreds, philanderings, gaieties, and sorrows of the sprightly French nobleman than anyone else now living. He looks upon a fact concerning Lafayette, however little it may be, with the reverence that an inveterate stamp collector gives to a Mauritius blue of 1785. Dr. Gottschalk's present work, "Lafayette and the Close of the American Revolution," is a literary stamp collection built up around the gallant Marquis and his activities in America on his second visit, from April, 1780, to January, 1782. The book has 458 pages and 1,551 footnotes. The author never leaves his readers in doubt as to the source of his information. His work is as free from vagaries and flights of the imagination as a report of the New York Stock Exchange.

In remarking that the learned professor's book resembles a stamp collection the present reviewer does not intend, even by implication or innuendo, to discredit its value. On the contrary, this book—and those of Professor Gottschalk's that preceded it—are all valuable contributions to historical literature. Without such scholarly works as a source of reference an author who is writing history for the average reader would have immense difficulty in getting his facts together.

The volume under review is the third of a series on Lafayette. The preceding volumes are "Lafayette Comes to America" and "Lafayette Joins the American Army." As the present book ends at the close of the American Revolution, and Lafayette lived until 1834, Dr. Gottschalk must intend to write two or three more volumes.

The author brings out clearly the ardent affection that existed between Washington and Lafayette. The former was childless and Lafayette, when a boy, had lost his father, who was killed in battle. He wrote to Washington, "There never was a friend, my dear general, so much, so tenderly beloved as I do love and respect you." And Washington said to La Luzerne, the French ambassador, "I do not know a nobler, finer soul, and I love him as my own son."

This book is clearly not intended for popular reading. It is confusing, here and there, because of the piling up of unnecessary facts and the failure of the author to distinguish between great and small events. He is completely lacking in the sense of drama. One of the most startling events of the American Revolution was Benedict Arnold's treason; Dr. Gottschalk has managed, by some miracle of writing, to squeeze all the excitement out of it.

This reviewer does not hesitate to predict that when the Lafayette series is completed Dr. Gottschalk will be the recipient of a Pulitzer prize, though we may be sure that he is not writing with that reward in mind. W. E. WOODWARD

[Coming soon: "American Primitive Painting," by Jean Lipman—reviewed by Clement Greenberg.]



# MUSIC

THE Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo has appeared recently at the Metropolitan, at the Stadium, and in films of "Capriccio espagnol" and "Gaité parisienne" at the Fifth Avenue Playhouse.

The film has its elements and procedures; and so has the ballet. In the ballet you see the entire human figure; you see the movement of this figure in a frame of space; and you see this movement continuously. You see the movement of the entire figure in a frame of space because that is what the ballet is concerned with; you see it continuously because the continuity of the progression of movement in one of the scenes of "Capriccio espagnol" is essential to its effect. As against this visual continuity the film achieves narrative continuity, by means—the shifts from one place or action to another, from long shot to close-up, and so on—that produce visual discontinuities. Filming a ballet, then, means combining these different objectives and different techniques; it means producing what at certain times is a motion picture with narrative continuity and at other times a picture of ballet movement with visual continuity. In the case of "Capriccio espagnol" it should have meant letting the camera move from place to place, action to action, long shot to close-up, for the motion picture narrative that takes us to the point where a dance-scene begins, and then holding the camera continuously pointed at this scene (though not necessarily motionless while so pointed). Instead, in the actual film of this ballet, the devices of the narrative are carried into the dance-scene: the camera jumps from the dance to the spectators, from one dancer to another, from one type of shot to another, destroying the visual continuity of the scene. Not only are the dance-scenes—all except Massine's—chopped up into bits in this way, but the dancers' figures are poorly presented in their frames of space: groups clutter the scene; leaping and whirling solo dancers are framed too closely. In addition there are moments when a close-up presents not the entire figure but only part of it. And there are other losses: on the stage Massine's entrance for the final scene of "Capriccio espagnol" is electrifying; on the screen—what with the commentator's voice that blankets the sound of his heels, and the crowd that screens his movements—there is no entrance.

The company in the films is the one that appeared at the Metropolitan last fall—with Danilova (who is hardly seen), Toumanova, Massine, Youskevitch, Eglevsky, and Franklin. It returned in the spring weakened by the departure of Toumanova and Eglevsky, the temporary absence of Danilova with an injured foot; and the losses were not made up by the return of Slavenska, whose dancing is an exhibition of pure, cold technical skill without the slightest overtone of poetry, style, or grace. This was important because the company has nothing but its few star dancers; and with the corps de ballet poor in quality and insufficiently rehearsed a piece like the first scene of Balanchine's "Serenade," with its wonderful ensemble patterns, is reduced to confusion and ruin by the smudging of the lines and group movements that must be clean and sharp, and other performances are no more than the moments when the stars are on the stage—including certain great moments like those of Massine's entrance in "Capriccio espagnol," his dancing here and in "Beau Danube," the dancing of Danilova and Franklin in "Gaité parisienne." But with all the departures and shifts in roles even these moments were fewer. One change was interesting: Youskevitch in place of Massine in "Beau Danube," making handsome appearance and youthful technical brilliance do for the older man's compelling presence and brilliance of style. The other changes, however, gave us Slavenska and Zoritch in place of Danilova and Franklin in "Gaité parisienne," Slavenska in place of Danilova in "Beau Danube," Zoritch in place of Youskevitch in "Afternoon of a Faun."

At the Stadium Danilova was back in "Gaité parisienne," but without Franklin; and she and Massine were in "Beau Danube," but with an otherwise undistinguished cast that made one think back to the first performances of the piece in 1934, and curse the human weaknesses that had broken up the brilliant company which included Massine, Woizikovsky, Shabelevsky, Lichine, Danilova, Toumanova, Riabouchinska, Baronova. The inadequacies of the Stadium stage conditions exacted their price in artistic effectiveness; and there was a further loss of communicative effect in the vast uncontained space of the open-air theater. Moreover, the music was badly performed and was distorted by the electrical amplification.

At the Metropolitan I saw my first performances of "St. Francis," which I

had read was Massine's supreme creative achievement, but which confirmed the impression I had got from previous serious ballets of Massine—that his gift in choreography is for gaiety and fun and wit; though "Saratoga" provided evidence that he can fail even in these. Hindemith's music, for "St. Francis," which also had been spoken of as outstanding, I did not find different from the rest of his dry and sour output; Weinberger's for "Saratoga," on the other hand, turned out to be as it had been described: terrible.

B. H. HAGGIN

## CONTRIBUTORS

PAUL MAXWELL ZEIS, assistant professor of political science at the University of Akron, is the author of "American Shipping Policy," the standard book dealing with government aid for the merchant marine.

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# Letters to the Editors

## A Partisan of the King

*Dear Sirs:* Leigh White's article in your issue of June 13 in which he attempts to answer the question "Whom does the Greek King represent?" is bristling with historical errors and unfounded conclusions. It appears that the author has not drawn his facts from a study of political events in Greece but has gleaned them from gossip by partisan Greek fugitives from embattled Greece, men who have come to the United States carrying their Greek or English wealth and now aspire to grasp the leadership of the Greek nation.

King George II of Greece has not come to the United States, as Mr. White claims, to bolster his throne. The Atlantic Charter declares that the policy of the United States and Great Britain—and now Russia's is the same—will be not to interfere with a nation's internal affairs. The Greeks, therefore, like all other independent nations, will decide on the form of government they want by themselves, without any outside help. King George and Premier Tsouderos risked a perilous voyage to America solely for the purpose of obtaining armaments to enable the Greek forces in Libya and Palestine and the Greek navy in the Mediterranean to keep up the fight.

Is King George hated by the Greek people? Let us look at the record, as Governor Smith used to say. When the King fled from Greece at the approach of the German invaders, he did not fly to Egypt or to Turkey or to the United States, as many of his enemies have done. He fled to the island of Crete, with his Cretan Premier, Tsouderos. Yes, to Crete, the homeland of Venizelos and Tsouderos, the hotbed of Greek anti-monarchism and radical republicanism. And the Greeks of Crete risked their own lives to save King George from the Stukas that were pursuing him. And what about the 75,000 Greek soldiers in the Near East who are fighting for democracy? Did they also resent the King's leadership? Have the Greek sailors rebelled against the King and Admiral Sakellariou? The answer of course is no.

Now a word about Admiral Sakellariou, whose appointment as Secretary of the Navy appears to Mr. White to prove conclusively that King George is

a fascist. Admiral Sakellariou is one of the outstanding officers in the Greek navy. Under Metaxas he was merely naval chief of staff and did not receive a political appointment until Mr. Tsouderos, the avowed friend of democracy, appointed him to the Cabinet with the consent of the King. He has never participated in any political activities in Greece; nor did he take part in any of the many revolutions in his country. In fact, when he presided over the court martial which tried the Republican leaders of the abortive Venizelist revolution in 1935, the Greek nation had a unique opportunity to judge the fairness and generosity of Admiral Sakellariou, who urged the military prosecutors to refrain from meddling in the purely political affairs of the country and reminded them that it was their duty to serve the country as soldiers under any Greek administration. It is true that Admiral Sakellariou has always been loyal to the King, but he has never been personally loyal to Metaxas and his regime.

The Greeks are fighting against the enemies of America. King George and Premier Tsouderos and Admiral Sakellariou are leading the Greeks in that fight. And that is of paramount importance to America. When actions talk so loud, words and gossip serve merely to discourage our real friends. The American people should frown on such defeatist gossip.

N. J. CASSAVETES

New York, June 26

## Mr. White Bolsters His Thesis

*Dear Sirs:* Mr. Cassavetes accuses me of writing an article "bristling with historical errors" but neglects to point out a single one. I must assume therefore that he takes exception only to my conclusions. Specifically, he disagrees with three: (1) that Admiral Sakellariou is a fascist; (2) that King George is extremely unpopular in Greece; and (3) that the King's motive in visiting the United States is to bolster his highly doubtful claims to a legally non-existent throne.

Has Mr. Cassavetes forgotten Sakellariou's famous strictures against popular government? "You've got to use a whip over the people" is one often quoted. "Democracy is the worst possible form of government" is another. Mr. Cassavetes may not attach much

importance to such utterances, but I do, and I think the majority of the Greek people do—especially since the author was one of the prime instigators of the Kondyles dictatorship, a leader of the bloody counter-revolution against the Venizelist liberals in 1935, and the Metaxist chief of staff who removed almost every democratically-minded officer from the roster of the Greek navy.

As for King George's popularity, that can be finally determined only by means of an honest plebiscite after the war is won. To date King George has not been willing to submit himself to such a test. I realized his unpopularity after talking to large numbers of Greeks in Salonika, Athens, Patras, and Corfu between March and September, 1941. I can assure Mr. Cassavetes that a great wave of revulsion swept the country after the King escaped, and that the Greeks with whom I talked were almost unanimous in their denunciation of him.

Rightly or wrongly, they were convinced that King George as well as Metaxas was responsible for the sordid misappropriation of the aircraft funds that had been collected by direct taxation and for the appointment of such traitorous generals as Pappadimas and Tsolakoglou. They also blamed the King for the treasonable series of intrigues by which a large part of the Greek army was demobilized against its will before the final surrender to the Germans, and as a result of which Prime Minister Korizis committed suicide.

I heartily agree with Mr. Cassavetes that the Greek people should be permitted to decide for and by themselves the post-war government of Greece. That is precisely why I wrote my article. I was afraid—and I am still afraid—that King George and his camarilla will try to decide it for them. The Greeks deserve a better fate than that.

LEIGH WHITE

Lincoln, Neb., July 2

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## *The Shape of Things*

IN THE HEADLINE WRITERS' SCALE OF values a five-mile advance by the British in Egypt outweighs a hundred-mile break-through by the Germans in Russia. Such inflation of minor successes, particularly by the evening newspapers, makes it difficult for the public to grasp the gravity of the present position on the eastern front, where the Nazis have driven a huge wedge into Timoshenko's lines and are threatening to separate the southern wing of the Red Army from its center. To many people the Russian drama doesn't seem entirely real, nor its relation to our own task in defeating the enemy clear. To some extent Moscow must bear the blame. Its refusal to allow foreign correspondents or even Allied military observers anywhere near the fighting front has thickened the screen through which we view Russia's struggle, and our perspective has been further distorted by over-optimistic Soviet claims. What is clear enough, however, is that the offensive strength of the Reichswehr is still enormous and that its full weight is being employed to break Russia. Hitler is committed to victory in the east and cannot draw back without exposing himself to a ruinous counterblow. Thus the opening of a western front is both a strategic necessity and a great opportunity.

THE ISSUANCE OF SEVERAL MEANINGLESS communiqués on the trial of the eight German saboteurs and the admission of a handful of reporters during a suspension of proceedings do not appear to be much of a victory for Elmer Davis in his fight against unnecessary secrecy. But the victory is there, and it is a hopeful one because of the skill with which the newly installed director of the Office of War Information achieved it. Alien sabotage trials are obviously rich in information that can be of value to the enemy, particularly to other saboteurs still on the loose. Mr. Davis knew better than to make such a case a test of his broad powers. Theoretically these powers supersede those of the military in the matter of disseminating war news, but the trial commission had been given equally sweeping authority. What Davis did was to insist on his right to be consulted, on his duty to ask whether the public was not entitled to



some degree of information about the progress of the trial. In that test Mr. Davis came through with colors flying. After months of submission to bungling, overlapping authority, and surrender to the bureaucratic will to secrecy, we can feel that war news is at last in the hands of an official who understands, to quote his own words, that "this is a people's war and to win it the people should know as much about it as they can."

★

WHILE IT HAS PARTIALLY RESTORED THE cuts made by the House in OPA funds, the Senate Committee on Appropriations has attached amendments to the bill which, according to Leon Henderson, will compel the abandonment of the general maximum-price regulations. The provision for Senate confirmation of all appointments carrying a salary exceeding \$4,500 is a nuisance clause which seems to confirm the charge that Mr. Henderson has annoyed Congress by ignoring politics in the selection of his staff. Far more hampering, however, is the stipulation giving the Secretary of Agriculture veto power over price ceilings of commodities manufactured in whole or in part from farm products. Such ceilings are only to be approved if they reflect a return to the primary producers not less than any of the following: 110 per cent of parity; market price last October 1; market price last December 15; average price from 1919 to 1929. In order to satisfy this requirement, maximum prices on most foods and many types of textiles would have to be revised upward. At the same time the Senate, although favoring the sale of government-owned grain at below-parity prices, has passed a bill insuring 100 per cent parity loans on 1942 crops of wheat, corn, cotton, tobacco, rice, and peanuts. This means putting under most of these commodities a floor which will raise them well above present market prices. With Congress carrying on in this fashion, with landlords putting on a well-financed campaign to force up rents, and with labor, which ought to be backing the OPA, attacking in the rear because of Henderson's opposition to wage increases, the ropes holding down the inflation balloon can barely take the strain. It is time, the President gave a hand by restating his seven-point program to keep down the cost of living in specific terms of the administrative and legislative action necessary to make it effective.

★

THE HOUSE WAYS AND MEANS COMMITTEE has made a number of last-minute revisions in the tax bill which will add a few hundred million dollars to the revenue but still leave the total more than two billion dollars short of the Treasury goal. One sensible new provision is the raising of personal exemptions for members of the armed forces, thus leaving the buck private's

\$50 a month free of tax. The burden on individual income-tax payers is further increased by a 1 per cent addition to surtax rates all the way up the scale, making it 13 per cent in the lowest brackets and 85 per cent at the top. Combined corporation income and surtax is to be at the rate of 45 per cent, compared with an earlier recommendation by the committee of 40 per cent, while the excess-profits rate has been lowered from 94 to 87½ per cent. However, the post-war credit of 14 per cent, formerly proposed, has been dropped. One of the worst features of the committee's report is the 5 per cent railroad-freight tax, which has been vehemently condemned by Leon Henderson as directly inflationary. This tax will be levied on the movement of each component of a final product, with each processor adding to his price enough and a little bit more to take care of this added cost. Thus the charge will be pyramided, and the increased burden on the final consumer will be much greater than the additional revenue.

★

WILLSON WHITMAN GIVES A PICTURE IN this issue of the fantastic ingredients of the Texas Senatorial campaign and the personalities of the contestants. Very late news from the front indicates that O'Daniel is, as she suggests, slipping. Private newspaper polls covering the state show Allred in the lead, with O'Daniel second and Moody third. Texas is passionately patriotic—it has contributed the highest state proportion of volunteer soldiers and is at least 50 per cent pro-Roosevelt—and O'Daniel's vote last August "to send the boys home," together with his record of opposition to more stringent rationing measures, has offset the effect of hill-billy bands and old-time religion as vote getters. His attitude on the war and its direction was summed up in a campaign speech this week: "Don't let them know what you like. They'll ration anything that the people like." It looks as if Pappy O'Daniel would be back with the home folks next year.

★

GRADUALLY, ALMOST SURREPTITIOUSLY, THE United States has been moving closer to the Free French, and now Secretary Hull has designated Admiral Stark and Brigadier General Bolte as representatives to "consult" with the French National Committee in London. The action amounts to the accrediting of naval and military attachés to the committee and recognizes the closer relations between our fighting forces and those of the Free French. But the State Department has gone far out of its way to make it clear that the French National Committee is not recognized as a government but only as "a symbol of French resistance in general against the Axis powers," and that "the destiny of France must, in the last analysis, be determined by free expression of the French people. . . ." Since General de Gaulle has re-



peatedly proclaimed this position as his own, its official reiteration can only have the effect of irritating our Free French allies, grateful as they are for our closer collaboration. They must, one supposes, occasionally reflect that Laval's government is recognized by the United States even though it can hardly be said to have been selected through any technique of "free expression." But in these days one welcomes any evidence of courage and realism. The move of the State Department at least points up the fact that while our relations with De Gaulle are growing closer, those with Vichy are becoming more tenuous and uneasy day by day.

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BUT WE STILL TRY TO MAKE DEALS WITH the government that has sentenced De Gaulle to death as a traitor. According to dispatches from Vichy, the American chargé d'affaires, S. Pinkney Tuck, has been urging Laval to permit removal to safer ports of the French warships now interned at Alexandria. As might have been anticipated, Laval has refused, with a wealth of legalistic reasoning designed to conceal the obvious fact that Vichy can't hand those ships over to the Allies if it wants to; and it doesn't want to. They are a part of the prospective spoils of conquest, and Hitler will hardly authorize his puppet to cache them safely out of reach of the Nazi army. Attempts to induce Vichy to cooperate with the Allies instead of the Nazis have not been conspicuously successful to date. Remember Martinique? On that doorstep island our representatives, ignoring Vichy, were supposedly bringing about an agreement with Vichy's pro-Axis governor, Admiral Robert, to safeguard our interests by establishing American observers in Martinique and taking over the tankers sheltered in the harbor at Fort de France. If an agreement has been reached, nothing has been heard of it; and it is not likely that the State Department would fail to call attention to such a signal triumph. But Admiral Robert, on the other hand, broadcast a speech a few days ago in which he heaped insult and contempt on the American government which had tried, unsuccessfully, to "bribe" him into disloyalty to his country and his leaders. The speech was not released for publication. Why? Might this not be a suitable case for Elmer Davis to look into?

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LUDWIG LORE'S MEMOIRS, HAD THEY BEEN written, would have made good reading. His sixty-seven years were a political odyssey, from classic German Marxism, through the I. W. W. and pre-war socialism, to communism; followed by disillusion, fierce opposition to Communists of all shades, a renewed faith in democracy, and a passionate hatred for fascism and all its works. For all his natural kindness and personal charm, he was a hard fighter, and if most of his positions were tenaciously held only to be abandoned, his life was none

the less meaningful. He learned a great deal at each political station along the way, and his fund of experience will be sorely missed in the years ahead.

## *Should Wages Be Frozen?*

THE demand of the United Steelworkers for a dollar-a-day increase in pay for the employees of the "Little Steel" group, on which a decision by the War Labor Board is imminent, is generally regarded as providing a test case in respect of wage policy during the war. If the WLB orders the raise, it will set a precedent which can be used to justify wage demands in many other industries, and one of the seven points of the President's program for the prevention of inflation—wage stabilization—will become a dead letter.

It is hardly to be expected that the price-ceiling structure—already none too secure—could withstand such a blow. Not merely would added costs force an upward revision in some ceilings, but the additional volume of purchasing power seeking satisfaction in a restricted supply market would exert an intolerable pressure on prices as a whole. Spokesmen for the steel workers are inclined to treat the "inflationary gap" as a myth, but unfortunately it is all too real, as everyone will begin to realize in a few months when the inventories swollen by last year's super-production of consumer goods vanish from the shelves.

In the past few days the stock market has suddenly developed strength. It is a significant response to the increased danger of inflation, which offers golden opportunities to holders of stocks. But for the workers inflation always means a heartbreaking race against prices, a race which they cannot hope to win. Consequently, the first objective of labor statesmanship in a total war economy, which by definition rules out a general rise in the standard of living, ought to be the maintenance of a stable price level, and this is not compatible with a rising wage scale.

Considered in isolation, the case for an increase in steel pay is a good one, as the report of the fact-finding panel of the WLB showed. Steel workers' wages, although above the average of all industries, are not high in comparison with other capital-goods industries. Moreover, the increase obtained in the spring of 1941 has since been canceled by the rise in the cost of living. The "Little Steel" companies can well afford to add a dollar a day to wages. In fact, it would cost them very little, for the main result would be to shrink their excess profits, of which the Treasury will in any case collect 87½ per cent if the present tax bill is voted. This point has been used widely as an argument against a wage increase, but as the fact-finding report says, "if a wage increase, otherwise proper, is withheld because of its effect on



governmental revenues per se, such withholding would involve an unauthorized tax on workers."

The verdict of the fact-finding panel was a recommendation that the Steelworkers' demands should be met, and purely on the merits of the case there is no doubt that the recommendation was justified. The WLB, however, cannot formulate its own judgment in a vacuum; it must weigh the effects of a rise in steel wages on the economy as a whole, and it cannot ignore the serious inflationary repercussions such a rise is bound to have.

Should the government then freeze all wages? This is not as simple a procedure as many of its advocates suggest. In some industries wages are below the level of health and efficiency, and in such instances they must be raised in order to secure a full productive effort from the workers. Again, there is the question of wage differentials between similar industries and even branches of the same industry. Los Angeles aircraft workers receive 75 cents an hour as a minimum, while at the Ford bomber plant at Willow Run the minimum is \$1. On the Pacific Coast copper miners and lumber workers are quitting their jobs for better-paid employment in the shipyards. In an era when the demand for skilled and semi-skilled labor is threatening far to outstrip the supply, wage differentials of this kind are bound to lead to a high turnover of personnel—one of the greatest obstacles to efficient production.

The question which must be faced is: Can wages be frozen without at the same time freezing men to their jobs? Such a step would mean a far sharper break with our traditions of free enterprise than many measures which have been bitterly fought by business interests—as, for example, maintenance of union membership. In Great Britain five million men engaged in work of national importance have been tied to their jobs. But in return for giving up the right of free contract they are protected in their employment and cannot be dismissed except for gross misconduct. Moreover, they are guaranteed full pay for a normal week's work whether there is work for them or not.

Similar steps may prove necessary here before the war is over, but meanwhile we submit for consideration the following program:

1. Wages above a level to be fixed in relation to minimum needs for maintaining health and efficiency to be frozen, subject to adjustment in the event of a further 10 per cent rise in the cost of living. The freezing should also be applied retroactively to salaries and executive bonuses in excess of \$25,000—many of which have been stepped up tremendously in the past two years—bringing them back to 1939 levels.

2. In industries producing war goods or essential consumer goods the WLB should have power to order wage revisions when existing levels can be shown to have a deterrent effect on labor supply.

3. Legislation for the compulsory payment of profit-sharing bonuses to workers, in the form of a special issue of war bonds which could not be cashed until after the war.

Such a program is admittedly pragmatic. It represents an effort to find a formula which will check the present inflationary trend of wages without reacting adversely on production. And it seeks a way of preventing the sacrifices which the community must ask of the workers from incidentally benefiting their employers.

## *Dies Tells Almost All*

BY FRED KIRCHWEY

NO INDICTMENT of the tricky tactics of our little Texas Himmler, Martin Dies, could be more damning than the indictment contained in his own apology—offered in the face of a \$75,000 libel suit—to David B. Vaughan of the Board of Economic Warfare.

Mr. Dies is, he says, an honorable man. He is the first to make amends when he unwittingly publishes an erroneous statement about a fellow human being. Especially a fellow human being who is able to hire the best law firm in Washington to defend his name. And especially when Mr. Dies's underlings have been incautious enough to put the erroneous statement into a press release—not privileged—instead of into a libel-proof committee report or speech on the floor of the House.

Mr. Dies warmly embraces the opportunity to apologize to Mr. Vaughan, who definitely means business about the \$75,000. And in the course of his eager correction he manages to tell almost all about the methods of the committee of which he is the head.

It seems the name "David Vaughan" appeared on a letter-head listing the numerous sponsors of the American League for Peace and Democracy. That was enough. Mr. Dies wrote a letter to the Vice-President of the United States charging that several employees of the Board of Economic Warfare, including David B. Vaughan, head administrative officer, were members of "Communist front" organizations. He demanded that these subversive individuals resign or be fired. Mr. Vaughan sued.

It happens that David B. Vaughan is not David Vaughn. He never sponsored the League for Peace and Democracy. He is a person of mildly liberal views who was a banker before he went to work for the government. To be labeled a Communist or near-Communist is bad for his reputation and even bothers him in his work, which involves questioning other applicants for jobs as to their political views and connections. So Vaughan proved a prickly victim of the Dies technique. And after a lapse of three and a half months the Texas inquisitor decided to say he was sorry.



But in saying so, he said more. He admitted that his committee was willing to publish charges against a person without inquiry, without proof, without a hearing, without even bothering to check the spelling of the victim's name. He admitted it was willing to demand that person's dismissal or resignation on such flimsy grounds. He admitted, in total effect, that the methods of the committee which has pilloried hundreds of decent, patriotic citizens are as shoddy as they are vicious, a fantastic waste of the people's money, a flagrant violation of the most elementary civil rights. All that is implicit in Mr. Dies's unctuous apology to the one man he wronged who was in a position to sue him for libel.

What he did not say, but what lies just behind the language of retraction, is something like this: "Listen, old man. No offense intended. You see I didn't know you used to be a banker and I hadn't an idea you would sue. This Communist-front business is all the bunk anyhow. My chief investigator was one of those fellow-travelers himself once. That's not the point. I say 'Communist' just like Hitler does. All it means is democrat—small *d*—or liberal. What's the use of checking up whether a guy's a Communist or not when all you want to do is smear a New Dealer? But next time I'll watch my step. Either I'll hide behind Congressional privilege when I name names or I'll make sure my man can't hit back. This is politics, not justice."

## *But Time Runs Short*

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

The great German drive to the east, with its gathering momentum, threatens to split the central and southern Red armies apart, gain the Volga at the great industrial city of Stalingrad . . . seal that waterway and other supply lines from the United Nations to the Russians, and conquer the oil riches of the Caucasus itself.—Associated Press dispatch, July 14.

I SHALL never forget the anguish with which the Honorable Member for X—asked me, in March, 1939, whether England could still do anything to save Spain. It was just ten days after the government had left the Central Zone and seven days before Franco entered Madrid. I had flown to London to see how many ships we could charter to take out Loyalists who otherwise would be dragged before a firing squad. The question whispered into my ear when I had finished addressing a hundred members of the House of Commons was so astonishing that I made inquiries about the personality of my interlocutor. He was a Conservative who for three years had understood nothing of what was going on in Spain, who had believed Franco could be "handled" through a British loan, who had applauded Chamberlain at Munich, and who now suddenly

realized with horror that the victory of Hitler in Spain meant war for England and for the world. I was told that for three days he had walked like a somnambulist through the corridors of Westminster demanding that the British fleet be sent to Spain and asking why the French did not mobilize at once.

I cannot help recalling, in these days, that tardy savior who appeared when the zero hour was past, and I ask myself whether in the fall of 1942 we may not see another somnambulist full of despair because we allowed Russia to be smashed without our having fulfilled the promise of a second front.

And the promise was made. It was not formulated in an emotional moment of a Parliamentary debate. It was announced, officially and solemnly, by the two highest leaders of the United Nations at their last meeting in Washington. Nobody could doubt the determination of President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill to carry out their word. One is as shrewd a politician as the other, but both are men of an immense sense of responsibility and with too much respect for the peoples of the earth to try to play politics with one of the few remaining possibilities of winning the war. Everybody took the announcement as a settled decision.

Moreover, the promise to open a new western front in 1942 was made after an entire session in Washington devoted to the shipping problem. Both leaders, having listened to the experts, apparently agreed that, with more or fewer ships, an invasion of the Continent was going to be attempted because there was no other alternative to general disaster. And it is interesting to notice that in the very impressive and well-documented analysis of Ships and New Fronts in the last issue of *The Nation* Paul Maxwell Zeis, while emphasizing the paucity of shipping at present, wrote: "If the war is to be won, it seems certain that a second front must be established in Western Europe to take the pressure off the Russians in the east."

Russia is fighting at this moment better than ever. Its retreat is marked by greater heroism, more admirable resolution, than many a spectacular advance. But if Russia is fighting like this, it is partly because it takes seriously the British-American promise of a second front—because it waits from one day to the next for a new front to be opened. That is clear in the quotations from the Russian press, in the official broadcasts, in the orders of the day issued by the Red Army chiefs, in the calm confidence with which the Russian soldiers are dying—for all of us.

But time runs short. For the second front to accomplish its task of relief there is a very limited margin of time. Perhaps six weeks, no more. Or must we witness again the spectacle of a delayed—and useless—awakening to reality such as overwhelmed my British M. P. when Spain was already crushed?



# The Nile and the Don

BY DONALD W. MITCHELL

THE late Sir John Fisher, First Lord of the Admiralty during those critical years which preceded the first World War, was an acid critic of the British military and naval system. Commenting on the promotion of well-born but mediocre men to high places, he predicted, "Some day the British Empire will fall because 'it's Juggens's turn.'"

A third of a century later his prediction is being borne out. When the London *Mirror* a year ago began examining the Juggenses and Colonel Blimps of the British army, criticism of the military was promptly prohibited. A few months afterward the Japanese at Hongkong, in Malaya, and in Burma were proving the full justice of the *Mirror's* strictures. But the British army's defenders, overlooking the lack of vision and intelligent preparation in the High Command, could still plead lack of numbers or, in a few cases, as in Crete, where they had numerical superiority, point to enemy preponderance in the air.

In Libya the empire's forces had neither of these handicaps. A British army 11 per cent superior in numbers, 40 per cent stronger in tanks, 60 per cent better in artillery, and at least twice as strong in the air, operating closer to its base of supplies, suffered decisive defeat. We do not know all the details of the battle or of the subsequent rally in the shadows of Alexandria. But it is apparent that the Germans "surprised" their foe with a type of anti-tank gun which they had used in every major campaign of the war and with better tanks than the American products being sent to the British. More important, they showed far better coordination between air force and ground troops, better planes for such work, a faster repair service, better tactics, more offensive drive, and infinitely superior leadership. The lack of a unified command for the Army of the Nile was especially disastrous. In the crucial fight at Bir Hacheim which started the British collapse, the much stronger R. A. F. allowed the German dive bombers a field day. On the fatal day of June 13, when adequate cooperation between aerial reconnaissance and ground forces would have prevented the slaughter of British tanks and the consequent loss of Tobruk, there was still no sign of ability to work together. But the strategic results of the Battle of Eastern Libya are of less importance than the demonstration that nearly three years of defeat have not sufficed to teach the British High Command certain of this war's more elementary lessons. Nor are we ourselves in a position to criticize the British unduly, for we have made many of

the same blunders. Our potential advantage in manpower and wealth is worth nothing unless it is used to win. We can't go on forever on the assurance that success is just around the corner.

At the time of writing, the outcome of the Middle Eastern struggle is still uncertain. The United Nations have given up large areas of desert not in themselves vital, but have also suffered serious losses in men and material. Their dominance of the eastern Mediterranean, for some months extremely shaky, has been weakened by the enemy's capture of sites for advanced air bases, and the conquest of Alexandria would bring it to an end. Nevertheless, the Germans have by no means won the campaign for the Middle East. Increasingly long lines of communication through difficult country, much inferior air power, and the British resolve to make a bitter, last-ditch stand still block the way to a complete German triumph. Actually a continued thrust by Rommel holds less danger than the possibility that the effort to stop him may have so weakened the British forces in Syria and Palestine that a German thrust through those countries by either sea or air would meet little resistance.

Americans have been slow to appreciate the vital importance of the Middle East in the present war. Alexandria is now the only major Allied naval base between England and Hawaii. German success in gaining the oil resources of Iran and Iraq would not only greatly ease Hitler's difficult supply problem but force the United Nations to bring their own oil from sources as distant from Europe as Texas, Venezuela, and California.

Russian defeats at Kerch and Kharkov have been serious, as was the earlier loss of Sevastopol. The latter was the one large naval base remaining in Russian hands, and with its fall the Soviets lost their last foothold on the Crimea. On the other hand, the Germans paid a high price for all these early gains, and even their capture of Sevastopol does not eliminate the small but extremely troublesome Black Sea fleet, which can use secondary bases farther east and so continue to discourage a sea-borne invasion of the Caucasus.

Not only the large German losses but the character of the early fighting seemed propitious for the United Nations' cause. For two months German efforts to cut through Timoshenko's defenses in depth and to force resumption of fighting along the lines of the earlier war of movement failed utterly. Apparently the Germans were to be forced to wage a war of attrition, the one



kind of war that Hitler, facing new threats in the west, could not afford to wage. This encouraging outlook was altered by the German break-through at Kursk, which endangers the last of the north-south communication lines back of the Soviet front and also threatens with encirclement and destruction the armies directly north and south of the break-through. Everything now depends on the Russian reaction. If the Soviets are able to prevent further gains, then only territory has been lost. But unless the check is quickly applied, the Germans, despite the formidable obstacles of man-power and terrain still to be overcome, may be able to reach their goal in the Caucasus before the end of the summer.

In the event of this worst possible outcome, what chance will remain for the victory of the United Nations? Opportunities will have been greatly reduced, but some will still exist. According to the Russians, the industrial resources needed to support war, including oil, will be available farther north and east. This view is shared by those Americans who have had the most intimate recent acquaintance with Soviet economy. Loss of the Caucasus would, of course, close the Persian Gulf transportation line to Russia and diminish the flow of reinforcements to the U. S. S. R. But it is certain that the Soviet scorched-earth policy would leave no easy task for German reconstruction. It is believed by our service heads that the Nazis would require at least a year to exploit Soviet resources effectively. The loss of the Caucasus, therefore, unless it is accompanied by German conquest of the oil wells of Iran and Iraq, will by no means entail the loss of the war. Everything depends on the continued activity of the Russian armies. As long as the Soviets still have sufficient industrial resources to carry on a war and the Red armies remain in being, Russia can continue to trade even valuable territory for time.

But will the time gained at such enormous cost bring relief? Anyone can see that the miracles which are being achieved on American production lines can never bring victory while we are still losing three vessels to every two completed—despite the greatest turnout of new shipping known to history. Until we win the battle off our own Atlantic Coast we shall not be able to carry troops and supplies in great quantities to Europe.

This fact, however, does not eliminate all chance of an A. E. F. in the near future. In areas remote from the center of German power, such as Norway, we may be able to undertake partial offensives with fair chance of success. But we must here face the fact that limited offensives have only a limited nuisance value. A campaign that relieved pressure on Russia and bought time, even if it were unsuccessful and costly, might show a greater profit in the ledger of the entire war.

A vital question is to what extent the large-scale British air raids are a substitute for a new military front. The

strategic purpose served by current air warfare is at least threefold. A limited but vocal group of aviation enthusiasts believe that air power has attained such primacy in war that persistent raids on enemy industry can bring about victory, or at least inflict ruin so great that a later mopping-up campaign on land would easily win the war. Most military critics refuse to go so far, but see air attack as a necessary prelude to an invasion attempt by land forces and as a means of establishing beachheads, blasting supporting war industries, and demoralizing civilians. Used as diversions, these raids are intended to be so damaging as to force withdrawal of important units of the Luftwaffe to meet a growing threat in the west. If in the process of meeting this threat the Luftwaffe can be enticed aloft and there destroyed, another step will have been taken toward ultimate Allied victory.

While we do not have the evidence upon which to base more than a tentative judgment, the attainment of all these objectives looks at least doubtful. There can be no question of the military and economic value of such cities as Bremen, Essen, and Cologne. But these are the easiest targets in Germany. The more distant centers—Berlin, Vienna, the Skoda Works at Pilsen, and Leipzig—have been almost untouched. They can only be bombed at a heavier cost of gasoline and casualties than the attackers have thus far been willing to pay. Even the damage done by such attacks is uncertain. Early estimates had five-sevenths of Cologne destroyed, but later reports based on aerial photographs reduced the estimate of the gutted area to one-eighth. Finally, the weak aerial resistance offered by the Germans and their slight attempts at reprisals argue that the attacks themselves have not done enough injury to compel any heavy concentration of the Luftwaffe in Western Europe. The Germans, in short, still have their eyes on the main front in Russia. No one in authority believes that aerial warfare over Europe has yet reached its height. American reinforcements based on both England and the Middle East should soon double the severity of the attacks. Nevertheless, air power today is neither winning the war single-handed nor affording much relief to the Russians.

A survey of the European war fronts, therefore, reveals much that is disappointing but little that was not expected by our more realistic war critics. Japan's conquests turned it into a "have" power in about six months. Germany's have not yet done so, but are now threatening areas of such enormous strategic importance that some authorities regard their ownership as essential to Allied victory. No immediate improvement in our strategic situation in Europe, except in the air, is to be looked for. If we win this summer's struggle in these vital areas it will be because existing lines are able to hold. As long as we are not winning the Battle of the Atlantic, we shall be unable to replace those elements of strength that are even now being lost along the Don.



# Keep Them Out!

## V. SENATOR W. LEE O'DANIEL OF TEXAS

BY WILLSON WHITMAN

WITH Texas fliers, Texas tank and submarine crews, and miscellaneous Texans from generals to mess boys conspicuous on all fighting fronts, it is a little embarrassing to realize that one of the two Texans in the Senate is a composer of radio commercials who voted against extending the draft "eighteen months, six months, or one day." Hope that the pending primary will assist in the removal of Senator W. Lee O'Daniel from Washington is making the political summer in Texas a warm one.

Senator O'Daniel is not actively against the war in the way a Bund member would be; he just doesn't want to think about it. To his campaign audiences he says, "There ain't gonna be no gasoline rationing in Texas, we ain't gonna lose this war, and there ain't gonna be no run-off"—meaning by the last the second primary due in August if the Senator fails to win a majority of the votes cast on July 25. Thus Senator O'Daniel is on record as willing to win the war against the Axis if it can be done without inconvenience to Texas oil operators. But he goes on to say, with fervor, that the *real* war is against "these wild-eyed labor-leader racketeers."

Unlike some other anti-labor members of Congress, who declared a truce on the home front in order to win the war abroad, the junior Senator from Texas is convinced that it is as important to break up the C. I. O. as to bomb Tokyo. Before Pearl Harbor, in a speech at the Dallas fair on September 7, 1941, he said the war had two fronts. "On one front we must guard to keep the dictators of the Old World from being able through force to control the affairs of our nation and to implant on our shores all of those foreign isms—Nazism, communism, and fascism"; on the second front we must guard against substitution of "a socialized system of business" for the American system of free enterprise. When he spoke in Washington three weeks later, he had reached the conclusion that of these two fronts the second was the more important—"as great a menace as, if not greater than, the threat of war." For, he explained, if foreign war should come, "we would win it, and after our victory we could all return to our usual domestic affairs under the same form of democracy we have always enjoyed. But if labor-union-leader racketeering is not stopped, our democracy will perish." To the Senator this was "the most serious problem confronting the nation."

The shooting war has not altered these sentiments; O'Daniel is making substantially the same speech in the Texas campaign, and the parents, sweethearts, and wives of fighting Texans are reported to be rolling up their sleeves and readying their poll-tax receipts to reply. The well-to-do Texans who do the voting (it costs \$1.75 per person per year), not being ardent supporters of the forty-hour week, might not bother to oppose the Senator on the labor issue, but the war is different. You can't talk against the war or minimize its importance in Texas; besides sending its boys in impressive numbers, the state is booming with war industries.

It is hard to see how Lee O'Daniel happened to overlook either the psychological or the financial point. His rapid rise in politics—his career started four years ago when he won the governorship and was advanced by the death of Morris Sheppard, which provided a Senate vacancy—can be explained only by his high rating as a radio promoter, first of flour and then of W. Lee O'Daniel. Described as "the kind of salesman who could sell iceboxes in Labrador or snowshoes on the Equator," O'Daniel merited the praise when he sold himself as a statesman. To do it he had to be a good psychologist, vocally favoring home, mother, old folks, flowers, and religion. How does it happen that he fails to wave the flag? Nor is he an innocent babe in business. Rather than flour salesman, he prefers to be called a successful business man or small manufacturer, though he manufactures not flour but markets—for the "Hill-billy" brand, the product of General Mills. Surely it doesn't take much business gumption to see the new war factories all over Texas.

However, war industries don't advertise, and there perhaps you have it. O'Daniel is an advertising man, with all the glibness of a short commercial broadcast but without the basic horse sense even of a Huey Long, who did after all grow up among the Louisiana rednecks he bamboozled. O'Daniel is a phony manufacturer—a jobber, not a producer. He is a phony Texan—the author of the song "Beautiful Texas" was born in Ohio and raised in Kansas. He is a phony "old Southerner," sounding as if he wore a goatee, frock coat, and string tie but actually, like Martin Dies and Joe Starnes, a second-growth Chamber of Commerce Southerner. He is, of course, a phony New Dealer; after writing a song entitled "On to Victory, Mr. President," and



pledging—three times—"one hundred per cent support" of the President, he voted against the Administration at the first opportunity. It happened to be the vote on extension of the draft.

Huey was disarmingly natural; Lee is admittedly slick—he is the first Senator to pose for publicity pictures with one eye screwed up in a wink. As an old-time Austin politician puts it, he is an *unnecessary* liar. And in time of crisis that isn't smart.

He has, of course, the support that is always available for a man who can get elected to office while openly working for low wages, anti-strike laws, and all the other reactionary goals. As governor of Texas, his main achievement was the passing of a state law which in effect forbids picketing; he puffed the law to Northern manufacturers in a sales letter which promised prison for strikers and ended with "I feel proud to have led the fight for this kind of legislation." However, he was unable to get the Texas law through Congress as an irrelevant amendment to other legislation or to win votes for an open-shop amendment to the Constitution. The O'Daniel tactics are pretty crude even for the Dies-Cox-Byrd machine.

As a member of a special committee on the oil shortage, Senator O'Daniel succeeded in preventing or at least postponing construction of the pipe line favored by Secretary Ickes. Ordinarily insistent on selling oil, hot or cold, Texas interests opposed the pipe line, the Senator carefully explained, because it might be used after the war for siphoning out natural gas. Actually of course they were fighting Ickes, with whom they have long had a feud. O'Daniel's service to the utilities goes back to the time when as governor he vetoed legislation that would have permitted Texas cities to build municipal power plants.

The opposition to O'Daniel is sincere but divided; there were eleven candidates against him in his first race for governor, twenty-seven in the Senate race last year. This time it centers in two other ex-governors of Texas, James V. Allred and Dan Moody. Allred, who resigned a federal judgeship to make the campaign, has Administration backing; but it must be remembered that in Texas Administration support means "Jesse Jones's money," and there are those in Texas as elsewhere who regard the Jones influence with a jaundiced eye. Some Texans insist that "outside interference" harmed instead of helped the deserving Lyndon Johnson in his effort to defeat O'Daniel last year. As governor, Allred was unable to effect any New Deal reforms in Texas. He had, of course, strenuous opposition from business, which organized "tax marches" and played an obstructionist game, but some New Dealers felt that Allred himself wasn't equal to the governor's job.

Dan Moody has played a lone hand in Texas politics but has no defeats against him. He started as a boy

wonder, the reform candidate who first defied the Klan and later ousted the famous Ferguson gubernatorial team. Back in 1928, when Jesse Jones brought the Democratic convention to Houston, Moody was talked of as a running mate for Al Smith. But Moody, opposing "Ma" Ferguson, also opposed the Texas brewery interests which were prominent in the Smith repeal forces, and Moody support simply didn't mix with Smith and Jones. Moody left politics for the law, in which he has done well—incidentally serving the federal government in its prosecution of the Long machine in Louisiana.

Persons outside the state who feel that Moody is "too good" to be a strong candidate perhaps underestimate the Texas respect for virtue. O'Daniel and Allred both lean heavily on church support, and as Sheppard's successor in Washington O'Daniel has had to make half-hearted proposals to bar liquor from army camps. Nobody takes this effort seriously, and it has been openly charged that Texas brewers and distillers helped send O'Daniel to Washington. But lip-service to some form of temperance is by no means the handicap in Texas politics that it would be elsewhere, partly because of the people's fundamental morality and partly because Texas brewers have long financed corrupt voting. (It was the San Antonio brewers who defeated Maury Maverick, no prohibitionist.) In the last war the fact that the brewers were German made possible a wave of political reform. It could happen again; and in the appeal to respectability Moody has the advantage of sincerity.

The war issue, the important one, finds both Allred and Moody able to make a good showing against O'Daniel. Allred was in the navy, Moody in the army, during the last war, and both are unequivocal about this one. O'Daniel's anti-draft stand has alienated even the Texas Townsendites. His own win-the-war program, as presented to Congress, has eleven points: "(1) encourage individual prayer twice daily; (2) stop all non-essential government spending; (3) provide proper defense protection for civilians promptly; (4) outlaw force and violence in labor disputes; (5) give union and non-union men equal opportunity to work on jobs; (6) tax war profits 100 per cent and give half the tax to discharged soldiers when the war ends; (7) remove all farm planting restrictions; (8) restrict price-fixing to retail sales; (9) open immediately new reservoirs of raw materials; (10) cancel immediately all draft deferments of labor



Senator O'Daniel



racketeers and other privileged classes; (11) abolish booze on army and navy reservations until the war is won." With the demagoguery taken at its face value, it still appears that these proposals—in effect, to abolish relief, the closed shop, and crop control, impede price fixing, and release hot oil—have to do with winning, not the World War, but O'Daniel's "most serious" war, the one against labor and the New Deal.

Texas war heroes are, of course, hailed by O'Daniel, who argues endlessly that the "boys in Bataan" and elsewhere were betrayed "because labor refused to manufacture the planes and material they needed over there." Confronted with figures on war production, he brushes them aside: "I do not think the people are interested a great deal in the statistics showing such a small percentage of strikes to be in existence at the present time, or that such a few man-hours are being lost, because those statistics will not help General MacArthur in his fight for freedom in Australia; those statistics will not help the cause in any way." This typical O'Daniel utterance, followed by the claim "I believe I have as good a labor record as any member of the Senate," has not fooled Texas labor. The unions are against "Pappy" with a unanimity that in any other state would insure his defeat.

But it is necessary to remember that because of the poll tax Texas elections are controlled by the people who can afford to vote. O'Daniel's anti-labor speeches bring him fan letters galore from Texas Chambers of Commerce, Lion, Kiwanis, and Rotary clubs, the D. A. R., bankers, and employers who hope to see strikes prohibited. That part of Texas labor which is able to vote has so far refrained from a choice between Allred and Moody,

both of whom indorse Administration policies. The Moody platform, it is true, questions the wisdom of the forty-hour week in defense industries, but so does such a staunch Southern New Dealer as Senator Pepper. Three instructors in economics at the University of Texas have just lost their jobs because they spoke in support of the wage-hour law.

Northern guessers at the result of Texas elections, instead of counting union strength, might well give some attention to church support. O'Daniel and Allred are both members of the Christian Church and will therefore split that vote. Moody is a Baptist, and in Texas there are three times as many Baptists as members of the Christian Church.

Taking a look at those statistics which the Senator so despises, we find that in the last election, in which a majority was not required, he won with 175,368 votes. Lyndon Johnson was a close second with 175,273, and the charge was freely made that he was counted out; State Attorney General Mann polled 140,853; and Martin Dies trailed fourth with 80,601. To estimate the real O'Daniel strength we should add his vote to that of Dies, their appeal to ignorance being identical; but this gives a total of only 225,969 votes against the 315,126 polled by the others. In the coming primary Allred and Moody can divide the opposing vote without giving O'Daniel the required majority of votes cast; this will force a second primary in which the anti-O'Daniel forces will unite.

Another figure may be significant. At a recent anti-O'Daniel meeting in Austin two-thirds of the large audience had relatives in the fighting services.

## *How to Talk to Hitler's Europe*

BY GAETANO SALVEMINI

THE men and women who challenge death in underground activities in Europe perform a task of tremendous importance. They keep alive among their people a flame of daring and sacrifice. They prevent the moral conscience of their fellows from going to sleep. They keep the police in a permanent state of suspicion and anger, without rest, compelled to strike at random and so to increase the disgust and discontent. They force judges to disgrace themselves by passing obviously unjust sentences. They create in members of the ruling group the disheartening sensation that they are isolated and insecure in a hostile country.

But let us not delude ourselves into hoping that they can stage an all-out revolution for our benefit. The collapse of the Second Empire in France in September,

1870, the Russian Revolution of 1917, the Austrian and German revolutions in 1918—all were the aftermath of military defeats. Only when the armed forces have disintegrated, or at least when the army chiefs have discredited themselves to such an extent that they can no longer rely upon their own soldiers for repression, does a serious revolutionary uprising become technically possible. I was dismayed when I read that the British Foreign Secretary, Anthony Eden, on May 8 had urged the German people over the radio to overthrow Adolf Hitler's Nazi regime.

I also question the wisdom of urging Europeans in our own short-wave radio broadcasts to carry out acts of sabotage, strikes, or assassinations. We hope they will do so, naturally. But a man who, sitting safely before a



microphone in America, tells people six thousand miles away that they should risk prison or death has very little chance of evoking a suitable response. He is more likely to arouse ridicule if not contempt. Men and women engaged in illegal activities on the spot do not need to be told what to do. They already know, and they do it on their own initiative and at their own risk. At the most I would, without comment, broadcast news of what is being done elsewhere; so that persons who wish to may apply other people's ingenuity. But misinformation or overstatement should be especially avoided. Any news which may be successfully contradicted is harmful.

Instead of dreaming of revolutions which are impossible as long as the United Nations' military power is unable to match Hitler's, and instead of asking the peoples of Europe to face deadly risks without adequate support from us, we should offer them a line of hope which of their own free will they will eagerly seize upon, even at the risk of their lives.

The longer this war continues the more the populations of the Continent will be tormented by starvation. We in America do not know what starvation means. When I see the waste of foodstuffs, for instance of butter, which still goes on everywhere, I am horrified. European starvation should be used as a weapon in this war, as well as an instrument of international policy during the immediate post-war period. The Germans and the Italians, and let us include the French as well, should be told that if, when the time is ripe, they cooperate to the best of their ability in the common fight against Hitler and Mussolini and Pétain they will receive the same treatment as the peoples of the Allied nations. Whoever is the last to move will be the last to be helped. And whoever does not move cannot expect help.

We must not confine ourselves to words; we must show that we mean what we say. It is not difficult to make an estimate of what each country of Europe will need during the six months or the first year after hostilities have stopped. While the war goes on, the government of the United States should start storing supplies for the immediate post-war period. North American production will be unable to meet the needs. South America should be brought in. Economic interests would thus be created in South America which would link those countries to the United States and Canada better than the empty words of politicians and diplomats. A few weeks ago we were informed that the United States was bolstering the economics of Latin America by buying and storing its coffee, cocoa, and bananas (*New York Times*, May 9). I have no dislike for coffee, cocoa, or bananas; but they belong to defensive economic warfare. If we want to shift to the offensive, both in economic and in political warfare, we must store wheat, meat, and condensed milk. And as this work goes on—in fact and not on paper—full information as to

its progress and purpose should be broadcast to Europe.

But the promise of rewards to come is only half the story. If nobody in Germany or Italy is to pay for the present tragedy, I do not know how those countries can be made to realize, once and for all, that aggression is a costly game which must not be played again. This does not mean that we should threaten everybody indiscriminately with reprisals; nor should we shroud our intentions in mystery. Our method should be to drive a wedge between the great masses of the German and Italian populations, which should be left alone, and their leaders, who should suffer the most ruthless treatment—and should be told so in advance.

We should announce that while we do not regard all Germans as responsible for the shooting of hostages, we do hold responsible the Nazi party leaders, the army chiefs, the ambassadors, and all other high officials. Therefore, when the war is over, as many German higher-ups will be shot as there have been hostages murdered; and we shall not waste time in court trials. The mere fact that one is a responsible official in the Nazi civil or military administration will be sufficient ground for indictment, conviction, and execution. At the same time the property of all persons in the higher economic brackets will be confiscated in order to compensate those outside Germany whose homes and businesses have been looted. The same message should be delivered to the Italians also.

These promises of ruthless punishment to be meted out to the upper strata of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy should not be made by radio commentators without governmental standing. They should be solemnly decided upon by the British Parliament, the American Congress, and the governments of all the other United Nations. Official committees should be set up to list the persons, starting with those at the top, who will be executed, or expropriated, or both when the war is over, and the names of those persons should be broadcast. The German and Italian peoples should be told that they are fighting, not in order to protect themselves from reprisals which nobody plans against them, but because Hitler and Goebbels and Himmler and Ribbentrop and Generals So-and-So want to save their skins and their property. We should revive the slogan of the French Revolution, "War to the palaces and peace to the hamlets."

In my opinion broadcasts such as those given by Sir Robert Vansittart at the end of 1940, which were handed down to posterity in the booklet "Black Record," can only foster among the Germans the persuasion that they are all in the same boat and all indiscriminately marked out for British vengeance. From the political standpoint these broadcasts were grist for Dr. Goebbels's propaganda mill. Any sensible man can judge for himself what impact Sir Robert's words must have had upon

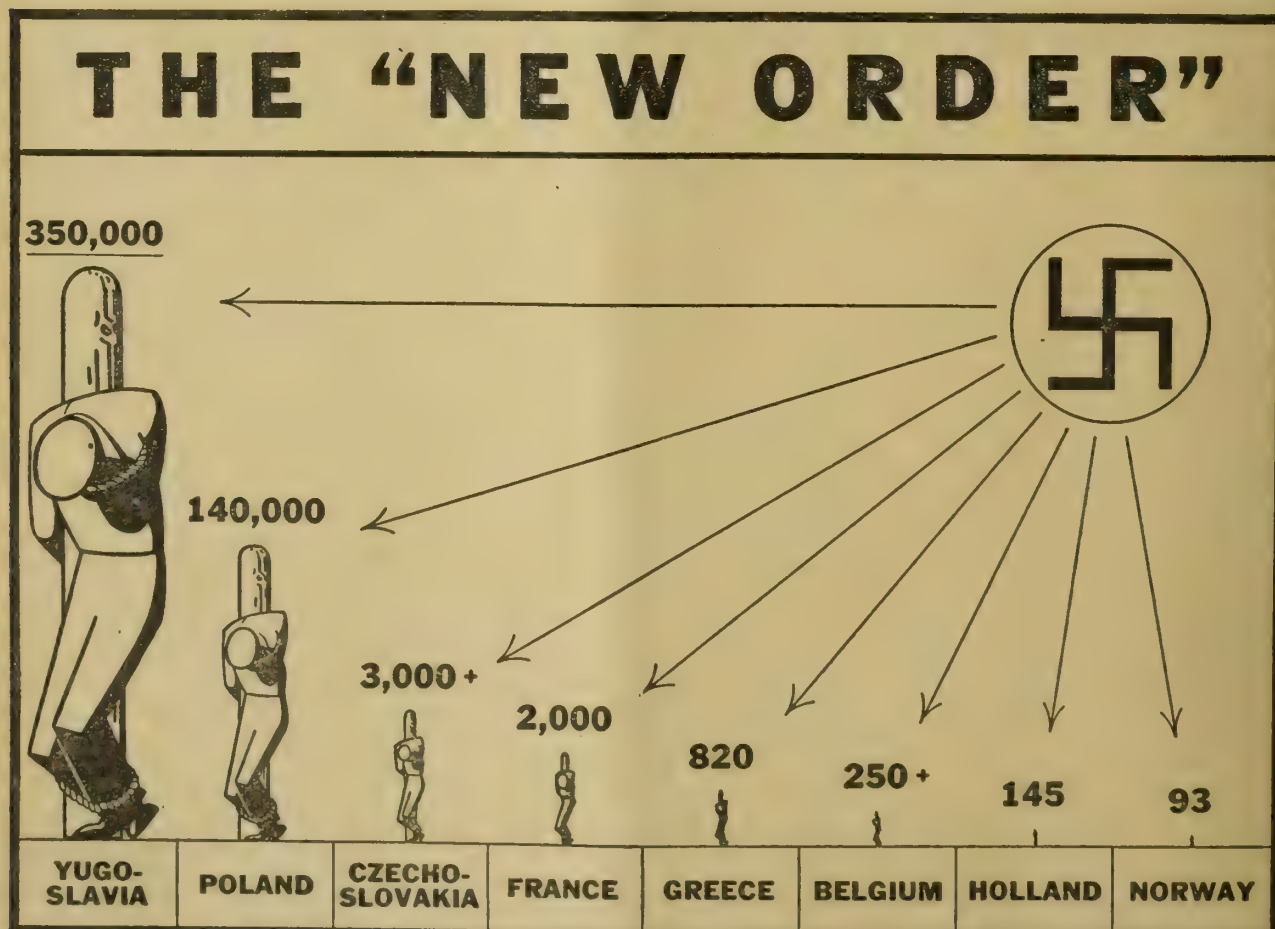


the minds not merely of the out-and-out Nazis but also of those Germans who hate the Nazis and would do anything they could to get rid of them. If we condemn, hate, and insult all Germans without distinction, and if we discourage those among them who are willing to work with us, the only course left to us will be to destroy the whole or the majority of the German population, or at least to divide Germany into tiny fragments. This is, in fact, the conclusion Dr. Goebbels was logically entitled to draw from Sir Robert's broadcasts, and it is on the basis of this conclusion that he is beating the drum of German national unity.

To avoid misunderstanding, let me state that nothing was more opportune than Mr. Churchill's announcement that "whatever we have to take, we will take, and we will give it back in even greater measure. We can play rough too." These manly words befit the virile leader of a virile people. We are at war, and nobody can expect British or American bombers to discriminate between "bad" and "good" Germans. And when the Nazi system breaks down, we must be prepared for news of harsh happenings in Germany and all the occupied countries. Terrible waves of revenge will be released, and innocent people will pay for the guilty. But

when the governments-in-exile officially announced from London that for the "acts of violence" perpetrated against civilian populations in occupied countries everybody would be held accountable who had "ordered, perpetrated, or in any way participated in" them (official communiqué of January 13, 1942), they were thinking not of the war period or of the immediate post-war crisis, about which nobody can hazard any calculations, but of the resettlement period, which will be controlled by the victorious governments. Since all German soldiers in occupied countries have in one way or another "participated in acts of violence against the civilian population," this communiqué threatened a large part of the German people. And in case this braggadocio were not sufficient, the Germans were also officially told that the punishment would be meted out "through the channels of organized justice." One wonders how many prisons will be needed to house the millions of Germans awaiting trial and how many thousand judges will be needed to try them. These futile threats help Dr. Goebbels for the time being in his propaganda for national unity.

The methods used in dealing with Italy are even more fantastic. In December, 1940, Mr. Churchill told the Italian people that Mussolini, while admittedly a



Graphic by Pick-8

The Office of Facts and Figures has recently published estimates made by the Allied governments of the results of German occupation in the conquered countries. The figures given above are for the number of persons killed by the occupation forces.



"great man," had alone brought Italy to the brink of ruin. A more unfortunate statement could hardly have been devised. Mussolini could not have brought to ruin more than forty million people had he not found accomplices and partisans among them. The anti-Fascists in Italy were dismayed. Apparently the British Tories were prepared to sell the Italian people down the river to Mussolini's accomplices and partisans provided these partisans threw overboard Mussolini himself. As for the Fascists, they were entitled to think that if Mussolini had been a "great man" until he disturbed the British Tories, he must still be a "great man," even if the British Tories no longer liked him.

It seems that Mr. Churchill expected a revolution in Italy as a consequence of his address. Since it did not materialize, the British Ministry of Information discovered, during the summer of 1941, that all Italians, and not merely "one man," were responsible for Italy's being at war with England, and thereupon decided that a distinction should no longer be made between Italians and Fascists.

Aside from the historical falseness of its position, the British Ministry of Information was devoid of political common sense. The folly of this approach was shown by the way Mussolini was able to take advantage of it. One reads in the Manchester *Guardian* of March 9, 1942:

The Nazi theme "Hate Britain" was followed by Fascist propaganda rather uneasily and then abandoned. More successful must have been the reverse slogan, "The British hate you all," which has become the most consistent of all propaganda trends. Private letters to British newspapers suggesting that no real difference could be made between Italy and the Fascist regime have been eagerly quoted by Italian broadcasters. And Gayda in the *Giornale d'Italia* of January 30 wrote: "We note the mood of British propaganda—the British nation against all Italians. The Italians must at last understand that the English traditional friendship for them, for their national cause and their country, never existed." While the propagandists are stressing this theme they carefully conceal any remark from this side which may discriminate between Italy and Fascism.

We have other happy devices for helping Mussolini. Italians who know only their own language are told by American radio stations, in Italian, that their soldiers were right when they refused to fight in Albania and in Libya. But those who understand French or Spanish hear in other broadcasts, given in French or Spanish, that all Italians are cowards and know only how to run away.

During his recent visit to Washington Mr. Churchill said that Mussolini had "inflicted great sufferings and wrongs upon his industrious people." Let us hope that these words were in his speech not by accident but with a purpose, and that they indicate a new and sounder

policy in our political warfare against Mussolini. Multiplying facilities for our enemies and difficulties for our friends should no more be the effect than it is the purpose of political warfare.

## In the Wind

LAST WEEK two gossip columnists reported that Westbrook Pegler had been seen at the Stork Club with James C. Petrillo, president of the American Federation of Musicians, a "unioneer" who has been the victim of some of Pegler's most bitter invective. Two days after the reported meeting Pegler published what was probably his first column in praise of a trade union, or at least in justification of a well-known and widely condemned trade-union practice. He defended the right of professional musicians to force the use of paid "stand-bys"—that is, musicians who are paid but do not play at entertainments where the music is provided by amateurs.

RAYMOND LESLIE BUELL, an editor of *Fortune* and one of Wendell Willkie's principal advisers on foreign affairs, is seeking the Republican nomination for Representative from a western Massachusetts district.

LIDICE is pronounced Lee'-dee-tsa.

JOSEPH A. BOWER, executive vice-president of the Chemical Bank and Trust Company of New York, is a candidate for United States Senator from New Jersey. Documents submitted to the Dies committee last year include a memorandum to Berlin written by a Nazi agent, Dr. F. A. Kertes, which reported a meeting in 1940 between Bower and Kertes. Kertes at that time was discussing with business men the possibility of American investments in post-war Germany. According to the memorandum, Bower was willing to cooperate; his only complaint against Germany, he told Kertes, was that his bank did not get much German business.

AT A FOURTH OF JULY meeting at Woodstock, New York, Professor James T. Shotwell delivered an address. He spoke eloquently of the thin lines of heroes holding back the enemy on many fronts—Americans, British, Free French, Chinese. But there was no word of appreciation for the Russians, or even any hint in the speech that the U. S. S. R. was fighting on our side.

A SEAMAN returned from South America tells this story of what one German did to another when a British warship sank a Nazi freighter and rescued its crew. When the men were brought aboard, one of them spied a fire ax on the British boat. He seized it and drove it deep into the skull of one of his crew mates. "A Gestapo man," he said to the Britishers who had tried in vain to hold him back.

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of \$5 will be awarded each month for the best item.—EDITORS THE NATION.]



# BOOKS *and the* ARTS

## Notes by the Way

IT IS not exactly news, especially to writers, that literary production declines in time of war; but W. W. Norton, the publisher, cited fresh evidence of the tendency in a speech he made a few weeks ago at the convention of the American Booksellers' Association. The spring catalogues of the British publishers, he said, showed an extraordinary increase in the number and proportion of books by American authors. "This is no question of supply of paper available for books; it is a question of supply of manuscripts. For it is perfectly obvious that there are just not enough books of British authorship available after two and a half years of war." He looks for a similar shortage of material here, basing his prediction not only on recent British experience but on the record of the last war. (In 1917 about 10,000 titles were published in this country; in 1919 the number had fallen to about 8,500, and as Mr. Norton pointed out, the First World War was neither total nor revolutionary as this one is.)

It goes almost without saying that writers whose stock in trade consists of values rather than facts—that is, novelists, poets, dramatists, and critics, both social and literary—are the first casualties. It is no accident that the drama critics of New York awarded no prize this year, and at least one of the big annual fiction competitions has been called off for lack of sufficient good material. The reasons are both objective and subjective. Even if a writer has not been drawn into military service or an office of information and even if he can command the necessary working conditions—three meals a day and a dry place to sleep, time and relative quiet—there is no way of avoiding the disturbing influence of war on the mind and the emotions; and the more sensitive the writer, the greater the disturbance is likely to be. He labors under another difficulty. In peace time he tends to be regarded as a privileged yet non-essential citizen; in war time his vocation is regarded more than ever as a luxury trade—despite the fact that he is a chief carrier of the cultural values which are, in the present conflict, presumed to be a major issue. Given this public attitude, the writer himself, who shares the general compulsion to take an active part in the fight on which his own survival depends, may easily come to the questionable conclusion that a mediocre soldier is more useful than a good book.

The ironical part of it is that all reports coming from Britain, as Mr. Norton also points out, indicate an increase in the demand for books; and it would seem that the kind of books people want to read in war time are the very type least likely to get written, for in England at least there has been a definite return to the classics—the creative writing of earlier periods. Yet the only writers in Britain who have any status are the journalists. Journalism is a "reserved" occupation, and in this country newspaper correspondents have acquired so much prestige as authors that almost any batch of dispatches can pass muster as a book.

Mr. Norton would discover confirmation of his findings as to the shortage of manuscripts by British authors, particularly non-journalists, in a manifesto issued in behalf of young writers in the British armed forces and other war activities and printed in the October issue of the English literary monthly *Horizon*. It addressed itself boldly to the whole question of the creative writer and his role in war time. "Creative writers, poets, novelists, and dramatists," it stated, "have a skill, imagination, and human understanding which must be utilized as fully as the skill of journalists." Yet "as things are, . . . writer after writer is called up, or seeing no possibility of using his special talents in the interest of his country, has volunteered for war service." The manifesto demanded that creative writers be given the same facilities as journalists and be "used to interpret the war world so that cultural unity is reestablished and war effort emotionally coordinated." It advocated the international exchange of writers among the United Nations and the "formation of an official group of war writers."

I agree with the diagnosis; I'm skeptical about the cure. I might be in favor of exempting a good novelist or poet from military service on the ground that he is a good novelist or poet. But even assuming that such a thing should come about, and assuming, moreover, that the task of deciding who was entitled to exemption was given to the editor of *Horizon* rather than the local draft board, what would be the effect, I wonder, on the writer himself? If I know anything about novelists and poets, the sense of having been officially designated creative writers and officially excused from running the risk of death like other men would impose, particularly on the best of them, a burden of responsibility, not to mention guilt, that might well be fatal as far as creative activity was concerned. As for the "formation of an official group of war writers," it might produce useful and well-written interpretations of war issues and peace aims; it might insure the physical survival of talented people whose death would be a genuine loss to literature, and that is desirable; but I'm afraid that the writing it generated would be official rather than creative.

MARGARET MARSHALL

## Moscow and Magnitogorsk

*ONLY THE STARS ARE NEUTRAL.* By Quentin Reynolds. Random House. \$2.50.

*BEHIND THE URALS.* By John Scott. Houghton Mifflin Company. \$2.75.

A FOREIGN correspondent, says Mr. Reynolds, travels more and faster but learns and sees less than any other known form of animal or plant life. That statement does not apply fully to Mr. Reynolds himself. He traveled a lot, mostly by air—which does not always mean "fast" these days—but he also saw a good deal: England, Russia, and Egypt. In his book he tells us too what he learned. He spent



a day with Churchill and describes the Prime Minister as a man "who grins when he fights." In London during the Battle of Britain he came to the conclusion that that battle was won by the courage and toil of thousands of civilians. He was at the front in Libya and learned there what a German dive-bomber attack in the desert is like. Before his African experience he had been with the Harriman-Beaverbrook group in Russia and after three months in Moscow and Kuibyshev realized that the U. S. S. R. was not a country for reporters, although he liked and admired the Russians; he was unable to obtain sufficient material for his articles, and the little he got was not passed by the Russian censor. Resenting this situation, he left Russia at the first opportunity; he then joined the Litvinov-Steinhardt party on their flight via Baku and Teheran to Cairo.

Like most of his colleagues Reynolds does not speak Russian. Therefore he could not read the Soviet papers or even decipher posters or shop signs. Neither could he converse with the Russians. Naturally, in these circumstances he found his sources of information rather limited. Imagine a foreign correspondent in Washington who has to send cables to Europe and write "stories" about the United States without being able to speak or read a word of English.

Mr. Reynolds's description of the official dinner at the Kremlin at which Stalin was present, after the Harriman-Beaverbrook conference, is vivid and amusing; his portraits of some of Russia's leading men—Lozovski, head of the Information Bureau; Vyshinski, state's prosecutor; and Eisenstein, the film director, whom Reynolds was supposed to

help with his picture "Moscow Fights Back"—are sharp and full of humor. More serious but not less brilliant is his sketch of Moscow in October, 1941, when the city, calm and courageous, was ready for whatever might come. But one does not get much real information on Russia from Mr. Reynolds. His is a book of personal impressions and adventures, not one of analytical discussion or political synthesis. The best chapters are those on the "retreat" to Kuibyshev and on the life that diplomats and journalists were compelled to lead in that forlorn town. Written in the light, sparkling style which is always one of Mr. Reynolds's assets, the book tells us more about the ways of American newspapermen than about the U. S. S. R.

Mr. Reynolds writes about his adventures like a storyteller. John Scott is more of a sociologist. In "Behind the Urals" he tries to make his own story fit into the frame of Russia's economic and political evolution in the last decade. Mr. Scott left the University of Wisconsin in 1931 and went to Russia. There he became a welder in the new industrial base of Magnitogorsk, behind the Urals. This huge steel and coal center was created in a region inhabited by wandering Asiatic tribes. The history of its construction is a wonderful tale of unremitting struggle and sacrifice. In 1929 Magnitogorsk had fewer than 2,000 inhabitants; in 1939 its population had risen to 250,000. Magnificent plants and blast furnaces were erected in a desert which lacked roads, houses, food, and men. Now Russia's largest industrial stronghold, which furnished roughly ten million tons of steel in 1937-42, it was built at an enormous cost in human lives and energy.

*Like rain in the Sahara*

# Writers in Crisis

BY MAXWELL GEISMAR

"It is almost like getting rain in the Sahara to find a new critical writer with something to say in 1942. Such a writer is Maxwell Geismar . . . Here, in six close-grappling chapters, we have the best behavioristic treatment of a group of writers since Edmund Wilson's 'Axel's Castle'. Mr. Geismar, by skillful foreshortening and condensation, exhibits minds and temperaments in miraculously small space." — *John Chamberlain, New York Times*

"A book of first-rate literary criticism, pure and simple. All through it one is conscious of insights and juxtapositions; of a keenness of perception and of discrimination that make it one of the most rewarding accounts we have of contemporary American writing." — *New York Herald Tribune* \$3.00

## Behind the Urals

BY JOHN SCOTT

"One of the most impressive books of recent years . . . It is impressive in exactly the way the quiet conversation of a mature, firm-willed man is impressive, when he reflects upon a profound experience." — *New Republic* \$2.75



HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY · PUBLISHERS



Men were injured and killed, women and children froze to death, thousands starved in order to secure the victory of Russia's industrialization front. "I would wager," says Mr. Scott, "that Russia's battle of ferrous metallurgy alone involved more casualties than the Battle of the Marne."

Mr. Scott worked five years in the Magnitogorsk plant. He learned Russian, attended a Communist university without becoming a member of the party, and endured the same hardships as his comrades. The boundless enthusiasm with which they sacrificed themselves infected him from the day of his arrival. And their sacrifices were not in vain. Mr. Scott points out that Russian resistance in 1941-42 was made technically possible only by the industrial output of the Urals and Siberia. He firmly believes that recent events have entirely justified Stalin's ruthlessness in building up Magnitogorsk and other big factories behind the Urals at forced tempo.

Mr. Scott led the usual life of a Russian worker. He married a Russian girl and acquired an intimate knowledge of the Russian mentality and of the contradictions of the Soviet regime. He gathered facts and figures in an objective, non-partisan way; he was able to observe and analyze; and his book on Magnitogorsk is a valuable contribution to an understanding of the U. S. S. R. Mr. Scott does not attempt to judge the regime or to generalize about communism, although he does not hide his opinion of the purge of 1936-39: it disheartened him extremely and in fact was the main cause of his leaving the country. But whatever his objections to the dictatorship, he never ceased to believe in Russia's great future. All that he saw and learned during his eight years' stay entitles him to proclaim that the country will never be conquered by Hitler, because "millions of Russians had been preparing for war for a decade, industrially, personally, and ideologically."

MARC SLONIM

## The Powers and the Peace

*CONDITIONS OF PEACE.* By Edward Hallett Carr. The Macmillan Company. \$2.50.

**E.** H. CARR, Wilson Professor of International Politics at University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, has for ten years been publishing remarkable studies in the fields of international biography and international affairs. He celebrates the decade by producing a book on the most burning question of the day, always excepting the question of how we are to win this war. The latter question is of course implicit in the former. Those who would reject any study of the conditions of peace while we have not yet won the war seem to ignore the importance of the question for the morale of the United Nations.

Professor Carr is British. The book reflects his concern about British influence on the conditions of peace. He qualifies the assumption that Great Britain is destined to play a predominant role in the ordering of the world after the war. He concedes that after this war Britain's self-confidence will have received a "salutary shock" and will not repeat the error of 1918, that victory has enhanced its military and economic power. But he does think that Britain, if it pursues a wise policy, will be able to offer the same extensive

markets as of old to dominions produce, and that if it "sets a wise course and recovers that sense of a mission which alone can preserve [it] from decay," it will continue to exercise a role of leadership and preeminence in large parts of Europe and Africa and in the Middle East.

Professor Carr's concern for British policy in Europe is tempered by a realization of the future Russian position. He also recognizes the strings that attach both to other than European factors. He does not concede the same possibility for other European nations when he visualizes a British-Russian European order instead of the defeated Axis order: "If Great Britain is ready to take her share of responsibility for a new order in Western Europe, there is a reasonable prospect of securing the whole-hearted cooperation of Russia in Eastern Europe." In regard to Germany, he admits that its defeat "is bound to be followed by an extensive military occupation," but insists on certain requirements in the preparation for the establishment of a new European order, in which Germans must ultimately be called on to participate: "If the occupying forces in Western Germany are predominantly British (perhaps with Dominion or American reinforcements), there should be no difficulty in securing a common-sense interpretation of these requirements. If Russian forces occupy Eastern Germany, there is reason to hope that they will observe a similar restraint." The implied acceptance of continued power politics will please citizens of the smaller of the United Nations as little as the statement that "in 1940 the resistance of small powers had no more than nuisance value." This is rank ingratitude for the added time their resistance afforded to the great powers and does not tally with the admission that "Dutch, Belgian, Norwegian, and Danish neutrality was, quite apart from anything these countries might think or do, an asset to Great Britain."

The smaller European nations are much too conscious of the independent value of their contributions to the joint war effort of the democracies, both on the home front and abroad, both before and after the successive waves of the Nazi invasion. They are beginning to be restive under the development of ideas that seem to indicate the abandonment of the fundamental unit in democratic society, the local community, in favor of centralized, distant control. A more realistic understanding of the tremendous tasks of internal rebuilding and rehabilitation that will face Britain, and Russia too, after this war might induce a more cooperative and democratic conception of the post-war order, particularly in Europe.

But in order to clarify these conditions of peace in one book, one would have to be an expert not only on international affairs but also on the inner working of democratic communities. Professor Carr proves to be the former in the second part of his book, which is concerned with "some outlines of policy," but he involves himself in contradictions and finds himself on unfamiliar ground in the first part, when he deals with "some fundamental issues." On both counts his book is, however, a fairly sound and faithful exposition of current ideas on the subject and is therefore useful. The index is less useful than it should be since it contains only the names of persons mentioned in the text.

BJARNE BRAATØY



## IN BRIEF

**ASSIGNMENT IN BRITTANY.** By Helen MacInnes. Little, Brown and Company. \$2.50.

The author of "Above Suspicion" gives us another literate tale of British espionage, less ingenious than its predecessor but more firmly written. The hero is Martin Hearne, an English agent who looks so much like the wounded Frenchman Bertrand Corlay that he is able to return to France in Corlay's place. It is neither a new device nor a very credible one, and Hearne, the expert, lacks the charm of Miss MacInnes's earlier non-professional hero and heroine. But Miss MacInnes has an unusual sense of terrain, and her picture of Nazi-occupied Brittany is at least geographically absorbing.

**VICTORY ON WEST HILL.** By R. L. Duffus. The Macmillan Company. \$2.50.

It's all rather confusing: Washington Hendricks doesn't approve of his family, and when three generations of his descendants arrive in Vermont for his ninety-fifth birthday he takes a glandular injection the better to cope with them. The treatment produces a delusion—the old man thinks he fought in the Revolution instead of the Civil War, and this seems so to confound and impress his relatives that they instantly reform their various ways of life, but not until there has been a mass lobster poisoning. The author is the well-known book reviewer for the *New York Times*.

**TAP ROOTS.** By James Street. The Dial Press. \$2.75.

Mr. Street has chosen a new corner of the Civil War, that inexhaustible source of modern fiction, for the scene of a large, loosely woven, but highly readable book. Writing about a romantic Mississippi family, the Dabneys, he recreates one of the Southern anti-slavery communities, part pro-Union, part Abolitionist, part purely anarchic, which seceded from secession and waged its own private war against the Confederacy. The love story is not unfamiliar: there are the usual death-dealing hero and the inevitable lady of spirit whose fall goeth hand in hand with her pride; talk runs high about honor, and there's much concern about tainted blood. On the political side,

Mr. Street, aiming to shatter a few myths, does a more than usually realistic job on the nature of political motives.

**DRIVIN' WOMAN.** By Elizabeth Pickett Chevalier. The Macmillan Company. \$2.75.

Mrs. Chevalier's drivin' woman comes to maturity in the Civil War, flees her Virginia home after murdering the man who tries to rape her sister, marries a river-boat gambler, and then spends the rest of her life being faithful to her scoundrel-husband and trying to wrest a living from a tobacco farm in Kentucky. It's a hard life and not a very merry one, but there seems to have been a breed of gallant Southern lady for whom obstacles as enormous as those which confronted Merry Moncure were simply a challenge to the blood of her forbears. Mrs. Chevalier's long, detailed novel is competent though rather pedestrian, and it has an interesting account of the rise of the tobacco trust.

**VILLAGE OF GLASS.** By Frances Frost. Farrar and Rinehart. \$2.50.

Miss Frost's novel is about a glassmaker named Robin Thorn whose ambition in life is to blow his ideal woman in glass. He loves a girl named Laurel O'Hare and calls her O'Rabbit. All of a sudden there's a war (not this war, just Miss Frost's unpleasant fantasy of a war) and Vermont is invaded; at the drop of a cracker barrel, our glass-blower turns out to be a full-fledged pilot who zooms through the air as if a fighter plane were any man's bubble. An inept and ridiculous novel! It's a toss-up whether Miss Frost is at her worst being all poetic about nature, or all bloody about war, or just too hearty with those Vermont neighbors of hers.

**DEEP VALLEY.** By Dan Totheroh. L. B. Fischer Publishing Corporation. \$2.50.

A lonely country girl and an escaped convict hide from the law and love each other in the isolated California valleys. Mr. Totheroh has written a short novel, pretentious in its poetic simplicity.

**OUT ON ANY LIMB.** By John Myers Myers. E. P. Dutton and Company. \$2.50.

Perhaps in a day when you can pick up your morning paper and read about the Commandos, the old-time cloak-and-sword story has lost some of its thrill. Mr. Myers's novel is set in Eliza-

bethan England, and it is full of swash-buckling adventure, maidens in distress, and comradeship over a cask of ale. But for all its historical competence, it is peculiarly unsatisfying, even as romantic escape.

**LAND OF UNREASON.** By Fletcher Pratt and L. Sprague de Camp. Henry Holt and Company. \$2.50.

An American ex-diplomat, convalescing from the war jitters in Yorkshire, substitutes Scotch for the milk put out on his doorstep on Midsummer Eve and in consequence is kidnapped by the Little People. An allegory, of course, and a rather confusing one, but if you have nothing in principle against pixies, or against political animals in the form of frogs, leeches, and bats, a modern diplomat's highly literate adventures in fairyland may appeal to you.

**NEWPORT TOWER.** By Philip Ainsworth Means. Introduction by Vilhjalmur Stefansson. Henry Holt and Company. \$5.

As in the usual detective story, the question here is "who done it?" But in this case the "it" refers not to a murder but to the building of the Old

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Stone Tower at Newport, Rhode Island, which was painted by Gilbert Stuart before the Revolution and has been the subject of curious speculation for more than a hundred years. The unsensational assumption that it was built by Governor Benedict Arnold as a windmill in 1675 seems to have gradually come to be accepted chiefly because it is so much less sensational than the rival theory, which holds that the Norsemen were responsible. Now the whole question has been reexamined exhaustively and from the beginning in this fascinating book by a trained archaeologist who has evidently devoted years to research spreading out into various fields, including the history of windmills and the architecture of the Norsemen, as well as what can be ascertained concerning the latter's voyages. The whole story of the evidence and its finding is presented as a sort of detective story which makes fascinating reading for anyone capable of interest in such a first-class puzzle as this one. The author believes that Norse origin is overwhelmingly probable. There seems little doubt that he has proved conclusively the complete absurdity of the theory that it was built as a windmill by Governor Arnold or anybody else; yet it was certainly there in Arnold's time. The book is profusely illustrated with fine pictures. The author, who has devoted himself chiefly to Central and South American archaeology, has done work in that field for the Smithsonian, the Heye Foundation, and other organizations.

## Drama Note

BEING no skater myself I went without great eagerness to see "Stars on Ice," which is being presented at the huge Center Theater by Sonja Henie and Arthur M. Wirtz. Miss Henie herself does not appear, but I am happy to report that instead of getting enough of it in half an hour I found myself very much surprised that eleven o'clock came as soon as it did. The ballets, the comic interludes, and the demonstrations of virtuosity are so agreeably alternated that, unlike a variety show, which always seems to me more conspicuously lacking in variety than anything else, "Stars on Ice" is not monotonous. It is all very pretty, very graceful, and, like so many hard things done well enough to seem easy, somehow exhilarating. Of the ballets I liked best *The Chase*; of the trick skat-

ers a comic named Freddy Trenkler, who is doubtless well known to everybody except me. J. W. K.

## RECORDS

WILLIAM WALTON'S music gives me the impression of a keen mind, a real feeling for the medium, a highly developed competence and fastidiousness in the handling of this medium. I get this impression from the latest of his works, the Violin Concerto that Heifetz recorded for Victor with the Cincinnati Symphony under Goossens (Set 868, \$3.68); and the qualities I have mentioned make it interesting to listen to from one moment to the next—even when what I am listening to is the wailing passages in the first movement that are curiously reminiscent of "Summertime" in "Porgy and Bess," or the stormy passages that alternate with them. But the interesting minute-to-minute talk does not add up to a single large-scale utterance with the impressiveness and impact that such utterance can have. It isn't for lack of trying: those stormy passages are, I think, part of the attempt; but they seem arbitrarily inserted in their context, not in organic relation to it. The first movement, the most pretentious of the three, is the weakest in substance and structure; the best passage are the capricious, grotesque ones in the other movements.

The work is one that appears to have been written with the intention of making musical use of all the capacities of the solo instrument, and provides Heifetz with the occasion for a display of his own phenomenal capacities; but the wailing passages also provide him with occasions for his wailing style of phrasing, which I do not like. The orchestral part seems well performed. On a Scott 23 with Brush PL-25 pickup the recorded sound is quite good, but loud passages are a little confused and some of the fastidiously wrought orchestral detail is not heard distinctly in quiet passages. On the same machine with the Astatic Tru-tan pickup the over-all sound is a little shrill.

Liszt's "Mephisto Waltz," one of two pieces based on Lenau's "Faust," is for me one of Liszt's most enjoyable works. Koussevitzky's performance with the Boston Symphony (Set 870, \$2.63) begins promisingly—which is to say the introductory measures establish the right tempo for the "Dance in the Village Inn" that is to come. But

then, instead of a slight distention of this pace for the statement of the chief dance theme, we get a sudden violent interruption of the movement that has been established, a slowing down to a pace unrelated to that of the introduction for a bloated statement of the theme that protrudes out of its context. And this happens again later when the theme recurs. It is an example of the tendency to overemphatic statement and the lack of feeling for plastic continuity and coherence that spoil other Koussevitzky performances besides this one of the "Mephisto Waltz." The orchestra plays superbly; and the recorded sound of its playing on a Scott 23 machine with the Brush PL-25 pickup is very fine; but it is shrill and harsh on the same machine with the Astatic Tru-tan.

There are two or three details of overemphatic distortion in Koussevitzky's performance; and bad as they are in effect they proceed from an intention that is good—the desire to make the music effective, which in turn is part of the passionate devotion to music, the feeling of personal responsibility and dedication to it, which led Koussevitzky to his touchingly generous action of carrying the Berkshire Center program through on his own this summer. On the other hand, in the performance of Tchaikovsky's Fourth Symphony that Stokowski has recorded for Victor with the N. B. C. Symphony (Set 880, \$5.78) there is hardly a phrase that is not distorted, and distorted senselessly; and when you go back to the performance of this symphony that he recorded with the Philadelphia Orchestra thirteen or fourteen years ago you not only discover how the distortions which were moderate and occasional then have grown and spread until they now transform the work into a misshapen caricature of what Tchaikovsky imagined, but you perceive why they have grown and spread: the tendency to fuss with the music, to pull it this way and that, has grown with the impatient boredom of a man who had a phenomenal gift for conducting but no interest in music, a man for whom even the tonal part of conducting was a medium for personal exhibitionism; it has grown with the exhibitionism, which finally could be satisfied only by the opportunities that the films gave him for making a spectacle of himself.

The finale is objectionably cut, and the recorded sound is strangely drab, muffled, and at times almost inaudible.

B. H. HAGGIN



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# Letters to the Editors

## The Battle Against Fascism

*Dear Sirs:* The article by J. Alvarez del Vayo entitled *World War III?* in *The Nation* of June 20 was extremely important. From 1936 to 1938 Mr. del Vayo warned the democracies against the dangers of fascism and of appeasement. Today he points out another danger, one which seems to me not less grave. To destroy fascism it is not enough to conquer the Nazi and fascist armies. We shall lose the battle if we do not attack the very roots of fascism, the social and economic forces of which fascism is the expression.

It is certain that we shall witness toward the end of the war and during the peace conference an offensive by all the forces of reaction. The directors and beneficiaries of the present economic system will try to prevent the explosion of the revolutionary forces that have been accumulating in Europe; they will seek to set up or to maintain politically reactionary governments in order to preserve the capitalist system, and in carrying out this purpose they will utilize certain governments-in-exile and certain self-styled neutral governments, such as those of Franco and Pétain.

The success of this kind of politics would lead the world to catastrophe. Violent civil wars would break out. Democratic, progressive, and revolutionary forces might be crushed. Europe would then again enter on a period of dictatorship, militarism, and strengthened capitalism. A new outbreak of fascism, in another form and under another name, would be inevitable, especially since the present war will have reinforced nationalist tendencies everywhere.

Experience has proved that capitalism in its present form does not constitute a favorable climate for the development of democracy. There is a contradiction between the principles of discipline and hierarchy, which are the basis of monopoly capitalism, and the principles of equality and liberty, which are the basis of democracy. Capitalistic free competition has been able to accommodate itself to political democracy, but capitalistic monopoly is unable to. One does not need to be a Marxist to make the following observations: (a) The evolution of capitalism brings about a change in the composition of the middle class.

Fifty years ago the majority of the middle class was made up of independent workers and professional men; today it consists of technicians caught in the hierarchy of capitalism and believing themselves the beneficiaries of it. (b) The increase of unemployment in an evolving capitalism makes social conflicts more and more acute; the period of class struggle is followed by class war. (c) The change from the capitalism of free competition to monopoly capitalism leads fatally to a corporative economy; and while the natural political form of competitive capitalism was democracy, the natural political form of a corporative economy is fascism.

A socialist economy, on the contrary, is suited to a political democracy; in a socialist economy political democracy is the natural outcome of economic democracy. I regret that I have not the space to consider the evolution of the political and economic systems of France, England, and Russia from this point of view.

In the world of tomorrow, if we wish to assure the development of democracy, fascism must be outlawed. On this point Del Vayo is absolutely right. What has happened in Europe should be a lesson to us. The moment that Italy suppressed democratic rights, democracy was threatened all over the world. Democracy and fascism cannot exist together in the same world and in the same epoch.

Communism and democracy, however, can exist in the same world. There is no contradiction of principle between the two formulas. Communism entails a period of dictatorship of the proletariat. But in the Communist thesis—and I venture to say in actual practice also—this period is an intermediate and temporary one. The Soviet constitution of 1936 is the most democratic one that I know. Its application has been suspended by the force of circumstances and by the necessity of preparing for war, but democratic liberties have been more or less suspended in all the countries which have prepared for war. There is no doubt that once the Soviet Union is rid of the Fascist and Nazi menace it will rapidly evolve into a political democracy.

The recent agreements among the Soviet Union, Great Britain, and the United States have an importance which I wish to stress. These agreements affirm

the will of the democracies and the Soviet Union to collaborate after the war in the establishment of an international order founded on justice, the liberty of the people, and respect for treaties. In my opinion this collaboration, and it alone, will permit humanity to reach a point of social and political equilibrium, to make new progress, and to avoid new wars.

The achievement of this new democratic international order will demand much good-will and understanding. I hope that the private interests of which the capitalist regime is the expression will not obstruct the effort.

PIERRE COT,

Former Air Minister of France  
New York, July 7

## CONTRIBUTORS

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## *The Shape of Things*

WITHOUT IN THE LEAST MINIMIZING THE gravity of the situation on the eastern front, it is possible to note some encouraging facts. Nowhere is there any sign of demoralization among the Soviet armies. In the extreme south where the flat, treeless steppes afford no natural lines of defense, the Russians are still retreating but in slow orderly fashion. Farther north the bloody struggle for Voronezh continues, and the Germans have been prevented from consolidating their bridgeheads on the Don River just west of the city. There are indications that Marshal Timoshenko is prepared to fall back behind the great bend of the Don, where he can make a real stand in defense of the key city of Stalingrad, which commands the last line of communications between Moscow and the Caucasus. Voronezh and Rostov would form the northern and southern anchors of this line and are therefore points which must be held at all costs. Hitler is evidently giving priority to the Russian battle, and consequently Rommel is getting only limited reinforcements and supplies. The danger to Egypt is not past, but with marked inferiority in the air Rommel can do little at the moment to counter the offensive which is being waged by British and American fliers against his communications.

✱

VERBAL APPRECIATION FOR CHINA IS ALL very well, but as Dr. Lin Yutang points out in a letter to the *New York Times*, the Chinese could get along better with fewer bouquets and more bombers. Recent promises made to the Chungking government, he says, are not being fully honored. Thus transport planes, which are vital to China, have been diverted for use in India, while the bombers under General Stilwell's command, which performed effectively against Hankow, have been transferred to the Middle East. Meanwhile, despite its lack of effective weapons, the Chinese army is continuing its struggle to hold Chekiang and Kiangsi. After an occupation of only six days the Japanese were driven out of the important seaport of Wenchow. And their newly won hold on the Hangchow-Namchang railroad has been broken by the Chinese recapture of a fifteen-mile stretch between Iyang and Hengfeng. Creditable as these achievements are to the



Chinese army, it seems probable that the relaxation of Japan's grip in this sector is at least partly due to withdrawals of troops which are being sent northward.

✱

**REINFORCEMENT OF THE JAPANESE ARMY IN** northern Manchuria, together with reports of concentrations near the borders of Soviet-controlled Outer Mongolia, suggests that a sudden blow against eastern Siberia may be at hand. With the Red Army hard-pressed to defend the Caucasus from the Nazis, Tokyo may well feel that a stab in the back is in order. Are we prepared to aid Russia to resist a Japanese offensive? We have a vital interest in keeping Vladivostok and the Kamchatka Peninsula out of Japanese hands, for these are the best possible bases for an aerial offensive once Japan decides to take the risk of adding Russia to its list of enemies. By their occupation of the western Aleutians the Japanese have placed themselves in a position to interfere with our direct line of communications with eastern Siberia. Is the navy taking all possible measures to drive the invaders out before they establish fully equipped bases? Are any alternative routes being prepared? Are bases being constructed so that bombers can fly across the Bering Strait and thence to Vladivostok? Has any effort been made to open up communications with Russia by the Arctic sea route, which can be kept free with the aid of ice-breakers during the next two months? We ask these questions, knowing that military secrecy properly prohibits any answers, as a reminder to our strategists not to minimize the possibilities of the northwestern passages to Asia.

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**FOR THE QUESTIONS IT RAISES RATHER THAN** the solution it offers, we are glad to print in this issue the article by Albert Horlings on "Hawaii's 150,000 Japanese." On the face of things it is hard to explain why the Japanese of California and Oregon have to be moved inland while a far greater number are allowed to remain at what the author rightly describes as "the anchor of the whole Pacific battle line." Perhaps it is the very size of Hawaii's Japanese population that discourages mass evacuation. The Hawaiians themselves, including those of mixed racial stock, are a minority, numbering only some 63,000, as are the whites on the islands, numbering 108,000. Even assuming the shipping facilities for the project, the question of where 150,000 transplanted men and women could be located and what they could do to sustain themselves assumes staggering proportions. We cannot help thinking, moreover, that removal of more than one-third of the population would have a deeper effect on the islands' economy than Mr. Horlings is willing to grant. With internment at least equally difficult, the question remains dangerously unresolved.

**GENERALISSIMO FRANCO CELEBRATED THE** sixth anniversary of the fascist rebellion in Spain with a speech calculated to discourage his most persistent well-wishers in Whitehall and Washington. First, he admitted the existence of active opposition inside the country; second, he said that opposition or no opposition, Spain could mobilize an army of 3,000,000 men to fight communism, which was the only great problem facing Europe; and third, he ridiculed the "liberal, democratic form of government," asserting that the totalitarian system had proved its superiority both in peace and war. What is the answer of our policy-makers in Washington and London to this sort of talk? Do they really believe they can still win or buy Franco away from his open allegiance to fascism and the Axis? As the policy of appeasement crumbles to nothing in France, why does not our government for once act with decision? Let us take Franco at his word and accept him as the enemy he openly proclaims himself. A break with fascist Spain would not only be like a breath of fresh air in a sick-room; it would also serve the practical purpose of making possible a thoroughgoing campaign against the Phalanx, which today operates unchecked throughout Latin America in the service of Hitler.

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**THERE CAN BE NO COMPLAINTS ABOUT** the equity of the formula adopted by the War Labor Board for the national stabilization of wages. But the claim of William H. Davis, chairman of the board, that it will "lead to a 'terminal' for the tragic race between wages and prices" seems unduly optimistic. In fact, unless implementation of the new formula is accompanied by other measures aiming directly at the curtailment of purchasing power, the present trend toward inflation must be intensified. The first principle adopted by the board is that the purchasing power of a worker's hourly wage on January 1, 1941, ought to be maintained. Before this date, it is pointed out, there had been a long period of comparatively stable prices, but since then the cost of living has advanced 15 per cent. Thus wage advances to the same percentage are justified in order to maintain established pre-war standards. Unfortunately we have to face the fact that we cannot maintain the flow of civilian goods and services available on January 1, 1941, and hence if some income receivers are able to maintain their standard of consumption at that date, it must be at the expense of others who do not enjoy the protection of wage stabilization. Nor can it be argued that the necessary reduction in consumption can be made entirely at the expense of people in the higher income brackets. There are not enough of them—even if all incomes over, say, \$5,000 a year, were confiscated—to take up the slack between national money income and national income in terms of consumable goods. If the WLB formula, therefore, is not to spur on inflation,



there will have to be much more drastic taxation than anything yet contemplated by Congress, the Treasury, or the public. Actually this would be the best way of securing equality of sacrifice, but to be fully effective the burden on all classes of taxpayers would have to be staggering.

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WE HOPE AN IMMEDIATE INVESTIGATION will be made by the Truman committee of the Maritime Commission's cancelation of its contracts with the Higgins Corporation of New Orleans for 200 Liberty ships. Although the cancelation is supposed to be based on a new general policy of allocating no more steel for ship-plant construction, it is curious and it may be significant that the Higgins yards are the only ones affected. Higgins and Henry Kaiser have been putting the conventional big shipbuilding companies like Bethlehem to shame with their mass-production methods and speedy deliveries, and Bethlehem exercises much power behind the closed doors of the Maritime Commission. "Maybe," Higgins said when he heard the news, "we were going to build ships too fast, maybe we were going to build too many ships and too cheaply." It seems strange that our most efficient shipbuilders should have the greatest trouble with the Maritime Commission and the dollar-a-year men—Kaiser has had plenty of headaches, too. We should like to know (1) just how far behind schedule Bethlehem and the other big yards are; (2) why some of their work can't be shifted to these smaller, faster yards; and (3) how long the WPB and the Maritime Commission intend to keep silent on the detailed suggestions made recently by Philip Murray and the steel workers for increasing, with existing facilities, the output of both steel plate for ships and armor plate for tanks.

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DAVID B. VAUGHAN'S LIBEL SUIT AGAINST Martin Dies has hit the gentleman from Texas where it evidently hurts most, to wit, the pocket. Mr. Dies didn't mind apologizing on the floor of the House to avoid the short end of a \$75,000 legal battle; he didn't even mind admitting that his scatterbrained committee had libeled Mr. Vaughan on no more evidence than the appearance of another Vaughn's name on a letterhead. On the contrary, he appears to be looking forward to other suits and wants to be prepared. It's not the principle of the thing that worries him but the few cents. Presenting a bill to Congress for \$611 to cover legal expenses incurred so far, he asks for "an expression of policy" as to whether he or the people of the United States should bear the costs of his carelessness and flair for slander. We hope there is in Congress a man with pepper enough to give Mr. Dies the "expression of policy" which he needs—and which he hasn't had since Texas rated him a bad fourth in a four-man race for the Senate.

## Gandhi and the War

ALONG the eastern frontiers of India the rainy season is still a bar to campaigning. But the Japanese conquerors of Burma are consolidating their positions there, and aerial reconnaissance has established the presence of troop concentrations which portend a serious attempt to invade India. Nevertheless, the Working Committee of the All-India National Congress, meeting at Wardha, has been concerned with the problem of pushing out the British rather than of keeping out the Japanese. After many days of discussion it adopted a long resolution which in effect threatened a campaign of non-violent disobedience unless British rule in India was ended immediately.

Although Gandhi has spoken of the resolution, which has still to be ratified by the All-India Congress Committee, as "open rebellion," that threat is implicit rather than explicit. But the resolution makes demands which no British government could accept at this time unless it were prepared to withdraw completely from India and to cease to interest itself in the war in Asia. There is hardly need to speculate on the outcome of such an action for India itself, for China, and for the cause of the United Nations as a whole.

It is true that the Congress disclaims any desire to embarrass Britain or its allies in their prosecution of the war or to encourage Japanese aggression. The proposal for the withdrawal of British power from India does not, the resolution declares, mean the physical withdrawal of Britons, and Congress would be agreeable to the stationing of Allied armed forces in India. But to what civil authority would the commander of such forces be responsible? And what would be the position of the Indian army itself, the backbone of the present defense of India? Would it operate independently under the authority of a provisional Indian government or remain under the control of a commander-in-chief responsible to London? The Congress resolution does not even touch upon these crucial questions.

To the difficulty of achieving a unified command under these circumstances there would almost certainly be added disunity in the rear of the most explosive kind. The All-India Congress, although the largest and most inclusive political body in the country, is bitterly opposed by other organizations—the most important being the Moslem League—which are too powerful to be ignored. The Wardha resolution professes to believe that once foreign domination is ended unity can be established in a degree that will make possible the solution of all internal problems "on a mutual and agreed basis." It is noteworthy, however, that this thesis has been hotly challenged by the Moslem League, which declares that Congress, far from doing its utmost, as it claimed, to settle



the communal question, hounded its former Madras leader, C. R. Rajagopalachari, from the organization when he attempted to supply a formula. Though many Moslems support Congress, Moslem fear of a Hindu-dominated central government is acute enough to provoke violence should the British withdraw from India leaving the minorities question as unfinished business.

Reports from London suggest that the British government has no intention of yielding any ground. But while it is possible to agree that it can neither accept the demands of Congress nor permit the defense of India to be undermined by civil disobedience, it is necessary to ask for a stronger British renunciation of post-war imperialism. It is clear that Indian nationalists are intensely suspicious of Britain's good faith, and their suspicions are fortified by the attitude of powerful groups among the British Tories. Yet, as Nehru says in an article in the *New York Times Magazine* of July 18, Western domination of Asia cannot possibly outlast the war, and any attempt to reestablish the old relationships must result in another disastrous conflict. It follows that if irrepressible conflict inside India is to be averted, some way must be found of reinforcing the British promise of post-war independence. Nothing less than a joint guaranty by the United Nations of freedom for India is likely to carry enough weight.

## Nelson's Fourth Try

FIFTY per cent of America's industrial capacity lies in its small factories and machine shops, and we shall not achieve the total effort required by a total war until they are brought into war production. The latest of many efforts to do so is the Smaller War Plants Corporation, whose five-man board of directors has just been named by Donald M. Nelson. We are sorry to say that we think it will take a maximum of public pressure to get a minimum of results from this body. There are three things wrong with the new setup. One is the Smaller War Plants Corporation Act itself. The second is Nelson. The third is the kind of board he has picked to run the corporation.

The Smaller War Plants Act, outgrowth of the Murray-Patman bill, represents more than an attempt to help small business. It represents the first effort to plan war production on total lines. It directs the chairman of the War Production Board to make a complete inventory of America's productive resources and then to take various steps toward spreading war work among all available plants. But these basic directives for an all-out industrial mobilization are to be carried out "whenever and to the extent that he [Nelson] determines such action to be necessary." The new corporation is expected to farm out prime contracts among small businesses, but it cannot

obtain the contracts until Nelson issues a certificate to the Secretary of War or Navy declaring the SWPC competent to perform the contract. The corporation is also intended to finance small businesses engaged in war work, a task Jesse Jones has signally failed to perform, but after it has made a loan the loan is to be serviced and administered by Jones. This will leave the small producer financially at the mercy of a man who has never shown the slightest sympathy for little business.

The effectiveness of the act will depend in large part upon Nelson's willingness and ability to carry out instructions. Judging from his past record and present utterances, we fear he will make little effort to operate the SWPC as it was intended to be operated. Nelson has had three opportunities before this to bring little business into the war program. The first was under the old Defense Commission, when he was in charge of spreading work to the smaller plants but neither achieved that purpose nor convincingly explained why he failed. He had his second opportunity as executive director of the SPAB and priorities director of the OPM. These twin jobs gave him enormous power to energize the Plant Site Board and force the army and navy to stop building new plants and encourage the conversion of existing facilities and the spread of orders among small concerns. He accomplished little in this line, although if he had been successful, we should have been saved in part from the present shortage of materials. Nelson's third opportunity to spread war work came when, as chairman of the War Production Board, he was given authority over army-navy procurement. He had the power then to force big-business-minded brass hats to distribute the orders among small businesses, but he never had the force or determination to use that power effectively.

The job facing the Smaller War Plants Corporation is one that calls for men of great energy and capacity. They will face a hostile requirements committee for materials and a hostile army-navy procurement for orders. Of the five men picked by Nelson for the job, four are nonentities. Lou E. Holland, the deputy chairman, is the one man on the new board who has shown perseverance and organizing ability in dealing with the problem. He organized the Kansas City pool. Not a single engineer like Morris Llewellyn Cooke or S. T. Henry went on the board. Dynamic business men like Charles Schwartzbaugh of Toledo, organizer of the Toledo pool, were passed over for men no one ever heard of before. Peter R. Nehemkis, the dynamo and brains of the Contract Distribution Division under Odum, another outstanding candidate, was also rejected. It is as if Nelson had deliberately picked a weak board.

Nelson says we have not enough materials to give work to small business, and this may be an obstacle to new contracts. But what about breaking down and spreading out existing contracts now buried under the backlogs



of big business? It takes no more material to do work in a small plant than in a big factory. And idle small plants can turn out the work faster than overloaded big ones.

## *Toward a Break with Vichy*

BY FRED A KIRCHWEY

THE dismal farce of America's relations with Vichy totters toward its predestined end, not through any sudden, belated access of realism on the part of the State Department but rather through the will of the German High Command and its agent, Pierre Laval. Our appeasement policy had no substance to start with other than the will to believe of a set of reactionary, tradition-ridden officials supported by the hesitation of their procrastinating chief. The history of our dalliance with Pétain's government is not unlike the history of other senile love affairs; it failed for lack of the necessary source of vital energy. The whole relationship has been a fraud, somewhat perverse, totally impotent.

The record of its last days is worth recalling for whatever lesson it may carry, though one begins to grow cynical about the value of demonstrations.

Having failed to win a single important concession from the day our government astounded the French people and even many French officials and high army officers by recognizing Pétain, State Department officials betrayed genuine annoyance when Laval was raised to power and publicly taken to the old Marshal's bosom. They had counted upon Pétain's widely advertised contempt for Laval—which means that they had counted upon his independence in the face of Nazi pressure. They resented Laval and said so. Perhaps they vaguely and uneasily recalled Hindenburg and Hitler.

In any case, relations with Vichy grew tense. Talk of the necessity of taking over Martinique—newspaper talk—was discounted at the State Department, but presently it was announced that negotiators had been sent to discuss the situation with Admiral Robert, Vichy's viceroy for the Caribbean. The negotiations were presented as a slap at Laval. We were by-passing him and dealing directly with the governor of the islands. This was the theory, and it was generally welcomed as evidence of a first retreat from appeasement.

The only trouble was it didn't work. Admiral Robert publicly announced that he was referring every proposal made by the United States to his government and that he would carry out Vichy's orders to the letter. Laval, through Robert, agreed to the disarming of the French warships at Martinique but refused other American demands. The negotiations were a failure, especially as a demonstration of our disapproval of Vichy, and when

they were over, Robert broadcast a full and contemptuous repudiation of America's attempt to "bribe" him into disloyalty to his government.

Then came the fiasco over the French warships at Alexandria. Secretary Hull opened with a simple diplomatic lie—uttered, I am sorry to say, on the Fourth of July, a day sacred to the legend of the Cherry Tree. He denied flatly a report from Vichy that the American chargé d'affaires, S. Pinkney Tuck, had proposed that the French ships be moved to some port outside the area of operations. But on July 11 Vichy reported that Mr. Tuck had "reopened" with M. Laval the question of the French warships. (By this time the pretense that we were no longer dealing with Laval had been abandoned.) And on July 12 the Vichy government rejected the United States proposals, a fact that was admitted two days later by Under Secretary Welles in a statement describing the failure of the negotiations and expressing his confidence that the French people would consider the proposals very much in their interest. This touch indicated that disillusionment had not yet knocked appeasement out of the ring. But the publication by Laval of "essential parts" of the notes exchanged between Vichy and Washington showed that neither the French people nor their interests had played any role at all in the negotiations, while the German Supreme Command had fully approved Vichy's orders to the French forces in Alexandria.

Meanwhile the United States had drawn closer to De Gaulle, recognizing his position as leader of the Fighting French and appointing attachés to consult with the French National Committee in London. Thus the exigencies of war and the decisions of the German Armistice Commission combined to reduce the structure of appeasement to a shambles. That trouble may still lurk in the ruins is of course evident. For one thing, until we break off relations with Vichy fully and legally, the State Department will always find reasons for delaying or refusing to perform necessary acts of war. It is obvious that the United Nations forces in Egypt should not destroy the ships Laval has refused to hand over; they should seize them and use them. Why should good warships be sunk while the United Nations suffer for lack of them? They should be taken over by the Fighting French and manned by Frenchmen. But would such an obvious and realistic act be approved by our State Department? I'm afraid not. Instead, if the day comes when Alexandria is threatened, it will nod solemn approval while the British scuttle good ships and the Germans blaze their way eastward. What is total war compared with the niceties of even the most tenuous diplomatic relations?

Never mind, things are moving toward a break with Vichy. It will come in Hitler's own time, as did our break with Japan. And then, perhaps, we can fight on the side of our allies instead of our enemies.



# Who Is the State Department?

## I. CORDELL HULL—THE GREAT ANACHRONISM

BY ROBERT BENDINER

*[This is the first of a series of articles on the men who head that most anonymous of all American government agencies, the Department of State. Based on chapters of the author's forthcoming book, "The Riddle of the State Department," this series is offered not as a review of American foreign policy, which is discussed in The Nation from week to week, but rather as a survey of the backgrounds and philosophies which have shaped the conduct of the department's personnel.]*

THERE are no devils in the State Department. There are villains in the piece, but they are as impersonal, as anonymous, as cold as the department itself. Chief of these is the dead weight of tradition. Other agencies of the government in varying degrees reflect the times, but the faded and moth-eaten tradition of Victorian diplomacy seeps out of every cranny in the antiquated home of the State Department. It is a code of elegant cynicism, of tactical shrewdness that has small relevance beyond the horizons of the chessboard. Above all, it is a code of rules, of amorality within the prescribed bounds of international law. It isn't what you do that counts but how you play the game.

The diplomatic tradition once had its uses, but it belongs to an era of war between nations, and ours happens to be an era of war between ideas. The patriotism of the men of the State Department is unquestioned, but theirs is a loyalty to the United States as a nation among nations, not as an embattled democracy whose allies could never include states committed to the death of democracy. If our policy-makers had ever thought in these terms, they would not have tolerated the strangulation of one after another of our potential allies at the hands of our potential enemies. Nor would they have squandered time, money, and hope in endeavors to win over to our side men who had proclaimed their faith in a totalitarian world. They would have known how to tell America's friends from its enemies.

But the men of the State Department do not think in terms such as these, thrown up by the exigencies of a changing world. Their background, their schooling, their personal beliefs and family connections, their economic and social standing—all tend in the main to reduce democracy to an abstraction in the first place and, beyond that, to breed a disbelief in change, a suspicion of new formulations. The social origins of the State Depart-

ment's personnel constitute only one factor in a whole complex of factors, but it is a highly important one. To some extent the traditions of an institution like the State Department mold the minds of its personnel regardless of their original predilections, but to a far greater extent the institution tends to attract—and select—men who might be expected to respond to those traditions.

These remarks are pertinent to the department's personnel as a whole. Having made them, we shall start with the exception that proves the rule.

Cordell Hull typifies the diplomat probably less than any other man in his Department of State. He claims no aristocratic forbears, spent his youth in parts physically and culturally remote from the halls of Groton and Harvard, and enjoys nothing resembling a private fortune. Even today he and his wife do an extreme minimum of entertaining and have almost no part in the social whirl that figures so largely in the lives of his subordinates. Making political capital of his back-country origins, the Secretary's champions are prone to swing too far in the other direction and put Hull in the log-cabin, poverty-stricken-youth tradition of Lincoln. Actually his father was a well-to-do Tennessee farmer and timberman, and while young Hull did a turn at rafting logs down the Obey River, he also had the benefits of such higher education as the region provided. After two years at National Normal University at Lebanon, Ohio, he put in a year at the Cumberland University Law School and emerged at twenty a member of the Tennessee bar. At twenty-two he was a representative in the state legislature, and after serving as captain of a volunteer infantry regiment in the Spanish-American War he was appointed to the bench at the age of thirty-two. Four years later, in 1907, he went to Congress, and aside from a single defeat in the Republican landslide in 1920, he served steadily in the House until 1931, when he was elected to the Senate. The two-year gap in his Congressional record he filled in as chairman of the Democratic National Committee.

Thus when Cordell Hull was asked by President Roosevelt to head his Cabinet he had behind him twenty-six years of Washington politics. Most of them were dedicated to a single thesis, to wit, that an equitable tariff policy on the part of all nations, leading ultimately to freedom of trade throughout the world, is the only



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basis of a lasting peace. To his credit, Hull's Congressional record shows that, in addition, he fathered the first federal income-tax legislation and the federal inheritance-tax law of 1916, both bold and progressive measures. But as he himself fondly recalls, most of his years in the House of Representatives were spent in struggling against the tariff, "the king of all our evils."

If Cordell Hull had become Secretary of State ten years earlier he might conceivably have altered the shape of things to come. His theories of a peaceful world based on free trade would not have been quite so archaic in those pre-fascist days as his critics regard them today. The props might have been taken from under Europe's incipient fascists, and the fierce nationalism on which they fed deprived of its most cogent appeal, if hope had been held out to the peoples of Europe and Asia that a world without trade barriers was in the making, a world in which sly barter deals and imperial conquest would be unnecessary because each nation, economically, would have the wide world for its *Lebensraum*. But great volumes of water had poured over the dam between 1923 and the day Hull became Secretary of State—and considerable blood as well. By 1933 fascism was firmly in the saddle, and *Lebensraum* was seen to be what it always had been—the sheerest pretext for the drive to power of the most rapacious movement that ever afflicted an ailing society. What Hitler has done to the Czechs, the Poles, the Dutch, the Belgians, the Norwegians, the French, the Greeks, and even the Italians is a revelation of the purposes fascism had reserved for its *Lebensraum*. They are purposes that have as little in common with Hull's freedom from tariffs as the purposes of a tiger have with freedom of religion.

No one ever has imputed or ever could impute to Cordell Hull the faintest sympathies for fascism. Aside from his typically American abhorrence of dictatorship, he perceived early enough that fascism, with its economic autarchy and international anarchy, was wholly incompatible with his dream of free trade and universal amity. Unfortunately the necessary treatment seemed to him almost as distasteful as the disease. Embargoes, boycotts, and other economic sanctions and "measures short of war" conflicted almost as much as fascism itself with his notions of attaining peace through commerce. They implied, moreover, an increase in government control over private business which so staunch a believer in *laissez faire* could hardly contemplate with satisfaction. From the start Hull found himself in a dilemma. To ignore the rise of fascism entirely, or to countenance its illicit gains, meant ultimately a world in which imperialist exploitation would be immensely advanced and free trade reduced to a minimum. On the other hand, to combat it effectively, to prevent it from ever attaining the strength necessary to make war, meant a serious retrogression in the particular process for achieving

world peace which he had so earnestly cultivated for a quarter of a century.

Instinctively Hull moved toward compromise, procrastination, and wishful thinking. Everything that could be done to discourage fascism without imperiling his grand scheme became the essence of his approach. Castigations, moral homilies, and other verbal sanctions against the fascist states flowed endlessly, but whenever American action was taken its results were quickly mitigated, stopped short of effectiveness. The door was often closed halfway, but it was never slammed shut. Always there was hope that by threats here and promises there the fascists could be brought around and fitted into a scheme of informal cooperation that would finally blunt the edge



Secretary of State Hull

of their sword and remove their incentive to aggression. Hull made it clear again and again that however much the United States might disapprove of the conduct of the aggressors, it did not consider them beyond redemption and stood ready to cooperate with them at the first sign of reform. Embargoes were always semi-embargoes, collective sanctions were scrupulously shunned—and always the promise of a glorious era of flourishing trade was held out if only the bad boys of fascism would see the light and enter the comity of nations. If the Hull policy was the appeasement of a nineteenth-century liberal rather than that of a Cliveden Tory, it was appeasement none the less, and in Berlin, Rome, and Tokyo it had the same effect.

The present Secretary of State will never go down in history as a great executive. From the start he addressed himself to certain chosen areas of operation, and for the rest delegated authority with a freedom that amounted almost to indifference. He is said, in fact, to have made his acceptance of the post conditional on his absolute freedom from personnel problems and responsibilities. In his chosen fields, however, Hull has tenaciously followed his own bent and bowed to no one. He has influenced the President as much as the President has influenced him. When Roosevelt, at the instance of Raymond Moley, exploded the London economic conference which Hull was hopefully nursing along, the new Secretary of State might well have resigned. Certainly he was seething enough, and privately he dug deep



into the rich vein of profanity which he has at his disposal for such occasions. But instead of walking out in a huff he waited. It was Moley who resigned in the end, and Hull's economic internationalism became the theoretical keystone of the Roosevelt foreign policy.

The Secretary's chosen fields include principally the development of the Good Neighbor policy, Far Eastern relations, Vichy, and the promulgation of a long series of trade agreements. The last of these is closest to his heart and has probably received the greatest share of his administrative attention. The result is that the Division of Commercial Policy and Agreements, under Harry C. Hawkins, has established itself as a model of efficiency. With upward of twenty trade agreements to its credit, some containing as many as 3,000 items, this division has dispensed with languorous socialites, and until the war all but nullified its efforts it was probably the hardest-working unit of the department.

Next to the trade agreements, Hull's most solid achievement has been the cultivation of a Good Neighbor policy in soil that once sustained only Dollar Diplomacy and, before that, Manifest Destiny. Hull shares credit for the evolution of the Good Neighbor policy principally with Sumner Welles and Laurence Duggan, not to mention the President himself, but without the personal confidence he has inspired it is questionable whether the more solid work of others would have achieved the measure of success it has. It was Hull who went to Montevideo in 1933 and, uninstructed, laid down the principles of the Good Neighbor to an understandingly skeptical Pan-American assembly. On arriving in the Uruguayan capital he proceeded at once, hat in hand, to call personally on the heads of the other delegations. Gone were the arrogance and the patronizing attitude that had always characterized Washington's representatives at those hollow gatherings. Similarly at Lima, five years later, it was Hull who so impressed the delegates with his humility and genuinely democratic demeanor that street crowds cheered him as *el Apostol* and hailed him as the living symbol of the Good Neighbor. Again it was Hull who negotiated the trade agreements with the Latin American countries, including notably the one with Argentina, in which the United States made tariff concessions on eighty-four items of Argentine export. These agreements were concrete manifestations of good-will as well as good business. Together with the extremely favorable impression left by Hull, they went far to wear down the distrust of the United States bred in the Latin American bone by generations of Yankee imperialism.

The success of the Good Neighbor policy measured in terms of hemispheric unity in the war is far-reaching, the defection of Argentina notwithstanding. As an experiment in genuine international cooperation, the kind that must rest ultimately on a solid foundation of democracy and mutual regard, the dimensions of its suc-

cess are less imposing. Collaboration with a tyrant like Vargas of Brazil—who scorns “the sterile demagoguery of political democracy” and has more than once hailed the “virile” dictatorships—or with a fascist-minded autocrat like Castillo is hardly on a moral plane above collaboration with Vichy. But diplomatically, geographically, historically, and almost every other way the relationships are too different to admit of glib comparison, and even by the harshest critics of the Administration the Good Neighbor policy must be put down as a major step toward decent international relations in the Americas.

Beyond the trade agreements and the doctrine of the Good Neighbor, the record of American foreign policy over the past ten years does Hull small credit. From the failure to stand up to Mussolini in the Ethiopian affair, through the scandalous treatment of the government of the Spanish Republic, to the systematic feeding of the Japanese war machine right down to Pearl Harbor, it is a record of perilous caution, of evasion, and of paralyzing contradictions. The temporizing that marked its course was not deliberately employed in order to “buy time” in which to prepare for a showdown; on the contrary it was the recourse of those who lived always in hope that the crisis would evaporate and the showdown forever be averted.

Thus toward Japan Hull adopted what he called a “middle-of-the-road” policy, something between the extremes of abandoning American interests in China and taking necessary measures to protect them. When he returned from South America in 1936 he privately called the Spanish embargo, invoked in his absence, “the worst act of the Roosevelt Administration,” but it was he who in the end was to bury the last chance of its repeal. His icy letter to Senator Pittman, then chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, explained that the Spanish struggle had become more than a civil war because other countries had intervened behind a cloak of “non-intervention” and in the circumstances the United States must do nothing to upset the balance of forces lest it run the risk of retaliatory action by the “non-interveners.” In effect, what the Secretary of State said was that we could do nothing to help the Spanish government because Hitler and Mussolini had said no.

As late as April 25, 1939, a month after the rape of Prague, Hull could still bring himself to tell a Red Cross convention: “We hope devoutly that a negotiated peace before rather than after the senseless arbitrament of war . . . will be the happy lot of mankind.” To be sure, he wanted a just peace rather than another Munich, but it is a testimonial to his ingenuousness that he could even then think in terms of a just peace with Nazism.

Indeed, no one appeared to be more surprised and disconcerted at each stage of fascist treachery than Hull, and his bitter recriminations have had a hurt and innocent quality that is strange to the cynical traditions of



diplomacy. His upbraiding of Kurusu, the special envoy sent from Tokyo to discuss peace while Japanese bombers were being readied for Pearl Harbor, was typical of this outraged faith. His earnest and simple belief in the distinction between the Pétain-Darlan clique and that of Pierre Laval was similarly doomed to disillusionment, though the final rupture with Vichy has not yet come about. Ambassador Henry-Haye enjoyed the confidence of the Secretary long after most of Washington looked upon the collaborationist envoy with a jaundiced eye. Until the restoration of Laval, Hull received Henry-Haye frequently, both in his office and less formally at his home, to the mounting discomfort of the United Nations diplomatic corps. Henry-Haye worked assiduously on the Secretary's weak spot, impressing him with the contribution that a befriended Vichyite regime might make to a free-trade world after the war, and Hull's irritable outburst when the Free French seized the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon was a measure of the lengths to which he was prepared to go to nurse along this fruitless connection with the regime of the old Marshal.

Officials of the department have privately admitted that the wording of the protest over the seizure—especially the allusion to the "so-called Free French ships"—was unfortunate, and one of them explained that the Secretary used the qualifying phrase only because the news report that the ships were part of the Free French fleet had not yet been officially confirmed. This explanation, while not entirely convincing, was considerably more understandable than the Secretary's own attempt

at clarification, which had it that the term "so-called" referred not to the Free French but to the ships.

In his motivations the idealistic, salty, stubborn Secretary of State stands head and shoulders above most of his department colleagues. If he has often been proved wrong by events, it is no more than just to insist that his mistakes be assessed against the background of a country and a Congress which chose by and large to ignore unpleasant realities. Nevertheless, even in a democracy an obligation rests upon the leaders to see farther and more truly than the led. In his nearly ten years as Secretary of State, the longest tenure in the history of the post, Hull has maintained an unbroken silence on everything that has not borne intimately on his department. In one of the most controversial Administrations of American history the ranking Cabinet officer has never expressed himself on domestic issues that have shaken the country. He is a specialist and has the specialist's scorn for stepping outside his own province. At a time when the foreign policy of every nation is more surely an extension of its domestic policy than has ever been true in the past, that trait in a world figure is less laudable than it might be in other circumstances. Cordell Hull's vision, limited by the boundaries of a laissez faire Utopia, has been inadequate to the task of checking the advance of fascism. In all charity, it is likely to be less adequate for the problems of a world that will have passed through the revolutionary fires of World War II.

*["The Old Welles and the New" is the subject of the second article of this series, to appear next week.]*

## Hawaii's 150,000 Japanese

BY ALBERT HORLINGS

THE United States is making one of the most dramatic bets of history in Hawaii. It is gambling the internal stability of its greatest base in the Pacific—the anchor of the whole Pacific battle line—on the loyalty of 150,000 Japanese and Japanese Americans, 40,000 of whom are aliens, the majority of whom cannot read or speak English, and few of whom have ever seen America or have a clear understanding of what America stands for.

This is no mean wager. A Japanese fifth column in Hawaii could do great damage during an attempted invasion. It could halt civilian transportation, block highways, destroy the vulnerable reservoirs upon which Honolulu depends for water, wreck gas and electric service, destroy food, and terrorize civilians. By diverting man-power from the exterior defenses this fifth column could turn defeat for the invader into success.

Sabotage would be easy for it; the Japanese population is 40 per cent of the total, and its members hold hundreds of strategic positions in public utilities, in civilian defense, and in other services.

We might deserve praise for risking so much on the human heart if only we were not making the bet for the wrong reasons. I suspect we are making it not because the military authorities in Hawaii really trust the Japanese but because (1) pressure has been brought on them, and (2) they have been told that the economic life of the islands will collapse without the Japanese. Hawaiian business men are variously motivated, but some of them appear to favor a liberal policy toward the Japanese simply because they favor business as usual. And in the background hovers the case for Hawaiian statehood. The Japanese in Hawaii have long been held up to the mainland as first-class Americans by those pressing for



the island's admission to the Union, and many islanders fear that to cast doubt on Japanese loyalty now would ruin the chances of admission. The real conviction of the white islanders is shown by the large-scale evacuation of women and children that has been going on ever since Pearl Harbor.

In this historic gamble we have certainly something to win. First, we can win the confidence of some good citizens of ours. Japanese communities in this country have in general realized that their members could never blend physically into the American stream, and so far they have shown no evidence of wanting to be anything but a Japanese colony abroad. But a few individuals in these communities, in Hawaii and in the states, have become truly Americanized in spirit, and it would be a tragedy if they were discriminated against by measures aimed at Japanese who merely live here. No one who knows the able, spirited, and likable American of Japanese ancestry will underestimate the contribution these people can make to American life once they choose—and once we permit them—to turn irrevocably to the West.

We gain something also by admitting that Hawaii has handled its peculiar racial problem sensibly and well, and by refusing unnecessarily to disturb the islands' equilibrium. Sociologically and genetically we have everything to win. Hawaii is one of the great anthropological laboratories of the world, and it would be easy to arouse antipathies that would destroy its value. The racial *aloha* of the islands is a real and priceless thing.

But the greatest thing we stand to gain is the aid of hundreds of millions of people whose skins are not the color of ours. Whether we win or lose the peace will probably depend greatly upon our success in convincing Asiatics, Indians, Negroes, and others that our plea for world leadership is not a screen for world domination. We must convince them that we are fighting not for an Anglo-Saxon world or a Caucasian world, but for a world in which humanity is the test of franchise.

However, our kindness to enemy aliens and enemy sympathizers at a naval outpost will avail us little so long as we needlessly affront our friends. The propaganda value of extraordinary solicitude for Hawaii's Japanese—and it is certainly extraordinary measured by Japanese and German standards, as well as by our own past performance—will be completely nullified unless we mend our manners. A Chinese seaman who was on our side years before the State Department knew which was our side is prohibited from coming ashore at an American port. And if it is true that an exclusion law aimed at all Orientals arouses more resentment than good treatment of enemy-alien Orientals can ever undo, then we must wonder whether we have not put the Honolulu cart before the Washington horse.

In any case Hawaii's safety is not a local matter, and a decision relating to control of a possible fifth column

must be determined by national interests. How does our present policy look from that point of view? I am afraid that it looks crazy. I never found anyone in Honolulu, not even the most enthusiastic member of the Japanese Chamber of Commerce, who would say that Hawaii's Japanese were overwhelmingly loyal to the United States. Why should they be, and why should they want us to win this war?

The political and economic fortunes of a few depend upon our winning. Some have been released from stark poverty by living under the American flag. Some have washed away the stain of ostracism that attached to their family in Japan. Some believe that America's accent upon the worth of the individual will lead to greater happiness for themselves and the world. A few would rather see a defeated Japan than a militaristic one. Some have deeply rooted prejudices and sentiments binding them to our side.

But the proportion of these is not large. The majority have nothing to gain by the defeat of Japan. Their prestige as expatriates depends in large part upon the prestige of the Japanese empire. Their economic fortunes are often tied more closely to Japan than to America: they work for Tokyo banks and business houses; they import goods from Japan; they invest in Japanese securities. Even if they live entirely off Hawaiian land or its surrounding waters, their customers are likely to be members of their own race. When they work for the white man, it is in a menial position, one that is more likely to arouse resentment than regard. To a remarkable degree Hawaii's Japanese are untouched by American ways; all their pride of race, family, and religion binds them to Japan. Thousands see or hear almost nothing American, while they consume Japanese food, Japanese clothing, Japanese music, Japanese pictures, Japanese newspapers and magazines by the shipload.

In common with all the other races there, the Japanese love their purple islands, but they can imagine Hawaii without American rule. Indeed, Japanese propaganda has frequently drawn the picture for them. Instead of doing menial labor at the low end of a double wage standard, they would occupy lofty positions in the economic life of the islands. Instead of being crowded in slums, they would live in the cool valleys back of the city, from which deed restrictions now generally exclude them. Instead of seeing their children admitted to the best schools only in token numbers, they would enjoy all the emoluments of the ruling class. In hundreds of ways even the "good" Japanese would gain, not lose, by Japanese rule of Hawaii.

Nor are they unaware of these facts. In impressive numbers they fail to burn their bridges to Japan. Despite the numerous campaigns for renunciation of Japanese allegiance, there are still 60,000 dual citizens in Hawaii—in other words, the majority of American-born Japa-



nese in Hawaii are willing to let the Japanese government claim them as its own. Some 15,000 Hawaiian-born Japanese have cast their lot permanently with Japan. Thousands of others shuttle between Tokyo and Honolulu, "taking my father's ashes to his homeland," seeking better jobs, or simply taking advantage of the low steamship rates through which Japan keeps in touch with its foreign colonies.

Only a Pollyanna could conclude that there is no danger in this situation. If only because it hides the emperor's agents, this large unassimilated group constitutes a real menace. Nor are the professional saboteurs who escape the FBI the only ones who would act with zest if they found themselves in a position to swing the balance against the United States forces. There are also congenital white-man haters (*haole*-haters in the island vernacular) among both the alien and citizen Japanese. The most innocuous *papa-san* could easily become their dupe. I do not say he will; the point is that we cannot be sure he will not. With no better material the emperor's men certainly welded efficient fifth columns in the Philippines, in Malaya, and in the Dutch East Indies. (There is another side to the coin, and in a happier time I would rather be polishing it—it presents the Hawaiianization of Japanese who can never be Americanized, for instance, and the human qualities which we must admire in these fine people whether they happen to be on our side or not.)

People who have been interned do not buy theater tickets or serve cocktails, and some islanders have argued that this is not the time to disturb matters in civilian Honolulu. Hawaii's Congressional delegate, Sam King, has worked assiduously to convince both Congress and the military that nothing should be done beyond apprehending known spies and treacherous ringleaders. Everywhere one hears repeated the testimony of Captain John Anthony Burns of the Honolulu police force that he has found the accounts of sniping at American soldiers untrue, and the touching story of Yoshio Yamamoto, who saves all his pennies for war stamps. Everywhere people emphasize that the Japanese are indispensable in Hawaii. But many of these are interested persons who overlook the Buddhist temples, the Japanese-language schools, the dozens of Japanese societies and organizations, some with official Tokyo connections, the ubiquitous pictures of the emperor, the Japanese holidays, the crowds flocking to see the emperor's cruisers, the subscriptions to Japanese war loans, the strongly nationalistic propaganda uncovered in Japanese-language publications.

The argument of Japanese indispensability, the one that has been dinned into the ears of Congress and the military authorities, is a fallacious one. It would be inconvenient to get along without the Japanese, but it would not be impossible. The Filipino has long been the backbone of the plantation labor supply, and there are thou-

sands of Chinese, Hawaiians, Koreans, Puerto Ricans, and Caucasians to carry on essential functions. If the plantations should stop raising sugar and pineapples, which they would be forced to do during a long siege, there would be an over-supply of labor. Conversion to food crops has not taken place in Hawaii to the extent always thought necessary.

One articulate group in Hawaii advocates internment of the Japanese. The leaders of this group are life-long islanders, some of whom were raised with the Japanese and speak their language. Those I know are not given to jitters, and when they say that the absence of sabotage on December 7 proves nothing, I agree with them. If Japan has a well-organized fifth column in Hawaii it would certainly not have exposed it prematurely, before any effort was to be made at invasion, and when the saboteurs could have accomplished nothing but their own extinction.

I cannot agree, however, that large-scale internment of Hawaii's Japanese would be wise. Not only would internment be sure to cause great hardship, but it would be ineffective in one particular—in getting out of the invader's reach a large and competent reservoir of manpower which could be depended on to carry on civilian life in the islands. For whatever doubt there may be about the attitude of the Japanese before or during an invasion attempt, there is no doubt that the vast majority of Hawaii's Japanese will work with alacrity with the emperor's forces if Japan ever takes the islands. I favor evacuation, which would (1) remove this labor force, (2) bring less hardship, and (3) reduce Hawaii's consumption of food, much of which is convoyed from California. Since ships return from Hawaii with only sugar and pineapples, which we can forgo momentarily, plenty of bottoms are available for the purpose.

We should not underestimate the importance of what we are gambling. Hawaii consists of seven islands—only one of them fortified—as against the 2,500 islands of Micronesia; it is virtually our only neutralizing agent for the vast insular system of "stationary aircraft carriers" that projects Japanese power south to the Equator and east to within bombing distance of Honolulu. Hawaii is indispensable to us if we are to protect our flanks in the Antipodes and Alaska, safeguard the Panama Canal and our West Coast, and eventually carry out a frontal attack on Japan. Without it we should be impotent in the Pacific.

If it was expedient to remove a scattering of Japanese from our Western coastal regions, the American people should be told why it is not many times more necessary to remove this heavier concentration of Japanese from islands which are in greater danger and harder to defend. We are playing for the highest stakes: Congress should investigate immediately and tell us what the odds are.



# Hitler's Quarreling Puppets

BY EUGEN KOVACS

**D**URING the critical period on the eastern front which preceded the present German offensive Adolf Hitler found time to go to Finland for a talk with Field Marshal Mannerheim. The reason given for his visit was that Herr Hitler wished personally to congratulate the Finnish leader on his seventy-fifth birthday. It is generally believed, however, that Hitler went to beg Mannerheim to contribute more troops to the war against Russia. Heretofore when the Führer has wanted something from the head of one of the "independent" states now allied to Germany, he has ordered his ally to come to him, but on this occasion he evidently thought it necessary to use gentler methods. What answer Mannerheim gave him is unknown, but there have been no signs of increased effort on the part of the Finns.

The Russian war has been very costly, and the new offensive is a tremendous drain on German man-power. Large numbers of troops must also be maintained in other parts of Europe to keep down underground activity, combat the Serbian guerrillas, and be prepared for an Anglo-American invasion of the Continent. At the same time the great need for war materials and food-stuffs calls for more and more men on the production front. Hitler is therefore asking for increased military support from his so-called allies, and since Italy is neither willing nor able to take part in the Russian war on a large scale, he is seeking fresh troops not only from the Finns but from the Hungarians, Rumanians, Bulgarians, Croats, and Slovaks. The answers he has received from the peoples of Southeastern Europe show that they do not intend to increase the aid they have already granted.

Their attitude surprises no one who has lived among them. The support they have given Hitler has always been compulsory and half-hearted. How small it really has been is revealed by the German communiqués, which from January 1 to July 15, 1942, have mentioned the Rumanians thirty-six times, the Hungarians thirteen times, the Slovaks and Croats five times each.

From the beginning these allies of Hitler's formed a strange and unnatural group. Most of them have always been arch-enemies. They joined in the war against Russia—and against Yugoslavia and Greece—only in the hope that they could thereby realize their own national aims. Now that the war has left their borders and the danger of a Russian invasion is past, they consider their part in it finished and are returning to their own na-

tional politics. The accounts they wish to settle are not with the Russians but with one another. All of them are pressing Hitler to fulfil the promises he made to them a year ago. But Hitler is in a bad position and has to postpone fulfilment. As a result these countries are preparing for a direct settlement, and Hitler has his hands full preventing war between Rumania and Hungary, Hungary and Slovakia, or Rumania and Bulgaria.

In his original plan of strategy against Russia, formulated in August, 1941, Hitler reserved an important role for the Hungarian army—the defense of the Carpathian Mountains. The partition of Transylvania, which gave the northern part of that province to Hungary, was in preparation for this. But the war against Russia was very unpopular in Hungary. It had been necessary to blame the Soviets for the bombing of the town of Kassa in order to find a pretext for a declaration of war against them. The Hungarian army participated only on a small scale, preferring to remain on the Rumanian and Slovakian borders and to hold the Bácska, which was "retaken" from Yugoslavia in spite of a pact of "eternal friendship." The former Hungarian Premier, Ladisla's de Bárdossy, declared in Parliament that his country would not increase the "expeditionary army" against the Russians, and his successor, Nicholas de Kállay, has made every effort to hold to that position. On his recent visit to Hitler he is reported to have said that Hungary needed its man-power for the harvest and to have offered grain instead of men. The government has been wholeheartedly supported by both Regent Horthy and the Hungarian aristocracy, which, though long notorious in Europe for its anti-democratic and fascist sentiments, is in the main anti-Hitler because it fears that after the Führer is victorious and no longer needs the support of the great landowners, he will advocate expropriation of the estates.

Hungarian policy is clear: Hungary wants to keep the former Hungarian territories "reconquered" from the Czechs in 1938 and from the Yugoslavs in 1941, and also that part of Transylvania which was retroceded by Rumania after Ribbentrop and Ciano worked out the Vienna award in 1941. But Hungary remembers its experience in 1918-19, when, its army having been destroyed, it had to submit not only to the dictates of the Allies but also to a Rumanian invasion and the occupation of Budapest. It refuses to repeat the mistakes of the last war and to sacrifice its youth in the cause of Germany. It remembers how, "*mitgegangen, mitgefangen,*



*mitgehangen*," it had to share the fate of its allies and take full punishment.

Today Hungary is saving its army and its ammunition for the post-war crisis. Its position was made plain when Kállay, an intimate friend of the well-known anti-Nazi Count Stephen Bethlen, was appointed Premier to succeed Bárdossy, and when the son of the anti-Hitler Horthy was chosen to be his father's successor.

Relations between Hungary and Rumania are strained to the breaking-point. I was in Rumania when the present regime had to carry out the Vienna award and cede to Hungary half of Transylvania, "the pearl of Greater Rumania," with its capital, Cluj-Kolozsvár. I had also witnessed the return of Bessarabia to the Russians. The resolution of the Rumanian-Russian question without a war was welcomed by the people. Everybody was aware that Bessarabia was not worth fighting for, and no serious accusations were made against the government which ceded it. But when northern Transylvania and Cluj were to be evacuated, the bitterness was universal, and only the critical internal political situation—the revolt of the Iron Guard, the dethronement of King Carol, and the installation of the Antonescu regime—prevented open revolution. The anti-Hitler feeling then created grew stronger when the German "instruction troops" arrived and Rumania was prepared to become the battlefield of the campaign against Russia.

General Antonescu, Rumania's present dictator, is a soldier and only a soldier; he has had no political experience and cannot command the support of politicians. All his life he has been preparing for a Rumanian-Russian war, and as soon as Hitler made him "commander of the Rumanian-German armies operating in the south," he ignored the warnings of his advisers and sent his army into battle. Bessarabia was not worth the losses incurred, and generals as well as politicians are protesting against the cost of the dictator's military adventure.

Under pressure of Rumanian public opinion Antonescu presented his claims for a revision of the Vienna award. Hitler refused to discuss the Transylvanian question at that time. Meanwhile, clear-sighted persons in Rumania knew that while the country was being bled white for Germany, the Hungarians were fortifying their positions in Transylvania and had even gone so far as to ask for the second half of that province. Opposition to the continuation of the Russian war became more serious in view of Hungary's preparations. Two "secret" radio stations were set up on Rumanian soil to carry on anti-Hungarian propaganda among the Rumanian minority in Hungarian Transylvania.

Antonescu called on Hitler and brought back only new obligations to deliver more troops, food, and oil to the Führer. People are hungry and cold in a wheat-growing, richly forested country; the army's losses have

been heavy; and nothing has been gained. The Rumanian nation is becoming impatient and is asking for an immediate solution of the Transylvanian question. If Hitler can do nothing, Rumania will refuse further help to the Axis. Dissatisfaction is great and open; both people and politicians are demanding the withdrawal of Rumanian troops from Russia and their dispatch to the Hungarian border.

The Slovaks are also reluctant to augment Hitler's strength. Not only do they feel their kinship with other Slavs, but they are afraid of the Hungarians. Hungary claims part of Slovakia in addition to those sections of Czecho-Slovakia which it seized in 1938. The troops of the two countries now face each other on the border and refuse to leave their positions to fight against the Russians.

The autonomous Croatia created by the Germans and placed under the leadership of Ante Pavelich is another "ally" of Hitler's. But not even the terror of the Ustashis (the organization responsible for the assassination of King Alexander) can break the influence of Vladimir Machek there. Although the Croat peasant leader is confined to his country estate in Kubinec, his followers are carrying on the struggle against Pavelich in his name. The king-killer has succeeded in gathering a number of Machek's followers into his so-called parliament, but the spokesman of the group has declared that only the "utmost terror" forced them to come. The Duke of Spoleto, the new "King of Croatia," does not dare to appear in Zagreb for fear of an attempt on his life. Rather than fight for Hitler, peasants are enrolling in the "green cadres," groups of deserters who in alliance with the Serb Chetniks are fighting against the Ustashis and the Italian and German occupation troops.

Bulgaria, like Hungary, is a victim of the First World War. From the beginning of the present conflict the Bulgarian press has never ceased to remind the people of the results of fighting a losing battle on the German side. "No war" is the Bulgarian watchword; "national claims must be satisfied by peaceful means." So far this policy has been successful. As a result of German pressure on Rumania Bulgaria got back the southern Dobrudja, and it has occupied parts of Yugoslavia and Greece that it has claimed for many generations. But it is unwilling to declare war on Slav Russia. It is fighting against Serbian Chetniks and Greek guerrillas, but exclusively on territory which it has occupied, and it has refused to furnish any military help to Hitler against Russia.

The firm stand taken by these countries reveals Hitler's weakness. If he were as strong as he boasted he was at the beginning of the Russian-German war, they would not have the courage to oppose his wishes. They are in a position to know the situation and chances better than more remote countries, and they have made their decision.



# Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

## Too Much Wheat

**O**UT in the wheat belt the combines are humming as harvesting gets into full swing. Weather conditions during the growing season have been favorable, and there is a bumper crop to gather in, even though it will not quite measure up to last year's output. For this small mercy the Department of Agriculture may truly be thankful, since it is already almost smothered in wheat. At the beginning of the new "crop year" on July 1 there was a carry-over from previous harvests of 630,000,000 bushels. Add the estimated yield of this year's crop—868,059,000 bushels—and we have a supply equal to two years' domestic consumption with no important export outlets in sight so long as the war continues.

One result is a major storage problem. This week, with storage facilities at the terminal exhausted and with grain tying up badly needed railroad cars in the freight yards, the Kansas City Board of Trade voted a modified embargo on wheat shipments. In other terminal cities the situation is almost equally difficult, with last year's carry-over filling up the elevators. From all over the wheat belt come stories of farmers turning to all sorts of makeshifts in order to house their crops. Garages, vacant stores, and schoolhouses are being boarded up and used for storage. Even farmhouse parlors are being emptied of furniture to make room for wheat.

Despite this superabundance, only after a prolonged and bitter fight has the government obtained from Congress authority to sell some of its wheat holdings for animal feed at a price sufficiently below parity to make it competitive with corn. And it is permitted to dispose of no more than 125,000,000 bushels in this manner. Yet while our daily bread is more than amply assured, there is a real need to bolster the production of the protein foods which animals "manufacture" from grain—meat, eggs, and dairy products. In view of increased military and civilian demands and our lend-lease commitments, supplies of these commodities are none too plentiful. A near-crisis in pork is impending, with hogs commanding a market price far above the parity level and the processors, who operate under a price ceiling, becoming reluctant to buy. Increased supplies of feed will help to correct this situation.

Even before the farm bloc had suffered final defeat in its effort to prevent the sale of wheat below parity, it had a new inflationary iron in the fire. A bill has passed the Senate ordering 100 per cent parity loans on 1942 crops of wheat, cotton, corn, rice, peanuts, and tobacco. The passage last summer of the Steagal amend-

ment providing for 85 per cent parity loans on basic crops gave a strong impetus to the upward movement in farm prices. Should this new bill become law, another rise in the cost of living can be confidently expected. In the case of wheat it will mean a price of 134.4 cents a bushel compared with an average price to the farmer in June of 96 cents.

Moreover, we have to consider the effect of such a bonanza price on the wheat grower. Encouraged to expect that the same bounty will be extended to him in respect of next year's crop, he will naturally try to increase his output. It is true that wheat-acreage allotment for 1943 is restricted to the legal limit—55,000,000 acres—as it was in the current year, but a full parity price will make it worth while to intensify production by using more fertilizer. Nor will the farmer be so apt to listen to Secretary of Agriculture Wickard's plea to turn suitable land from wheat to more urgently needed crops. Thus if the Senate bill is passed, labor, machinery, and fertilizers which could have been used in more fruitful ways will be employed to add to an already unmanageable surplus of wheat. Under war-time conditions waste of resources of this kind is worse than a blunder; it is treason.

By pushing demands which not only ignore the national interest but violate common sense the farm bloc is endangering the whole agricultural program, as indeed many farmers and farm organizations recognize. Few will deny the basic justice of the parity idea. But it is one thing to seek ways of guaranteeing the farmers a fair share of the national income and something else to attempt to freeze the crop pattern by protecting the production of obviously superfluous quantities of a particular commodity such as wheat.

Price guaranties and subsidies can be justified only when they seek to correct, and not to distort, an unbalanced supply-demand situation. Thus government underwriting of profitable prices for meat or soy beans or peanuts can be defended at this time on the ground that prospective supplies of these crops are inadequate. But to spur the production of wheat is about as sensible as closing the sluice gates of an overflowing reservoir. Intelligible aid to wheat farmers would be directed toward getting them away from wheat and into some of the many other crops for which there is an increasing demand, especially those which are the raw materials for the new chemurgic industries. These offer prospects for post-war development. When peace comes, there will be a relief demand of great magnitude which may provide a way of reducing wheat stocks to normal proportions, although we must not forget that Canada and the Argentine also possess very large reserves. It is highly improbable, however, that we shall permanently regain the export markets without which the present acreage devoted to wheat must be excessive.



## In the Wind

**T**HE FOUR FREEDOMS" is the title of a documentary motion picture just issued by the National Association of Manufacturers. The last of the President's four freedoms, "freedom from fear," is changed in the film to "freedom of enterprise."

AMONG THE GUESTS at a recent reception for Mr. and Mrs. Joseph E. Davies were Mr. and Mrs. Martin Dies and Hjalmar Procope, Finnish minister to the United States.

IN AN EDITORIAL on the fall of Sevastopol, the Green Bay (Wisconsin) *Press-Gazette* compared the resistance of the Russians with that of the besieged fascists "when the Republicans defended the Alhambra against the reds" in the Spanish war.

MANY VENDORS who used to hawk *Social Justice* are now selling *Serve America Now*, a new fascist-flavored magazine published in Boston.

GERALD L. K. SMITH is short of funds. In a circular letter to his supporters he says that his organization, the Committee of One Million, and his campaign for the Senate may both fail unless he gets the money to pay many long-outstanding bills.

JAMES E. CURLEY, three times mayor of Boston and once governor of Massachusetts, is opposing Representative Thomas Eliot in the Democratic primaries. Curley has a powerful machine and is popular with Irish elements in Boston who form a large part of the liberal incumbent's constituency.

REPRESENTATIVE HAROLD KNUTSON, in his column in the Brainerd (Minnesota) *Dispatch*, discussed last week the Dies committee's accusations against the Union for Democratic Action. Knutson cited a great many facts about U. D. A. leaders which in his opinion prove it is an alien group. His comment on Dr. James Loeb, executive secretary of the Union, was that Loeb formerly taught Romance languages.

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY of Russia, what remains of it, now has its headquarters in New York. The war, however, is breaking it up, for several prominent Mensheviks are becoming increasingly sympathetic to the Bolsheviks. One of these is Max Werner, the military analyst. Werner spoke recently at a Communist-led meeting, and the Mensheviks decided to expel him. When two other leaders of the group, A. Yugow and Theodor Dan, supported him, they also were expelled.

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of \$5 will be awarded each month for the best item.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

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# BOOKS and the ARTS

## "P'town"

*TIME AND THE TOWN: A PROVINCETOWN CHRONICLE.* By Mary Heaton Vorse. The Dial Press. \$3.50.

AN AMPHIBIAN creature snugly nestled within the almost closed fist of Cape Cod, Provincetown is one of the youngest of Mother Plymouth's daughters, and by reputation at least the "fastest" and least prim from birth. Long ago, so legend has it, the devil had business with Captain Jeremiah Snaggs, a sinner from down-Cape, and after some difficulty ran him down in Provincetown.

"Well," said the Captain, "you caught me fair and square. Where do we go from here?"

"Go?" exclaimed His Nibs, a bit surprised. "Ain't we to Provincetown?"

Almost any and every attitude can be taken toward the town except indifference. People either love it passionately or hate it with equal fervor. Mary Heaton Vorse belongs to the first school, and her story of "P'town" is tender and understanding, with many deep insights born of an intuitive "feel" for things that cannot easily be explained. The mellow light of wisdom and sparkling flash of wit play over these pages, which are rich with amusing and revealing anecdote, illuminating more with a phrase than ten pages of ponderous analysis.

They are all here, all the diverse and jangling elements that have made Provincetown one of the most distinctive of American communities—the old-time whaling fleet, the Grand Bankers, the mooncussers, the Coast Guard, the fresh fishermen and weir fishermen, the "freezers" and beam trawlers, the scientists, writers, rum-runners, sculptors and painters, Lizzie Jazz Garters, boarding-house keepers, tin-horn politicians, crabapple Yankees, prolific Portuguese from ancient Lisbon and the Azores, Nova Scotians, "bohemians" (high and low), and the castellated "girls" of the Research (genealogical) Society, restricted to Mayflower descendants. Almost all claim at least one line of descent from Stephen Hopkins, rather ironically, for Hopkins was the most democratic of the Pilgrim Fathers, being constantly in trouble with the Plymouth authorities, twice for selling liquor without a license and once for inviting servants into his house to drink and play shovelboard, which the Research Society has yet to do.

Mary Heaton Vorse is at her best in telling the story of her early years in Provincetown, from 1907 to 1917, before automobiles and three-hour tourists came to clog its two long narrow streets and its maze of narrower cross lanes. Her description of the old Kibbe Cook house, which has been her home for thirty-five years, is a fine and sensitive piece of writing.

While the story has been told before and at greater length, there is interesting material here on the now almost legendary Provincetown Players, who presented their first plays on the Vorses' old fish wharf, long since fallen into the sea. Never

since the days of Emerson, Thoreau, and their friends at Concord has there been such fruitful joint activity on these shores. Of Provincetown for a few brief years it can be said, as was inscribed with a burning iron on the door of the old stable in MacDougal Street that became the Provincetown Playhouse, "Here Pegasus was hitched."

Probably because the pattern of life at Provincetown, as elsewhere in the country, began to fall apart into rather meaningless pieces after the last war, the chronicle is not so rewarding in its final sections. It becomes somewhat too miscellaneous, quite out of focus here and there where it descends to a mere cataloguing of personalities, events, "quaint" industries, and who lives where. More than one of the later chapters might well have been telescoped to a paragraph or two. The space might better have been used by Mary Heaton Vorse to probe into the most puzzling and disheartening phenomenon of the town—the wide and as yet unbridged gap between persons like herself and the general run of the town. Writers, painters, and "thinkers" have never been accepted locally. This question goes deep, to the very roots of the community and, for that matter, of American life. There is a deadly parallel in the history of all American "art" colonies. Why do such communities dry up so rapidly? Can it be because the artists and writers are really little better than three-hour tourists, having their function elsewhere, drawing their bread and butter from outside, without roots in the local scene? Couldn't they dig in and sprout roots if they tried, instead of always living spiritually in New York or some other metropolis? After all, the painters of Siena did not commute either physically or spiritually to Florence, Venice, or Rome. They lived and painted in Siena, for the Sienese.

Whatever the cause, writers and painters have never made the grade in Provincetown, and this unquestionably has affected their work by constricting their lives. "Ma" Enos summed up the popular feeling about them when her husband, Captain "Kitty," took up art, decorating clam and quahog shells, even painting rather charming canvases, after he had been stove up by a fall from a roof.

"Go'dammit!" said Ma, "it's awful! Lucky, though, he fell off the right side of the roof. If he'da come down the left side, he might'a been one of them — — — writers."

GEORGE WILLISON

## Textbook of Blitzkrieg

*ATTACK: A STUDY OF BLITZKRIEG TACTICS.* By Major F. O. Miksche. With an Introduction by Tom Wintringham. Random House. \$2.50.

TOM WINTRINGHAM, in his introduction to "Attack," describes Major Miksche's work as a textbook of modern war, and the only textbook he knows that deals with war as the Germans have shaped it and are shaping it. He and Major Miksche served together with the Interna-



tional Brigade of the Spanish Republican army through the war in Spain, where they fought the German army specialists who made use of this campaign to try out their modern battle tactics and who incidentally gained much knowledge which they were later able to apply in Poland and France.

The German conception of war is to be found in the teachings of General Karl von Clausewitz, the military theorist who directed the Prussian War School in the early nineteenth century. The modern German army had its origin in the period when universal military service was adopted in Prussia; Hitler and his military advisers have built their war machine on the sound foundations of the old army and their strategy of conquest on the teachings of the Prussian War School. Clausewitz laid down that the military aims of conquest must be the destruction of the enemy's armed forces and the seizure of his means of aggression, that is, his raw materials, food, and industry. The final aim must be to overcome his will to resist; this is usually accomplished by a great victory in the field and the capture of his capital.

Only a small portion of "Attack" is devoted to the historical background of the Nazi system of aggressive warfare, but the evolution of this system through the Spanish and Polish campaigns is carefully traced. In the former the Germans learned much and the French little, and Major Miksche explains why the French failed to profit from the lessons of a campaign so near home.

The blitzkrieg, as tried out in Spain, started at too slow a pace, and there were many mistakes, though it is only fair to say that these were mostly made by the Italians. Toward the end of the war the pace quickened, and the technique of cooperation between tanks and aircraft was much improved. In the Polish campaign German operations assumed the rapidity of true blitzkrieg.

The story of the French campaign is well known, but Major Miksche has thrown new light on the reasons for the French miscalculation of German intentions. The campaign started with surprise, because the main attack was made not in the open plains of Belgium but through the Ardennes, by an approach averaging seventy miles a day. This was quite contrary to General Gamelin's ideas that no force could penetrate that region swiftly owing to its lack of roads and railways. The roads were too few for an army maintaining a broad front, but they were enough for an armored and motorized drive that pushed hard on narrow fronts and was not disturbed by gaps between those fronts. Surprise was achieved by speed, and success was exploited by keeping up the speed. The German Staff utilized the rapidity of modern road transport in cooperation with the airplane on a scale on which it had not been used before. Success in France was largely the result of practice in Spain and Poland. Since 1940, though new weapons and equipment have imposed some changes in method, the German principles of attack have remained the same.

Major Miksche has made a thorough study of the tactics of attack as perfected by the Germans on the battlefield. In Spain he was given one of the highest ranks bestowed on staff officers of foreign birth, and he organized the defensive system of the Republican army. By the end of the campaign it was clear to him that new weapons and methods

had changed both attack and defense. The greater part of his book is given over to this subject, and it is one of much interest and moment, not only to soldiers, but to the people of all the Allied nations.

H. S. SEWELL

## Art Hays

*CITY LAWYER: THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A LAW PRACTICE.* By Arthur Garfield Hays. Simon and Schuster. \$3.

THERE are few labor causes to which Arthur Garfield Hays has turned a cold shoulder. The reason is apparent in the foreword of his new book:

My life is essentially a struggle . . . the usual one of making a living, and then making living a little easier for those who are the perennial victims of persecution. After a good many years of it, I am convinced that the struggle itself, whether temporarily won or lost, is what counts. To press for some cause bigger than oneself, however hopeless it may seem, isn't necessarily noble. It is just about the best fun there is in life for people of my disposition. . . . It may well be I have been worth more for the defense of the rights of others to express their ideas (with a great many of which I have not agreed) than for any other purpose.

However, it should be quickly added that his new book is not a polemic on liberalism or a dissertation on how to succeed in the law. For the most part it is a warm, informal, loosely knit account of the career of a man who enjoys his profession and enjoys writing about it.

As a fighter for liberalism, Mr. Hays is familiar to *Nation* readers. But this book presents him in a less familiar role, that of a successful practicing lawyer of international reputation. Perhaps that is why "City Lawyer" has so fresh a touch. He has recounted in great detail his non-political cases and kept his "cause" cases down to a minimum.

Subtitled "The Autobiography of a Law Practice" rather than the autobiography of a lawyer, the biographical details are played down; yet more of them appear here than in any of his other books. Born in Rochester, New York, in 1881, of a fairly well-to-do middle-class family, he came to New York City as a boy, attended City College, then Columbia, and was graduated from the Law School of that university. He passed the bar in 1905 and spent the summer in Europe on the usual grand tour. He entered a well-established, highly reputed law firm in New York's financial district, but soon formed a partnership with S. Walter Kaufmann and Norvin R. Lindheim. Because of Kaufmann's German connections, the young firm received a great deal of work from German sources. In fact, Hays got his first taste of international law when he went to England to protest against the seizure of German goods by the English in the early years of the war. When he returned to America he found the United States at war with Germany and his law firm under accusation of aiding the enemy. The ensuing investigation—Hays personally was not involved—resulted in the conviction and disbarment of his partners, and it was not until many years later that they were reinstated.

Under the heading *The Pictures on My Office Walls*, Hays discusses the high lights in his career. His cases ranged



from the defense of Wall Street brokerage firms to divorce and libel actions. Interspersed were his "liberal" cases—Sacco and Vanzetti, Robert Burns of "Georgia Chain Gang" fame, the Scopes trial, H. L. Mencken and the Watch and Ward Society of Boston, Mayor Hague of New Jersey, and many others. But he has reserved most space for a case that was without a tinge of "social significance"—the Wendel will case. The problem was to break the will of Ella Wendel and determine who were the lawful heirs. A reputed fifty million dollars was involved, and the law fee was a million. It is the best mystery story of the thirties, and why no one has written a novel using it as a background is an even greater mystery.

Another case to which Hays devotes a good deal of space is the Reichstag-fire trial, in which he sat in as an observer for the defense. More interesting than the trial itself are the details of how Hays got in and out of the case, especially his description of Nazi court procedure and of the treatment accorded him by the Nazi authorities. On the fire itself nothing has ever been written to equal the brilliant full-length account by Douglas Reed, published—and neglected—in this country in 1934 under the title "The Burning of the Reichstag." Reed, an English journalist, devoted an entire book to this sensational event; Hays sees it through the eyes of an American lawyer.

The layman may find Mr. Hays's book rather technical in spots, but in most instances the material is so interesting, and is presented so vividly, that the legal phraseology is forgivable. "City Lawyer" may not be Mr. Hays's most important book, but it is by far the most readable.

GEORGE JOEL

## The Correspondent's Book

*ASSIGNMENT TO BERLIN.* By Harry W. Flannery. Alfred A. Knopf. \$3.

**A**BOUT this much there is no argument: a radio correspondent upon his return from Berlin will have at least something of interest to say. And one may agree that if the correspondent has an alert mind and a terse biting style he should be encouraged to write a book. Mr. Shirer, for instance. But not Mr. Flannery. Mr. Flannery was good for a Town Hall luncheon or one article in some genteel, rather portentous magazine, the *Atlantic Monthly*, say. But there he is, an honest, rather sentimental man, "well-informed," diligent, soft-spoken, and slightly confused, clapped down by Mr. Knopf beside the ejaculator of exact and brilliant paragraphs. How do you do, Mr. Shirer!

There is, of course, plenty of information in "Assignment to Berlin." Much of it is about Mr. Flannery's not very exciting profession, about which Mr. Shirer has told us all we need to know. A radio correspondent will meet bureaucrats, censors, and officials; not very interesting creatures unless one is interested in the study of censorship for its own sake. It may be admitted that what a censor permits one to say, or what he prohibits, may throw light upon a government's plans. Mr. Flannery throws no light, however. He was exasperated by the German censors, who co-operated whole-heartedly with CBS's man only when they

saw propaganda value in one of his stunts, such as interviewing a pugilist named Max Schmeling or one of the pilots alleged to have bombed the Illustrious. Then, again, Mr. Flannery is at pains to tell us that the incredible Mr. Wodehouse is a dangerous nitwit with a materialistic mind. And since he had not before traveled outside the United States, Mr. Flannery sets down a few of his, presumably, choicer impressions. German dark beer is sweeter than light beer, and Mr. Flannery did not like it. Also, German photographic films are inferior to American. Probably the famous American remark about European plumbing is to be found somewhere in the author's pages. Again, a little tenderness is called for by the recipe for this kind of book. Mr. Flannery therefore reports his telephone conversations with his wife back home in the States—four thousand miles away! Sometimes he had a good connection and at other times he did not. But modern science is wonderful, anyway.

But what kind of information can a correspondent gather? Gestapo vigilance cannot prevent his collecting exact data about the food situation. Mr. Flannery does something in this line. He can observe certain things of military value. The author gives us a few extremely interesting facts about the camouflage of Berlin, together with a rumor, popular in the German capital, that the Nazis have built a fake Berlin to deceive any British or Russian bomber pilot whose navigator chances to be dead drunk over his maps. An observer in the author's position may make a faithful report on the German press. We get a little of that. He may recount war-time gossip, though he should be careful not to let his gossip reporting become downright assertion. It is, for example, very probable that after the invasion of the U. S. S. R. dissension arose within the German military class. So much we had gathered back here. In any case, war-time chatter would busy itself with the theme. Since the matter is "of the essence," when Mr. Flannery states positively that the German army wanted more say in government, he ought to disclose his source of information. Upon all these subjects, then, Mr. Flannery has something to say, but never does he go after his theme and clinch his few instances with a well-ordered abundance of fact. Almost the only matter to be treated generously is German morale, the curious, anxiety-ridden grayness of mind characteristic at least of the middle-aged masses. For the rest he ambles along, rehashing material made public before or at the most spicing it with unimportant details.

The criticism, however, is not merely directed against a slightly lower than average "correspondent's book" but against the whole surfeit of them. Unless such a manuscript is written with the imagistic brilliance of Mr. Werth, or unless a historical curve shoots up out of it like a fiery rocket, as out of "Berlin Diary," there is only one characteristic that should earn it publication. A deadly, universal war is not merely a dubbed-in background for a display of chest-thumping in the manner of Tarzan Reynolds. Nor is it the occasion for a well-mannered conversation piece like Mr. Flannery's. What we do need is an abundance of relevant and exact information—but exact. The remark, which indicates satiety rather than ill-temper, is addressed to publishers, for their information and necessary action, please!

RALPH BATES



## Drama Note

THE current revivals of famous musical comedies at Carnegie Hall may not be brilliant as productions, but they provide a pleasantly nostalgic summer night's entertainment, especially for veterans of the first engagements of the old favorites. The scores seem as fresh as ever. The action, if that is how you describe what goes on in an old-school musical comedy, is slow in parts; other parts have been truncated, perhaps to speed things along but not always to the advantage of the production as a whole. Stage sets and costuming are economical but more effective, I thought, than some reviewers would admit. The casting is also so-so; adequate rather than first-rate.

In spite of this rather faint praise, nobody who would be likely to go to "The Chocolate Soldier" or "The Merry Widow" risks serious disappointment. The former played an extra week to good houses. "The Merry Widow," now running, has met with an equally enthusiastic response. Helen Gleason, who played the lead in both, has an excellent voice and is pretty besides. The role of Prince Damito in "The Merry Widow," made famous by the forgotten Donald Brian, is sung with humor and spirit—though with an unnecessary touch of clowning—by Wilbur Evans, known in the past chiefly as a radio and concert singer. My memory may have exaggerated the glamour and gaiety of the final scene in Maxim's in the original performance, but I suspect that some of it has been ruthlessly deleted, perhaps in deference to Helen Gleason's very modest abilities as a dancer. Nor have the lines been improved by the injection of a few topical witticisms. But no impious hand has touched the Lehar score, and that, after all, is more important than action or words, scenery or costumes. F. K.

## MUSIC

HERBERT GRAF, the Metropolitan's stage director, has written a book called "The Opera and Its Future in America" (Norton; \$4.75). For the simpler-minded who think that opera is a number of exciting works by Mozart, Verdi, Wagner, Mussorgsky, its future is obvious enough: the best possible performances of these works to satisfy the interest of those who are excited by them, and to stimulate the imaginations of the creators of new works. But for

Mr. Graf, who has the German tendency to intellectualization and schematization, the future of opera is the future of "the eternal musical theater," of which the opera of the past three hundred years is one of the particular forms determined by "particular social, political, and cultural surroundings." The true musical theater, in which "all arts—poetry, music, the dance, painting, sculpture, and architecture . . . worked together as a perfect ensemble in the service of a common purpose," was the democratic folk theater of the Greeks, which represented folk emotion about subjects close to the folk mind and heart, and represented the need for community participation, as one can see in the architectural form of the theater, which created no distinctions in the audience and did not separate the audience from the performers. Hence the seventeenth-century Italians who set out to reproduce the Greek drama were doomed to failure from the start, since what they produced represented not folk emotion but the mere intellectual interest of aristocrats, not the need of community participation but an aristocratic society's desire for mere entertainment, as was evident in the fact that the works were performed in palace theaters in which the audience was separated from the performers. And later came the performances in public theaters in which the tiers of boxes and seats separated the different classes of the audience; performances of works which the desire for entertainment made into "medley[s] of independent attractions: singing for the sake of vocal display, dancing to show off feats of virtuosity in bodily movement, scenery for the sake of mere pomp and color." It was liberal and democratic tendencies that changed all this: the Age of Reason produced Gluck's simplification of grand opera; Mozart's sensitiveness to the political currents of his time led him to a democratization of grand opera through the infusion of elements of folk opera—the every-day, true-to-life subjects close to the mind and heart of the folk, and calling for a more natural style of singing, acting, scenery, and so on. Beethoven, Verdi did the same thing; Wagner too used subjects from the history and mythology of his own people in works that employed all the elements of the stage in the service of "social document[s] of folk expression"; and he also integrated these elements in performances of the works. But in the end Mr. Graf is not satisfied

with even perfect performances of Mozart or Wagner if proscenium arch and curtain separate audience from performers, if tiers of boxes and seats separate groups of the audience, if this audience is not the folk.

So with America. It was, he says, the moneyed aristocracy who, for their entertainment and social prestige, imported and supported in copies of the European court theaters the alien art of grand opera in foreign languages that had no "broad basis of support in the masses of the people." "In 1929 the wealth of the country was sucked into the maelstrom of financial depression"; and opera passed from the hands of those who no longer could afford to support it to the hands of new sponsors—the people. The result was its democratization: performances were broadcast to the entire nation; "the boxes in the grand tier, which had belonged to the stockholders of the [Metropolitan] Real Estate Company, were replaced by seats . . . a step toward widening the opera's appeal and bases of support"; "the great age of foreign opera in its original form, produced with the most famous casts and elaborate effects which could be bought in all the world, and presented by a skilful organization" ended; already there has been increasing use of American singers, a beginning with the use of English; and these point toward the future that Mr. Graf wants: an opera of the people in a theater of the people, employing subjects, a language, a style of performance that will engage their emotions.

The replacement of grand tier boxes by seats costing \$5 represents perfectly the Metropolitan's democratization; Mr. Graf's citing of it represents equally well the writing in his book—superficial, remote from reality, inaccurate, uncritical, and this even in artistic matters. The Metropolitan was not democratized: the people contributed the funds to continue the performances and buy the opera house, but the moneyed aristocrats rented the parterre boxes they had owned and remained the directors of the producing company. And its artistic improvement has been in the direction of the recent performances of "Don Giovanni" and "Fidelio" in their original forms with the best available singers, mostly foreigners. For while such opera may originally have been imported by the moneyed aristocracy, it engaged and still engages the emotions of the musical public; and it will continue to do so.

B. H. HAGGIN



# Letters to the Editors

## Democracy Is Indivisible

*Dear Sirs:* In his *Nation* article of June 20, Mr. del Vayo reminded us, as Ferrero and others have done, of the Congress of Vienna and the attempt made there to reconstruct Europe on the old principle of monarchist legitimacy, "the eternal law," as Metternich called it. The parallel between that congress and the future peace conference, after Allied victory, is indeed striking. Like the congress, the peace conference will follow a revolutionary period that produced dictators attempting to unify Europe by conquest.

The peacemakers of Vienna were out of step with history. They did not understand that the old principle of monarchist legitimacy had been finally replaced, in the revolutionary struggles, by a new principle—the principle of the Rights of Man. This, in fact, was a descent from heaven to earth; it was a change from a political principle based on divine right to one based on human rights.

Against this new principle the privileged fought step by step. Paradoxically, they were able to use the new nationalism created by the revolutions to postpone social and political reforms. The new nationalism built up psychological Chinese walls between the peoples, high enough to prevent them from seeing their common interests, but not so high as to stop vested interests from pursuing, in international accord, a counter-revolutionary policy. Nothing is more typical of this than the wishful belief, often expressed in reactionary circles, that Soviet Russia is going back to nationalism. It is in line with the policy that put Hitler in the saddle and finally led to the anti-Communist Munich agreement and the present war.

The next peace conference should clearly establish the new principle as the only source of political authority. It must be universally accepted, as was the previous principle of the divine right of kings. Naturally, different forms of government can be adopted, according to the educational level and the political evolution of the various peoples, but other wars are inevitable if a general principle of political authority is not established, if democratic solidarity does not become an almost religious need, taking precedence over nationalism.

The British-Russian pact, by creating the basis for a real understanding between the Western democracies and Soviet Russia, opens the road toward a "people's peace." But before that goal is reached, political clarification inside the Western democracies must take place. Declarations like the recent addresses of Messrs. Wallace and Welles clearly point the way. Of course the elimination of the men who believed in appeasement, who, as Mr. del Vayo puts it, may be considered "a useful element of counterpoise in a Europe which tomorrow might swing too far to the left," is indispensable. Without it, the threat of "counter-revolution" after the victory has been won will keep alive Soviet suspicion of the Western powers, and the result will be another peace based on the balance of power and another war.

Naturally the argument of the appeasers is the danger of communism or even of socialism. But labels are very confusing. Where, for instance, does a progressive trend, as exemplified by the New Deal, end and socialism begin? The difference lies rather between Anglo-Saxon pragmatism and European dogmatism. If the British-Russian treaty bears all its fruit, the Soviet Union will have no reason to deny its peoples the complete enjoyment of the Four Freedoms. It had a justification for not doing so only in the past, when anti-Communist coalitions were possible. What is essential is that we all understand that the "people's revolution" must be directed and organized by international democracy. This will be the paramount task of the future peacemakers. It implies the revision of the traditional conception of national sovereignty that paralyzed the first League of Nations. A limit must be set to the sovereignty of the state in order to protect the sovereignty of the people.

CHARLES A. DAVILA,

Former Rumanian Minister to  
New York, July 13      Washington

## Balance of Power a Necessity

*Dear Sirs:* With the Anglo-Russian pact the very principle which Mr. del Vayo condemns has now been reasserted by the chief exponent of a people's revolution. For the balance of power is bred not by design but necessity. In the twentieth century it has been the logical re-

sponse of countries with the one basic common interest of self-preservation to Germany's ceaseless megalomania.

Nor does it rule out hope of a wider system of security. But this, too, must deal with that contest of power which is the underlying reality of politics. Russia and Britain have framed specific guaranties of "mutual assistance" against Germany so that power may rest in the hands of the law-abiding—in the hands, that is, of any larger organization which they underwrite. Will these allies—together with France and the other liberated nations—have the economic stability thus to keep Europe's peace? The United States, in the interest of its own security, must take steps to make that possible. If the great anti-Axis combination is assured of a favorable balance of European power, it may be able to direct that power toward a better world.

Mr. del Vayo's account of pre-war diplomacy gives pause. For in Britain, at any rate, the government did not pursue what he thinks was a traditional policy of balance of power but the precise and tragic reverse. By acquiescing in the growth of German strength, the method employed was not that of balance but of unbalance.

For the ideological version always portrays Downing Street and the City magnates as being much less stupid than they were. It omits the fact that since the 1920's Germany had been among all classes of Englishmen the most popular of European countries. Many on the right detested not only Communist Russia but the French right and center; it was to be Blum and not Barthou who took his orders from London. Liberal England and czarist Russia united against Germany's previous bid for power. If historical precedent had been followed, close ties would have been formed with both Moscow and Paris.

As for the left, it too helped discredit Versailles beyond reason or safety. Appeasement was its own revisionist doctrine borrowed and intensified. Chamberlain tried to invent a substitute for that balance of power which embodies the experience of the past. From this all parties may learn. For a policy which comes from the heart but ignores the head may be as disastrous as one which appears to spring from neither.

LIONEL GELBER

Toronto, July 9



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## *The Shape of Things*

THE FALL OF ROSTOV IS A HEAVY BLOW to the cause of the United Nations, and even worse is the establishment of German bridgeheads on the lower Don, where it was hoped Marshal Timoshenko would be able to build a solid defense line. Hitler is dangerously near to achieving his immediate objective of cutting off the Caucasus with its vital oil and food supplies from the rest of Russia. It is not surprising, therefore, that the agitation for an immediate second front should be rising in a crescendo, particularly in Britain, where it appears to be getting on the government's nerves. In so far as the fervent demand for action indicates a willingness to face the enormous losses which the successful establishment of a second front will involve, this agitation is a healthy sign. On the other hand, it is obvious that whatever action the British and American High Commands have planned for the next two months must have been decided upon weeks ago, since even a small overseas expedition requires meticulous preparation. There are some indications that the next step will be a great intensification of air attacks on Germany. Experts like Major Seversky may well be over-optimistic in believing that the bomber alone can knock out the Axis; but a steady succession of raids, on a greater scale than anything Germany achieved over England, could do much to soften German morale and disrupt communications and production. There could be no better preparation for a later invasion of the Continent.

★

ARGENTINA HAS GONE A STEP FARTHER IN its double policy of supporting the Axis and repressing all dissident liberal opinion. Señor Ruiz Guinázú's violent anti-American speech in the secret meeting of the Chamber of Deputies served as a cynical commentary on a government prone to boast of its immaculate neutrality. The curious and round-about repudiation of this speech, issued through the Argentine Embassy in Mexico, convinces us only that the Foreign Minister, on second thought, concluded that the word *recua* (a drove of beasts of burden), applied to the American republics which have chosen to follow Washington rather than Berlin, was not, from the point of view of protocol, a happy choice. So officially at least it was never spoken.



But viewing the incident unofficially, we are prepared to accept the original report of the secret meeting presented in the uncensored press of Montevideo by members of the Argentine parliamentary opposition. We are the more inclined to take their word for what was said when we note how closely it parallels every other act of the Castillo government. Within the last few days the Minister of the Interior has decreed the suspension of three more newspapers sympathetic to the cause of the United Nations and has seized all available copies of "Campo Minado" (Minefield), in which the former deputy, Adolfo Lanús, a member of the committee of investigation into anti-Argentine activities, describes most impressively his experiences in dealing with Nazi intrigues in his country. Castillo cannot afford to have the public know to what extent his pro-Axis policy has opened the doors of Argentina to the political invasion of Adolf Hitler.

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THE NEW YORK *WORLD-TELEGRAM* SHOWED peculiar editorial judgment in featuring with banner headlines a story on the increase in strikes on the same day that it printed in a far less prominent position a WPB forecast of curtailed production in many directions due to shortages of materials. The *World-Telegram* pointed out that a million man-days had been lost through strikes since January 1, or enough time to produce 200 tanks. We hold no brief for labor walkouts at this time, but the toll they are taking in production is small compared with that caused by shortages of material, particularly steel. Two years ago government experts foresaw that our steel-making capacity would prove inadequate under total war conditions, but their plans for expansion were drastically cut down owing to opposition within the industry. Now we find that while astonishing progress has been made in stepping up output of war goods, we are having to allow machines and skilled hands to remain idle because the steel mills cannot keep up with demand. As a result the program for 200 badly needed ships has been scrapped—a loss far more serious than that of 200 tanks. Moreover, it appears that an over-all shortage of steel is being accentuated by uneven allocations. According to evidence presented to a subcommittee of the House Marine and Fisheries Committee, "some old-line shipyards, subsidiaries of the old steel trust, had inventories out of proportion to their normal needs. If this steel had been properly allocated and distributed, there would have been sufficient available to carry out the whole program of 1942 and 1943, including the Higgins contract." These charges deserve a full and open investigation.

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THE SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE MADE A poor start on the task of improving the tax bill passed by the House when it rejected out of hand two Treasury proposals for increasing revenue. In his statement to the

committee last week Mr. Morgenthau drew attention to three groups of taxpayers enjoying "special privileges." The existence of \$14 billion worth of tax-exempt securities, he pointed out, opens a wide breach in our system of taxation in accordance with ability to pay. He quoted the case of an individual with a gross income of \$975,000, of which more than two-thirds is derived from tax-exempts. Under the House bill this multimillionaire will pay a tax of only \$243,000, whereas if the privilege of tax exemption were removed, he would be liable for \$832,000. There is general agreement that tax-exempts are an anomaly in a progressive system, but the fact that existing issues were sold on this contractual basis does create a legal obstacle to their abolition. The desired result, however, could be approximately arrived at if Congress adopted the President's suggestion that all incomes be limited to \$25,000 for the duration of the war. Unfortunately, the Senate Finance Committee has turned down the proposal to end the tax-exempt privilege and has also refused to consider Mr. Morgenthau's recommendation of mandatory joint income-tax returns for married couples. The question of abolishing the 27½ per cent depletion allowance enjoyed by mining and oil properties, no matter how long they remain productive, the third proposal of the Secretary of the Treasury, has been left open.

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TWENTY-EIGHT PETTY TROUBLE-MAKERS know now that American democracy is not too flabby to swish the flies off its back. After eleven months of patient investigation, in which 150 witnesses were heard and 6,880 pages of testimony recorded, William P. Maloney and John T. M. Reddan, special assistants to the Attorney General, have brought in their catch. A more unsavory mess hasn't been hauled in since the round-up of the Mafia. Here are the scheming little merchants of hate whose names have figured in exposure after exposure in the liberal press over the past ten years. Winrod, Griffin, and Pelley; Dilling, Hudson, and Edmundson; Jones, True, Noble, Smythe, and the rest are all to be confronted in a court of law with the words they hoped would weaken the country and perhaps bring them to power: "the Axis powers are fighting to free the world from domination by communism and international Jewry"; "the Japanese war against China is morally right"; "the Japanese attack upon Pearl Harbor was instigated by Great Britain"; this is a war in defense of "international Jewry-organized finance," of "British imperialists' and "Mongolian Jews," and so forth *ad nauseam*. We do not wish to seem grudging in praise of Mr. Maloney's catch, but it does appear that some of the larger fish are yet to be netted. There is the Coughlin agent in Boston who, after Pearl Harbor, mailed thousands of letters to men in the camps assailing the President as a "murderer"; there is the Senator who on the



side publishes a journal hardly less slimy than those on the prosecutor's list. And whatever became of the projected probe of those responsible for *Social Justice*? If it was barred from the mails for being "clearly seditious," surely its editors and guiding spirit are not above investigation.

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THE RESIGNATION OF TIBOR ECKHARDT AS leader of the Independent Hungary group and the subsequent dissolution of the group itself have caused an elation in some liberal circles which we are unable to share. What is in the wind, apparently, is a reorganization under the auspices of a number of Hungarian ex-diplomats, including Anton Balasy, former counselor of the Hungarian legation in Washington, with a view to obtaining the support of the Association of Democratic Hungarians, led by Rustem Vambery. A respectable cloak for the new setup is to be provided by giving nominal leadership to Bela Bartok, who is being billed as the "Hungarian Paderewski." This unoriginal design is to be credited to the British Foreign Office, but the cutting and finishing are being performed by Harold B. Hoskins of our own State Department, who had previously done his best to disguise Eckhardt's feudal past in democratic homespun. The attempt failed because the odor of the anti-Semitic "Awakening Magyars" clung to the new garments. But even if Mr. Eckhardt has really been dropped, we should examine very carefully the credentials of the self-appointed guides of Bela Bartok, who is entirely without political experience. Before their organization is afforded any kind of recognition they should be required to give proof both that they have shed all allegiance to the Horthy regime and that their democratic sentiments are something more than a concession to American opinion.

## *The Old Deal Looks to 1944*

WE HAVE seldom encountered anything more revealing than the outburst of editorial hypocrisy which followed Senator Mead's decision to seek, with the President's blessing, the gubernatorial nomination in the New York Democratic primaries. Solemn lectures were read to Mr. Roosevelt about the wickedness of "politics as usual." His only business, he was told, was to get on with running the war, letting the political chips fall where they would. Clearly somebody's plans had been seriously upset by Mr. Roosevelt's action.

In their eagerness to censure the President, the anti-New Deal editorial writers and columnists chose to overlook the fact that he is not only Chief Executive but head of his party. Our own criticism of Mr. Roosevelt is that

he has been wrong to pretend he had no vital interest in the New York elections and that he ought not to have waited for the eleventh hour before coming into the open. Under our democratic system politics are the legitimate means of making ideas effective, and since Mr. Roosevelt's ideas are shared by vast numbers of his fellow-citizens he has not only a right but a duty to attempt to implement them.

Everyone knows that the contest in New York is not primarily between Mead and Bennett but between Roosevelt and Farley, between the New Deal and the Old Deal. And the stakes are not the nomination for governor but control of the state delegation in 1944. Mr. Roosevelt has a vital interest in the nomination of his successor in the White House because he properly wants to see his policies continued in the crucial years after the war. And his opponents have every right to strive by political means to thwart his efforts—but let them not pretend that their virtue is his sin.

It cannot be denied that while the President has been absorbed by war problems the Old Dealers have been playing politics as usual and have hatched out a very pretty plot providing them with a two-way bet. Their Republican wing, without consulting the wishes of Wendell Willkie, titular party leader, has little Tom Dewey lined up as its candidate for the New York governorship—a safe man, willing to take orders from Herbert Hoover and Roy Howard and to accept Westbrook Pegler as unofficial publicity agent. On the Democratic side Mr. Farley, no doubt in consultation with the Southern Democrats who supported him for the Presidential nomination in 1940, has been busy garnering pledges for his boy Bennett, hoping that the only business of the state convention would be to ratify his choice.

If both Dewey and Bennett are nominated, it will matter little to the Old Dealers which man wins. Bennett's victory would leave Farley in full control of the Democratic state machine and probably enable him, in cooperation with his friends from the poll-tax belt, to name the next Democratic candidate for President. On the other hand, a Republican victory would place Dewey in an excellent position in 1944 to take the prize which eluded his grasp in 1940. Thus either way the Old Dealers would be sure of a White House amenable to instructions during the critical post-war years.

This is a plot which must be thwarted if America is not to be swamped by a wave of reaction. The drafting of Senator Mead is a first step. Now rank-and-file Democratic and labor voters, whose ballots for years have made New York the spearhead of the New Deal, must raise their voices, must strive to cut the delegates out of the bag into which Mr. Farley has sewn them so tightly. But they must work fast, for the time available is woefully short.



# The President's Advisers

BY FRED KIRCHWEY

IF THE appointment of Admiral Leahy and the speech of Secretary Hull had come at any other time than last week they would have been easier to stand. Worse choices and speeches have often been made. But taken in conjunction with the agony of Russia's slow fighting retreat across the Don with all it implies of danger to the Allied cause, these two minor incidents took on major significance. Here, at the most threatening crisis of the war, was alarming evidence of the weakness and contradictory purposes that still infect our national policies.

Of course Mr. Roosevelt needs help and advice. He shoulders an impossible burden of responsibility and actual direction. If Admiral Leahy can serve as a useful assistant, there is no reason on earth why he should not be the chief of staff to the Commander-in-Chief. But if his appointment is designed to obviate the need for a General Staff, or to silence demands for one, it must be strongly condemned. In discussing the appointment the President implied that Leahy's job would be largely technical and advisory. All right. If this is true, the need for a unification of control in a staff representing both military and political branches remains as urgent as ever. If this is not true, if Admiral Leahy is to have any over-all executive power, then the appointment is most disturbing.

One of the early comments on the choice of Leahy pointed out that his experience as American ambassador at Vichy would be of utmost value now that the question of a second front had become paramount. It attributed to the Admiral "an intimate knowledge of the vast 'V' army among the French population, which is expected to rise and join hands with the Anglo-American army of liberation." What a pleasant fantasy to weave about the appointment of a man whose knowledge of the forces of resistance in France was gained as envoy to a government devoted assiduously to the stamping out of resistance, a man who supported Pétain and, even after the accession to power of Laval, argued against a break with Vichy! How is such a man to advise the President on the political forces which must join with the military for an offensive action in the West? Will he even support an invasion of France? To do so would be to acknowledge the failure of the policy he advised and helped to carry out. Never has Admiral Leahy shown any sign of that profound political comprehension which is an absolute necessity in plotting major strategy in Europe today.

What the President needs to fortify him in his overwhelming task as Commander-in-Chief is a staff which will combine the best military and naval brains of the services with political astuteness and an intimate understanding of the forces at work in the Europe of today and tomorrow. And the political members of such a united

high command must not be afraid of the word revolution.

But if the appointment of Leahy created doubts, Hull's speech multiplied them. What good words can one find to describe the vast, dull reaches of this endless address? Noble, perhaps, or well-intentioned. It was general to the point of evaporation. Delivered at a moment when the people of the world crave firmness and clear-cut direction, its soft, hazy contours offered no substance, nothing to grasp, certainly nothing to fight for. Instead of carefully combing the speech for quotable excerpts, Goebbels could have issued it in full as a classic example of democratic vagueness.

Above all, the speech was full of obvious inner contradictions. In one breath the Secretary of State urged the solemn truth that "liberty is truly won only when it is guarded with the same watchfulness, the same courage, the same willingness to fight for it which first secured it." And he drew the obvious conclusion that nations which have forgotten this have "been surprised and unprepared" when the inevitable attack came. But then, several breaths farther along, with equal solemnity he patted the United States on the back—for what? For preparing to fight for our threatened liberties? For defending those nations which had been made the victims of unprovoked aggression? Not at all. Such was not the policy pursued by Mr. Hull's department. "From the time when the first signs of menace to the peace of the world appeared on the horizon," said Mr. Hull, "the government of the United States strove unceasingly to promote peace on the solid foundation of law, justice, non-intervention [remember Spain?], non-aggression, and international collaboration." But war came anyhow. And as soon as hostilities broke out, "our government made every honorable and feasible effort to prevent spread of the conflicts and to safeguard this country against being drawn into war." But war came to America, too, and also took it by surprise. Was our effort to keep out more realistic than that of other countries? Was this the example Mr. Hull wants to hold up to the desperate peoples of Europe, whom he invites so warmly to rebellion?

Fortunately, the strength and political wisdom of the nation are not to be measured by these words or by the capacity of Mr. Hull or Admiral Leahy. It is clear that the President himself realizes fully the significance of the Russia retreat. More and more evidence accumulates to indicate that a second front is probable, and may be opened within a few weeks. The desirability of such a move has been evident since long before the German offensive began, but only recently have high officials indicated that enough ships and equipment could be mustered to make it possible. But if a second front is actually in the making, all the more is it important that the President surround himself with a staff fully capable of waging a war which to succeed must at the same time be a political revolution.



# A People's War— or Monopoly's?

BY I. F. STONE

*Washington, July 26*

IT IS painful to hear the slogan of a people's war raised by Cox of Georgia. "This bill"—for a Farm Rubber Agency—Cox told the House on Friday, "is in response to public demand for a broadening of the synthetic-rubber program. This is still a people's government, fighting a people's war." Those who have been watching the rubber program know that the first sentence in Cox's statement is literally true, though there is more wish than fulfilment in the second. Nowhere is the difference between a democratic and a monopolistic effort more clearly displayed than in the handling of rubber, and the President's decision to sign or veto the bill will reflect (1) his own comprehension of what a people's war really means and (2) the extent to which a people's war is possible in a monopoly-dominated America.

The bill was written by the five members of a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry—Senators Gillette, Norris, McNary, Wheeler, and Elmer Thomas. It represents the fruit of the investigation this subcommittee has been making since March 20 to discover how the war program can use farm products. Though it had only \$5,000 to spend and has spent less than \$2,000, and though its energetic counsel, Paul E. Hadlick, has had a staff consisting of one girl typist, it has taught us more about the problem of rubber and other synthetics than any other committee here. The bill written by this committee would set up a separate agency to arrange for the production of synthetic rubber from farm and forest products. And its purpose in establishing a separate agency, in the words of Senator Norris, is to see that the program is "carried out by men who are friends of it, and not those who have thrown cold water on it always in the past."

The truth is that our failure adequately to utilize all our sources of rubber does not differ fundamentally from our failure to achieve a total effort in steel, copper, aluminum, or magnesium. The difference is that opposition to the mishandling in those fields has come from labor unions, scattered small business men, and some independent engineers. In the case of rubber, the oil-rubber-chemical-alcohol combine has come up against a large and powerful segment of the property-owning classes themselves—the farmers. In that sense rubber from farm alcohol is, indeed, what the New York *Herald Tribune* recently called it, "political rubber." But what that organ intended as a sneer may be taken as an accolade, for here the processes of political democracy are at work to give us the rubber we need by the shortest, best,

and cheapest route. If rubber from farm alcohol is "political rubber," then most of the rubber on order today in the \$650,000,000 WPB-RFC program is "monopoly rubber," "Standard Oil rubber."

Few people yet realize that rubber from petroleum has never been manufactured on a commercial scale anywhere in the world, that the German Buna process which I. G. Farben never fully revealed to its subservient cartel partner, Standard Oil, is not a process for making rubber from oil. It is a process for making rubber from coal. The only process for making synthetic rubber which has been successfully used is the process for making it from grain alcohol, as the Russians are still doing and as the Poles did before their defeat. It was a shortage of grain, even more than a shortage of petroleum, which led the Germans to seek their rubber from coal gases. Standard Oil and its satellites and allies are now engaged in the difficult task of applying what they know of that German process to petroleum gases—the same gases we need for our aviation-gasoline program.

Ignorance, insincerity, and duplicity—it will be some time before we know the exact proportions of each—have mingled in the making of the present program. Although rubber from alcohol is an old story to chemists, the WPB was blanketed in official ignorance of its very existence until a few months ago when the Gillette subcommittee began its work. Under pressure from that committee it has now been decided to make 200,000 tons of our 800,000-ton program from alcohol, but the entire quota has been assigned to Union Carbide and Carbon, an ally of Standard Oil and part of the inner chemical ring. Union Carbide makes synthetic, not grain, alcohol and turns it into rubber by a variant of the oldest Russian method, a complicated four-step process long since improved in the Soviet Union. Today there are processes available in laboratories run by the Department of Agriculture and state colleges in Nebraska and Iowa which can produce butadiene—the raw material of Buna-type rubber—much more quickly and efficiently. The inventor of the Polish process is operating a pilot plant for a one-step process at the Publicker Alcohol Plant in Philadelphia, and the newer butylene-glycol process—an American discovery—skips the alcohol stage entirely.

Far more than rubber is involved in this struggle. The surpluses from our farms, the sulphite waste that flows from our pulp mills, the very husks of corn and hulls of oats contain countless wonders to which organic chemistry already holds the key. The alcohol, glycol, and furfural which chemists can derive from them are the materials from which we can draw fuels to replace our limited supplies of petroleum, plastics to replace our metals, and synthetics better than natural rubber. Here lies the solution of farm surpluses and the farm problem, but here also lies the death of the oil, rubber, chemical, and alcohol trusts. That's what all the shootin's for.



# The Battle of Oil

BY HAROLD L. ICKES

SO FAR as my information goes, this war has not been officially christened. The last report was that the search was on for a name that would at the same time identify the war and forever remind us that it must never be permitted to happen again. The person who submits the suggestion that is generally accepted may get his name in the newspapers or even in the history books.

One thing that we do know is that several wars within the war are raging daily and that these "second fronts" are already pretty well named for posterity. There are the Battle of Production, the Battle of Rubber, the Battle of Oil, and many others.

Yes, the Battle of Oil, with which I am principally familiar, is a war within the war, and it is one of major importance. The Battle of Production is being won, but the Battle of Oil, as well as the Battle of Rubber, is still in the fluid stage, with pincer movements and attempted encirclements of daily occurrence. As this is written, the Nazis are pushing on toward the Caucasus oil fields; should they reach them and put them to work, Russia's mechanized strength would be crippled and the Nazis' own prospects greatly improved. It would be a telling blow to all the United Nations.

In our own case, the fight is of another but nevertheless a desperate sort. With us it has not been a question of supply. We still lead the world in production, although the rest of the world has much more oil in reserve than we have. This I have tried by every conceivable means to make clear. With us the question is how to get petroleum products from where they are to where they are needed. When I was appointed Petroleum Coordinator toward the end of May, 1941, the situation had become serious, chiefly by reason of the necessary diversion of oil tankers to Britain.

The first effects of these diversions were felt in our reserve centers. The direct effect on the individual, perhaps unfortunately for the country, was not immediately noticeable. The daily supply of petroleum was apparently as plentiful as ever. I can understand, therefore, why the average motorist refused to let himself get excited when he was told that a shortage was just around the pump, all set to stick its tongue out at him if he didn't economize in his driving. But I shall never be able to understand, nor shall I be quick to forgive, the newspapers that told the motorist to travel as usual, on the wholly untenable ground that our petroleum supplies were the most plentiful in the world, and without end. This never

has been true of our reserves, though we have made more oil available to consumers than the rest of the world.

Had we been given the cooperation then that we are getting now—although even now there are mole-like exceptions—the oil crisis of today might have been deferred, and in the interlude we might have been spared the inconvenience and annoyance of rationing. Also the contribution to victory would have been worth while.

The danger of exhausting our reserve supplies in above-ground storage was what practical oil men foresaw first, and acting upon their expert advice, the Office of the Petroleum Coordinator tried valiantly, though in vain, to lessen consumption. We couldn't, with prudence, permit this above-ground storage to get too low, and it was clear that only by using less could we prevent an over-drain upon our storage tanks. With daily movements from the oil fields seriously interfered with by reduced shipments over the water routes, it became necessary to make up the difference out of the reserves if the daily demand of individuals was to be satisfied. But if reserves are drawn down day after day and week after week, there will come a time when there won't be any reserves, and then, with a scarcity of transportation, will come confusion and a serious curtailment that, like rain, will fall upon just and unjust users alike.

Meanwhile reserves in the Atlantic States kept falling lower and lower. From a high of 82,000,000 barrels on December 1 they fell to a low of 46,488,000 barrels on April 11. Since then we have not given out the figures for military reasons, but citizens may rest assured that the situation did not suddenly and drastically improve. Some relief was felt when railroad tank-car movements increased and a few of the borrowed tankers were returned to us by England, whereupon the newspapers, with the motorists echoing them, labeled it "Ickes's phony oil shortage" and filed the whole thing away under "finished business." But the relief was purely ephemeral. Individuals continued to burn as much as they ever did, although less regular gasoline was being produced in order that we might produce more aviation and industrial fuels. The problem of how to transport enough heating oil to keep everybody warm next winter then began to show its ugly head. On top of all else, it was clearly demonstrated by the continued decline in reserves that the railroads' boasted best was not nearly good enough. Then, and not until then, was belated but nevertheless welcome consideration given to additional pipeline transportation.



The Ickes pipe dream, better known to the trade as the "Ickes pipe line," has begun to come true. The first of the new lines now under record-speed construction between Texas and Illinois will be opened for business, we hope, some time within the next four months, and when the flow starts it should alleviate, although it will not overcome, the scarcity of heating oil in the Atlantic States. In addition, old lines are being relaid to carry more oil east. I have just seen the first of the new giant tubes "come off the line" at Lorain, Ohio.

The inevitable rationing was sneaking up on the people while they stubbornly refused to envisage the danger, and for their obscurantism I hold the newspapers almost entirely responsible. They may disclaim it loudly or hide in the tombs of silence, but the fact is clear that the shortage was intensified and accelerated by the editors who refused to apply their reasoning powers to a problem that their eyes couldn't actually see. "Intellectuals" all!

I wish that I might feel sure that, with continued and increased railroad tank-car shipments, which have pretty nearly reached their capacity, with an increased movement of oil by means of new and relaid pipe lines, with added barges, we could overcome fully the loss of tankers resulting from diversions and submarine sinkings. I do not consider it wise to count upon tanker transportation of petroleum to our East Coast states. We are hoping that this may be resumed, but we can't be sure,

and so we do not add to our figures what might possibly accrue to our supplies from this source.

Washington officials have been freely and, I may say, often unfairly set upon for the manner in which gasoline rationing was imposed in the first instance. I do not offer it as an excuse, but it should be obvious to any fair-minded person that the job of distributing millions of barrels of petroleum products to 33,000,000 motorists, not to mention millions of truck owners, of meeting the demands of the government in the prosecution of the war, and at the same time of keeping our home fires burning is no mean one. Moreover, it was not a job for which we had ever had a precedent or previous training. Add to all this the outcropping of abuse by newspapers, some of which I sometimes think would not be overwhelmed by a complete breakdown of our war effort, and the resulting situation was by no stretch of the imagination a simple one. A serious rubber shortage has made the gasoline situation still more complex.

For all its many troublesome angles, the problem will be well on the way to a satisfactory resolution just as soon as the car owners of the nation get down to the job of beating it, and the car owners will get down to this job just as soon as they realize the full extent of their responsibility. At this juncture, the newspapers have their chance to make amends for their lack of foresight and their bullyragging tactics of a year ago.

# *Who Is the State Department?*

## II. THE OLD WELLES AND THE NEW

BY ROBERT BENDINER

TO CRITICS of the snobbish caste traditions of the State Department, Sumner Welles seems to offer a perfect target. In temperament, which is austere and formal, if not downright chilling; in background, which is wealthy and aristocratic; in sartorial appearance, which is fastidious and soberly elegant; and in political philosophy as well, he is at opposite poles from his chief. The feuding Tennessee frontier of Hull's boyhood is replaced by the stuffy affluence of the home of a successful financier in the New York of the nineties; a financier of lineage as well as wealth, a member of that same New York aristocracy that produced the Roosevelts. The Welleses and the Roosevelts, in fact, crossed paths long before Franklin D. appointed Sumner to his Little Cabinet. Eleanor Roosevelt and Sumner Welles shared the same godmother, and as a boy of thirteen Welles served as a page at the future President's wedding. The tie assumes some importance, by no means

decisive, in explaining the President's loyalty to the subordinate who has borne the brunt of the criticism directed against the State Department.

Groton and Harvard were inevitable for young Welles. He appears to have gone through school with characteristic sobriety and aloofness. A snob perhaps but never a playboy, Welles seems always to have been mature beyond his years. He determined while at school to prepare for the Foreign Service, worked hard at languages and economics, and, with the best of connections, found no difficulty in being admitted. From the start he was convinced that Latin America would be supremely important in the years to come, and while other budding diplomats asked, futilely enough, to be sent to Paris or to London, he requested a South American capital for his first assignment. The department sent him to Tokyo instead, where he worked up a thoroughgoing dislike for the Japanese, but after two years it relented



and shifted him to Buenos Aires. In 1920 he was brought back to Washington to serve as assistant chief of the Division of Latin American Affairs, and a year later, despite the political change in administration, he became at twenty-eight the youngest division chief in the history of the department. His interest has been fixed on Latin America ever since.

As a prodigiously hard-working chief of staff, eager to assume the powers so readily relinquished by Hull, Welles has been the guiding spirit of the department. He sees the President even more frequently than the Secretary does, and diplomats, valuing his acute and precise comments, prefer discussions with him to those with his vaguer and somewhat rambling superior. Welles is thus accountable for much of the department's record, even though his chief interest has been Latin America.

In general he has taken a more realistic attitude toward the Axis than has Hull. He is credited with having stiffened Ambassador Grew's hand in Tokyo on more than one occasion, and his comparatively friendly attitude toward the Soviet Union over a long period of time stemmed from a desire to checkmate the Japanese. He favored Russian recognition from the start, was convinced that the Soviet-German pact would prove to be of short duration, and did his best to warn the Russian ambassador in Washington of impending Nazi treachery. On the other hand, he shares responsibility with Hull for the fatuousness of the Vichy policy, and despite his reputed personal inclinations, he sided with the embargo forces in the Spanish war—largely with an eye on the pro-Franco dictators of Latin America, whose friendship he so earnestly courted as a Good Neighbor.

Like Hull, Welles has never showed the slightest sympathy for fascism—except the Brazilian variety—and in his icy way he has been at even less pains to conceal his scorn and contempt. If Hans Thomsen of the German Embassy had gone to Hull with his protest when Secretary Ickes excoriated the Führer he would merely have been told, as often before, that the United States is a democracy and its citizens enjoy the right of free speech; he went instead to Welles, who chilled him to the bone with the brusque information that the Ickes speech accurately reflected the views of the American people and their government.

Nevertheless, it was not until the speech he delivered at Arlington on May 30, 1942, that Welles presented himself as a champion of democracy. His opposition to the Axis had always had a quality of nationalism about it. Like Churchill he appeared to be an intelligent Tory, aware that fascism represented a menace to a society which he found good and which he had no desire to modify in any way. In a limited sense Welles's nationalism, whatever its social implications, was a better antidote to appeasement tendencies than the liberal but curiously archaic type of internationalism represented by

Cordell Hull; just as Churchill's imperial instincts were a better safeguard for England in the teeth of the fascist gale than the vapid pacifism of the Lansburys or the trading instincts of the Chamberlains. But Churchill would not have turned the tide of the war on the basis of an aristocratic nationalism, and neither can America fight a people's war purely on the basis of national self-interest. There are bigger issues at stake.

At Arlington Welles demonstrated his awareness of this major truth. Only six weeks before, he had told the Vichy Ambassador that "the government of the United States fervently hopes that it may see the reestablishment of the independence of France and of the integrity of French territory" and that it recognized the sovereign jurisdiction of the people of France over their territory and possessions. The pronouncement, reasonably enough, was taken as an indication that the government, or at least the State Department, favored a restoration of the pre-war colonial system. In the Arlington speech Welles spoke in a different vein. "If this war," he said, "is in fact a war for the liberation of peoples, it must assure the sovereign equality of peoples throughout the world, as well as in the world of the Americas. Our victory must bring in its train the liberation of all peoples. . . . The age of imperialism is ended. The right of a people to their freedom must be recognized." Moreover, he warned, "the selfishness of small groups" would not be allowed to block the "new frontier of human welfare."

These are words, however brave and timely, and words are the commonest coin of diplomacy. It is not unreasonable, therefore, to judge them against earlier words and the actions that flowed out of them.

Welles's first years in the department were marked by swift success and gradual development. Throughout Harding's Administration and part of Coolidge's, he carried out a number of delicate missions in Central America, working in close collaboration with Secretary of State Hughes, who has always been something of a hero to him, but slowly he grew more skeptical of the old-line Republican techniques of dollar diplomacy. As high commissioner to the Dominican Republic from 1922 to 1925, he successfully pressed Hughes for the withdrawal of the marines, the first step in clearing the Caribbean of American soldiery. Friction with President Coolidge brought about his retirement in 1925, and except for a brief mission to the Dominican Republic in 1929 he remained out of public life until the election of Roosevelt.

The period of retirement was extremely important to the Welles career. He had spent ten years in the service and developed some marked ideas on what the future course of policy toward Latin America should be. The ideas took the ponderous form of a two-volume work called "Naboth's Vineyard," a history of Santo Domingo, and



they represented a drastic change from the concepts that Welles had put forth in the early days of his service. In 1924 he had written an article for the *Atlantic Monthly* in which he belittled the extent of dollar diplomacy and, at a time when Washington interference in the Caribbean was at a peak, compared Latin American critics of the United States "to those groups in our own country who promote racial or religious antagonism for their own ends." Conceding that "mistakes undoubtedly have been committed," he maintained that "our record in general has been one with which every American citizen may well be content." And in recommending the policy to be followed he wrote that the United States must be "ready to assume the responsibility of offering its friendly mediations or, in extreme cases, *its friendly intervention* [author's italics], should conditions be such as to threaten a national or international conflagration" endangering "the policy of self-protection of the United States known as the Monroe Doctrine."

From this brave shouldering of the white man's burden to the thesis of "Naboth's Vineyard" is a far cry. The conclusion of that standard work on the Dominican Republic is a full statement of what Welles himself was one day to christen the Good Neighbor policy. A few excerpts will convey the flavor of the new doctrine:

It was in the following Taft Administration, under the guidance of Secretary Knox, that there first became noted that pernicious phase of the Latin American policy of the United States which consisted in the attempt to intervene in the affairs of the Caribbean republics in order to force upon the inhabitants of those countries governments considered by the Department of State in Washington suited to their requirements, regardless of whether or not the people of the nations concerned had a real voice in their selection. . . .

It was inevitable under such conditions that any government in one of those republics which favored American commercial expansion must necessarily become identified in the eyes of the Department of State with a government suitable and proper for the people of that republic. . . .

Until the moment arrives when the average American appreciates the fact that friendly cooperation and intercourse, both political and commercial, with the other American republics constitutes the future safeguard and the fundamental advantage of the United States, . . . no healthy established continental policy will ever be maintained, and the United States will continue to remain alienated from the other republics of the hemisphere.

Nor was the Welles of "Naboth's Vineyard" hazy as to the outlines of a "healthy established continental policy." It is only in the "stimulation of commercial ties, in the facilitation of educational advantages to students from the southern republics, in the limitation of financing to productive purposes, in the proffer of technical and expert assistance when it may be needed," he wrote, "that

the United States will obtain the results desired, and not through military occupation, military intervention, or armed supervision of elections."

What are the "results desired"? Hostile critics insist that the Welles policy is imperialism in disguise, that it aims at control over the other countries of the hemisphere by means less brutal and more effective than crude interventionism. On the evidence of the book itself this interpretation seems unduly harsh and suspicious. In the light of Welles's subsequent record, caution, at least, would appear to be warranted.

Throughout the Hoover Administration Welles remained in obscurity, awaiting the opportunity to put his new thesis to the test. In the interval he was divorced from his first wife and married Mathilde Townsend, an extremely wealthy Marylander, formerly the wife of Senator Gerry of Rhode Island. With the Townsend fortune came a great mansion

on Massachusetts Avenue and Oxon Hill Manor, a magnificent 220-acre country estate in Maryland.

The opportunity came with the nomination of Franklin D. Roosevelt. At the convention of 1932 Welles, now become a full-fledged Democrat, had a major hand in shaping the planks on foreign affairs, and he worked for the nomination of his old friend. After the victory at Chicago he contributed generously to the Roosevelt campaign fund, and in March of the following year he reaped his reward in the form of an assistant secretaryship in the State Department.

Within a month Welles made his first essay as a Good Neighbor. Even by his own standards it was a dismal failure, and though it accomplished one laudable purpose it doused whatever Latin American hopes had been generated by the Good Neighbor promises written into the President's inaugural by Welles himself. The scene of the experiment was Cuba, and the purpose of the mission—Welles was almost immediately converted into an ambassador—was to bring order out of the chaos produced by Machado, a dictator whose corruption had brought Cuba to the brink of revolution and had, more than incidentally, endangered American interests on the island. Welles was to mediate between Machado and the leaders of the opposition, obtain certain urgent reforms, and thus avert bloodshed and the possibilities of revolu-



Sumner Welles



tionary change. Mediation with Machado was a sham from the start, and Welles soon found himself laying down terms which no dictator could accept. To forestall more drastic developments Welles selected the weak Carlos Manuel de Cespedes as the next President of Cuba and proceeded to undermine the Machado regime by the time-worn methods of imperialist pressure. It was all sanctioned by the Platt Amendment, a section of the Cuban constitution which gave the United States the privilege of intervening in Cuban affairs for the protection of "life, property, and individual liberty."

Welles had at first enjoyed the support of the opposition groups, and his efforts at mediating their differences with the dictatorship were heartily indorsed. But with the installation of Cespedes, the applause came from a different quarter. Cespedes gave promise of combining Machado politics with a greater degree of sensitivity to American interests, and Welles found himself lauded by Cuban representatives of the United Fruit Company, by American utilities executives in Havana, and by the American Chamber of Commerce in Cuba. But popular feeling turned sharply against him. If there was no doubt that the Cuban people wanted to get rid of Machado, there was every doubt that they wanted Cespedes. Welles was adamant and backed his man in the face of a rising movement headed by the liberal Grau San Martín. The movement proved stronger than Welles, and within two weeks, before Welles could even receive the promised Grand Cross of the Order of Carlos, Cespedes fell. The Cuban revolution rolled on.

What followed cannot be squared with a Good Neighbor policy of any description. At Welles's insistence recognition was denied the Grau San Martín government, credits were held up, American warships steamed south, and despite the break in relations Welles stayed on, converting the American Embassy into a center of intrigue against the regime. It was futile for Grau to ask Roosevelt for the envoy's recall, because the President, backing Welles, refused to recognize Grau's existence. The result was that widespread demonstrations broke out in Havana. Mobs shouted "Down with Sumner Welles," "Down with Yankee imperialism." The creator of the Good Neighbor policy, hooted in the streets of Havana and hanged in effigy, finally withdrew, but his continued pressure, exercised from afar, finally brought about the downfall of the Grau government.

It was a wretched experience, and Welles's supporters insist that he himself now believes he was wrong, though he is too proud to acknowledge it. The one good outcome of the affair was the abrogation of the Platt Amendment, which Welles brought about in the spring of 1934. In long-range terms this move was ample recompense to the Cubans. Extinguishing the last pretense to the legality of intervention in Latin American affairs, it enabled Welles successfully to live down the

woeful start he had made in promoting the Good Neighbor doctrine.

Since the disastrous Cuban episode Welles has made non-interference the keystone of his policy, and in the case of Brazil at least it is not unfair to suggest that he has leaned over backward. When Vargas established his totalitarian regime in Rio de Janeiro, it would have been one thing for Welles to explain to the country that the Washington government was no longer engaged in the business of setting up and knocking down the governments of less powerful sovereign states. He might even have strengthened his case by admitting he had been wrong in the Cuban affair and avowing his intention to steer clear of such practices in the future. But surely there was no need to indorse a regime just then engaged in conducting a reign of terror that would have done Mussolini proud in the heyday of his glory. Sumner Welles, by now Under Secretary, did just that.

Only a few weeks ago there took place in one of the greatest republics of the world, the United States of Brazil [he announced at the height of the terror], a change in the governmental structure of that nation. . . . We too often forget here in the United States that, with the exception of our neighbor Canada, the other great independent nations of the New World spring from a heritage which is different from ours, have inherited certain concepts of government and of law which are divergent from ours, are the product of a civilization distinct from, although quite as advanced and quite as admirable as, the Anglo-Saxon civilization from which we ourselves derive—and very naturally by consequence employ in the solution of their national problems methods which at times are distinct from those which we ourselves employ in striving toward objectives which may in turn be quite the same as theirs.

Welles's relations with the Vargas regime, taken together with the Cuban affair, reveal him as an international politician rather than a homey Good Neighbor, as a tactician, sometimes shrewd and sometimes not so shrewd, rather than a political philosopher. It is hard to down the suspicion that his current emphasis on "the frontier of human welfare" stems at least in part from the pressures of the war and the competition of rival government agencies.

The record is mixed, and Sumner Welles himself remains something of an enigma. Clearly he is not the simple moneyed snob that his critics see in him, but neither is it to be wondered at if his Arlington speech puzzled a country that had never before seen in him the sympathetic understanding, the human warmth, and the militant spirit needed to inform a people's war and inspire a people's peace.

*["The Assistant Secretariat"—A. A. Berle, Breckinridge Long, Dean Acheson, and G. Howland Shaw—is the subject of the third article of this series, to appear next week.]*



# Rebuilding the Danube Basin

BY ANTONIN BASCH

*[Perhaps the most critical economic and political problems of the post-war period will find their focus in the reconstruction of Central and Southeastern Europe. A discussion of some of those problems by Milan Hodza, conservative agrarian leader and former Premier of Czecho-Slovakia, appeared in The Nation of May 16. A strongly contrasting view is presented in the following article by a leading Czech economist. Still another analysis, more strictly political, by Rustem Vambery, Hungarian democratic leader, will appear in an early issue.]*

TWO problems must be kept in mind in discussing the economic reconstruction of Central and Southeastern Europe. Along with the vast task of immediate post-war relief it will be necessary to grapple with the even more important duty of developing a long-range political and economic program for the consolidation and development of this area, which contains more than one-third of the territory and one-fourth of the population of Europe (excluding Russia). Eight countries are in this region, of which the River Danube forms the spinal column—Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Austria, Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Greece, most of them states which by Western standards must be accounted economically backward. There can be no hope of a stable and peaceful Europe so long as this area remains in the depressed condition which, before the war, enabled Germany to achieve there an economic hegemony which has proved one of the main buttresses of Nazi aggression. Purely political machinery will not provide the necessary strength unless it is backed by a powerful and balanced economy, for as the present struggle has amply proved, military power must rest upon an industrial basis.

The comparatively primitive economy of the greater part of Central and Southeastern Europe does not stem from a lack of natural resources. On the contrary, this area has been better endowed by nature than either Western Europe or Central Europe proper. As a whole it grows a surplus of food, and its agricultural production can reasonably be expected to increase when its farming methods are brought to the level of efficiency prevailing in other parts of the Continent. This region also produces a large surplus of timber, hemp, and flax and some supplies of wool and silk. It is plentifully supplied with minerals, in 1937 producing 26 per cent of the world's bauxite, 45 per cent of the magnesite, 24.7 per cent of the chrome ore (if Turkey is included), 9.8 per cent of the antimony, 7.6 per cent of the zinc

ore, 6.7 per cent of the lead ore, 1.7 per cent of the copper ore, 5 per cent of the pyrites, 4.3 per cent of the coal, 2.6 per cent of the mineral oil, and 1.5 per cent of the iron ore. But the whole area in this year had only a 6 per cent share in total world trade.

Although Central and Southeastern Europe achieved progress in some lines after the last war, the region's economic structure remained notoriously unbalanced. No part of Europe was more seriously affected by the world-wide depression after 1929. The crisis followed a vast influx of direct and indirect foreign credits which had created an illusion of prosperity but had done little to correct the basic instability of the regional economy. Before any constructive program for the future can be formulated, the causes of this structural weakness must be discovered.

Was the depression that racked Southeastern Europe during the thirties due to lack of cooperation between the several states or was it merely a part of an unstable world situation? After 1918 this whole area faced the necessity of two major adjustments—to the radical changes in political boundary lines and systems which followed the collapse of the Hapsburg Empire and to the simultaneous major new developments in world economy. But these adjustments were delayed, and little had been done by 1930 to absorb the shock of the international financial crisis. An underdeveloped and poorly organized agriculture, the economic mainstay of the region and the chief source of exports, could not withstand the impact of world-wide surpluses of farm products. At the same time the practical cessation of overseas emigration closed an important outlet for the overpopulated villages. The isolation of Russia from the currents of foreign trade was another unfavorable influence, and the rise of Nazism, in addition to exercising an adverse political influence on many of these states, imposed on countries that were closely linked to Germany economically and trying to find markets for their agricultural surpluses the necessity of remolding their production to conform with the demands of an autarchic war economy.

Such adverse external factors are not to be ignored, but part of the responsibility for the difficulties of the different countries must be assigned to their economic and political nationalism. Particularly after 1931 this took the form of direct administrative protection, promoting new emphasis on agriculture in some parts, in others over-hasty industrialization. But we must not forget that during this period the big and wealthy credi-



tor countries were also pursuing a policy of intensified protection. It was up to these countries to make the pattern for the world's trade policy, and it could not be expected that small and undeveloped debtor nations would take the initiative in the opposite direction. Even a customs union among the states of Central and South-eastern Europe could not have provided a real solution of the crisis; it could only have mitigated its effects.

The fall in prices of farm commodities for which the agricultural states had to find markets in competition with cheaper overseas production was the real problem. In turn the agricultural crisis directly affected Czecho-Slovakian and Austrian industry, which were dependent on consumers in the rural areas. The solution of the problem seemed to be not merely the opening of foreign markets but some kind of preferential treatment, since competition with exports from overseas was impossible without a major readjustment of the cost structure of the region's agriculture. This was the chief aim of the agrarian bloc of Central Europe created in 1932. At the conference at Stresa in the same year this bloc attempted to persuade the importing countries of Western Europe to grant tariff preferences to the agricultural surpluses of the countries in the Danubian basin, but it failed. Then Nazi Germany entered the picture and by using new and deceitful methods of economic penetration was able to force upon these countries, one by one, the adoption of economic policies designed solely to serve the German war machine. The agrarian bloc was not strong enough to form a united front for dealing with Germany.

Now that Hitler has a firm military grip on this whole region, we may assume that new measures of exploitation have been adopted regardless of the maladjustments that may result. We know that the production of various raw materials for which there is a desperate need in Germany is being pushed regardless of cost, while at the same time industries adapted to the needs of local consumers are being either shut down or shifted to the manufacture of war goods. Thus the lack of balance between agriculture and industry within the region is becoming still more pronounced.

After the war, even if the countries of Central and Southeastern Europe can be drawn into a single economic unit, it is not to be supposed that they will be able to solve the problems of reconstruction in isolation. A solution will have to be sought within a framework of total European reconstruction and through reintegration with the world economy. Success will depend on a revival of the international division of production and the promotion of a universal economy of expansion.

One factor not to be neglected is that this part of Europe is not socially and economically homogeneous. Before the war, Czecho-Slovakia, Austria, and western Poland had achieved an economic development compar-

able to that of Western Europe, and up to 1938 Germany had not succeeded in expanding its economic influence over these countries. Czecho-Slovakia, by virtue of its well-balanced industrial-agricultural structure and the importance of its foreign trade, could be classed with Sweden, Switzerland, or Belgium. Out of the total population gainfully occupied, agriculture accounted for 34.2 per cent in Czecho-Slovakia and 32 per cent in Austria, which compared with 28.9 per cent in Germany. In contrast, we find 53 per cent in agriculture in Hungary, 54 per cent in Greece, 76 per cent in Poland, 75 per cent in Yugoslavia, 78 per cent in Rumania, and 81 per cent in Bulgaria. And with this concentration on the land went low crop yields and high birth rates, leading to land hunger and overcrowding.

This is one of the biggest problems for which a solution must be found. Mass emigration is no answer, nor is intensification of agriculture an adequate one, though this is one of the goals to be sought. A shift in the crop structure will be necessary, with a view to taking advantage of new scientific trends toward the use of farm products as industrial raw materials. Merely to multiply the output of wheat and other cereals, even at lower cost, would do little to improve the peasants' standard of living. A prerequisite for improved farming is a great development in popular education. Scandinavian countries have shown what progress can be achieved, even under unfavorable conditions of soil and climate, by a rural population trained to scientific methods. Moreover, only among an enlightened peasantry can there be much hope of the kind of cooperative organization which has today become almost essential to a prosperous agriculture. But social reforms of this character must take root with painful slowness unless there is a high degree of international cooperation.

The development of a modern agricultural economy will not by itself relax the pressure of population on the land. Industry also must be built up on a large scale if the problems of Central and Southeastern Europe are to be solved. This does not mean the indiscriminate creation and protection of industries. On the other hand, the argument that production costs are higher than abroad cannot be accepted as a final barrier to industrial development. Even with a lower output per worker than in more advanced countries, the productivity of labor, taking the economy as a whole, will be raised in comparison with the very limited productivity resulting from existing agricultural methods. This will justify a certain degree of tariff protection for new industries, and for a limited period of readjustment Western Europe may reasonably be asked to give preferences to the farm exports of the Danubian lands.

Because of the present low density of railroads, highways, and utilities in this region any program of intensive economic development will call for huge invest-



ments in public works. Here again is an opportunity for international planning which will bring together the surplus savings of the advanced industrial states and the capital needs of backward countries.

After the war we may expect that the foreign trade of Central and Southeastern Europe will increase in volume while changing in structure. There will be smaller imports of consumer goods but larger imports of overseas raw materials, of high-quality industrial products—especially capital goods—and of colonial products; and while there will be less mass export of agricultural products, there will be larger exports of specialized crops, semi-finished goods, and raw materials. Bilateral trade—exploited by the Nazis—will be replaced by multilateral trade, and the expansion of inter-Danubian commerce as the result of diversified production will strengthen the position of the industrial countries in this area. The danger of economic dependence on one country, such as Germany, will be substantially reduced.

Assuming general agreement on basic economic policies at the peace conference, what are the essentials of a program for the economic reconstruction of the depressed area with which we are now concerned? It would be wise to insert in the peace treaties some provisions forbidding any return to pre-war economic nationalism, for without close cooperation there can be no hope of peaceful prosperity. With this principle established, it is then possible to consider what form of political organization will best meet the economic requirements of the region. The several constituent countries are not economically complementary to an extent which would make this a persuasive argument for their integration in one political unit. Moreover, such a transformation would require a much greater similarity in social structure and political ideology than actually exists. We dare not overlook incongruities which would contribute to the degeneration of an outwardly strong political entity.

It will be more appropriate, then, to begin by forming two or three federations, linked together for specific economic purposes in such a way as to make possible a gradual enlargement of the sphere of collaboration. One such unit might include Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Austria, and Hungary\*—and possibly even Rumania—because in spite of many differences there are important similarities in the economic structure of these countries. Another unit could comprise the Balkan countries, which face common problems of population and agriculture. In private enterprise maximum efficiency is often attained by the medium-sized rather than the giant concern. A similar principle applies also to the organization of nations, especially in a system of planned economy with expanding government interference. For in an unwieldy economic unit government planners are likely to over-

\* Needless to say, Hungary would first have to undergo a profound change from feudalism to political and economic democracy.

look their long-range functions in favor of bureaucratic interference in the daily life of business. Moreover, the greater flexibility of medium-sized units makes possible adjustment to changing conditions.

What must be found, then, is a political form, backed by popular consent in the nations concerned, that will bring real progress to this part of Europe. The freedom, prosperity, and security of these countries, together with the promotion of democracy among them, demand a general improvement in their standard of living and closer ties with the main stream of world economy. Unless these things can be achieved, no political organization of a permanent nature will be possible.

## *Invasion via Norway*

BY GUNNAR LEISTIKOW

TALK in London about a possible invasion of the European continent "on a limited scale" is making the Swedes extremely uneasy. Nowhere is there any real prospect of this kind of limited second front except in northern Norway. But an attack there, the Swedes fear, would be likely to put an end to their cherished neutrality and pitch them into the war. Surrounded by the Germans on all sides, with United Nations submarines disrupting their iron-ore trade across the Baltic, and with mysterious, probably Nazi, planes dropping Russian bombs near King Gustav's summer residence, they are distinctly between the devil and the deep blue sea. Should the Allies choose to secure the route to Murmansk by smashing the bases from which the enemy now launches his attacks on Russian-bound convoys, the neutral position of Sweden would in all probability become untenable.

Behind the nervousness of the Swedes is the military fact that northern Norway cannot be effectively defended by the Germans from southern Norway but only from northern Sweden. The three Norwegian counties north of Trondheim—Nordland, Troms, and Finmark—are almost completely isolated from the rest of Norway. There is no connecting railroad, and the only highway is the solitary road built by the Germans during the occupation. The district, however, is easily accessible from Sweden. Narvik, the biggest city in northern Norway, is the terminal of a Swedish railroad which connects the Norwegian port not only with the famous iron mines near Kiruna but also with Gällivara, from which two major railroads run south to Stockholm.

The British navy showed in June, 1940, that Narvik can be reduced from the sea. The task would probably be much harder now, but it seems unlikely that the Nazis have been able to make the port impregnable to attack by a resolute and daring invader. If Narvik falls, the



rest of northern Norway will be practically cut off. The only line of communications for the Germans, unless they go through Sweden, would be the circuitous and difficult road through Finland to Petsamo. It is clear, then, that if Germany chooses to defend northern Norway it will have to make use of the Swedish railroad. That is why Sweden fears that if the United Nations choose this locale for their second front it will be confronted by a German ultimatum within a few hours.

What will Sweden do in such circumstances? Considering the feeling that has developed among the people since the occupation of Norway, it is an excellent guess that Sweden will fight, especially if it sees immediate prospect of help. When I left Sweden fifteen months ago I was assured in well-informed circles that there was no difference of opinion in the Cabinet on what to do if the Germans initiated their Russian campaign with an ultimatum to Sweden. Speeches of Cabinet ministers since then show that the government has not become any more complaisant. Thus the opening of a second front in Norway might well make Sweden a belligerent on the side of the United Nations.

Swedish military men at that time were prepared to lose southern Sweden in the event of a German attack. The major problem was how to stave off an eastward drive by the strong tank forces which the Germans had assembled in and around Oslo with the probable purpose of cutting Sweden in two just south or just north of Stockholm. On the other hand, the Swedish military felt confident of taking Narvik by land and thus establishing an outlet to the sea. Their main concern was the doubt that help from the British would be in sight once they had taken Narvik.

In the year that has passed, the military situation of Sweden has worsened. The country would now have to face attack from the east also, by parachute troops and air-borne infantry from German-occupied Estonia, if not from Finland. On the other hand, if the showdown with Germany is precipitated by Allied landings in northern Norway, Sweden need not fear having to keep watch on the Narvik strand alone.

Germany's problem would be, first, to establish contact between troops landing in southern Sweden and the Nazi garrison at Oslo, and, second, to secure the rail line from Malmo through Gothenburg to Oslo. It would probably leave central Sweden and Stockholm aside for a while in order to concentrate on the railroads linking the southern half of the country with Ostersund, the strategical center of Swedish Norrland, from which Trondheim could be protected against surprises from the land side. This would be quite a job for the German panzers and parachutists, who would have to protect their exposed flank from counter-attack by the main body of the well-trained and extremely well-equipped Swedish army of more than 500,000 men.

Thus the opening of a second front in Norway might easily develop into prolonged fighting all along the Scandinavian peninsula. It would be a race against time both for the United Nations and the Axis, and it would offer a chance to separate the war-weary Finns from their fateful attachment to Hitler. But whatever is to be done must be done quickly. If the Russians go down in defeat and the Germans are able to withdraw whole armies from the eastern front, the Swedes might think twice about pitting their strength against Adolf Hitler.

## In the Wind

SECRETARY OF STATE HULL has served notice on Elmer Davis that the State Department is to be considered out of bounds for the activities of the Office of War Information.

AS PART OF HIS CHARGE to a jury, Judge Joe Ben Jackson of the Ocmulgee (Georgia) Circuit Superior Court saw fit last week to add the following judicial guidance: "I deserve to be reelected. I want the job and I think I should have it as my indorsement term." During the course of the trial the Judge, a Talmadge appointee, urged the jurors to support Roosevelt, Talmadge, and himself in the "cause of defeating the enemy."

THE INCREASING COCKINESS of the military in Washington is exemplified by a remark made to Donald Nelson by Lieutenant General Somervell, commander of the army's supply services. When Nelson refused to accede to a War Department request, Somervell said he liked to see Nelson in Washington and regretted that the war-production chief was so determined to cut short his tenure of office.

A MEXICAN READER of *The Nation* reports that for the first time an issue of the magazine has been subjected to the scissors of the censor. The offending article was an editorial on Odell Waller expressing the opinion that his execution represented a lost battle on the home front.

FALSE RUMORS are circulating in New York to the effect that *The Nation* and the *New Republic* are planning a merger.

THE 1922 COMMITTEE, composed of Tory M. P.'s who are not in the government, was responsible for getting J. B. Priestley off the air, according to the *New Statesman and Nation*. The same group is now trying to bar Julian Huxley, C. E. M. Joad, and Harold J. Laski from broadcasting to Europe and America.

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of \$5 will be awarded each month for the best item.—EDITORS THE NATION.]



# BOOKS *and the* ARTS

## An Open Letter on Critics and Criticism

DEAR MARGARET MARSHALL: When you first asked me to send you something for this page I sat down and wrote about 2,500 words on Literary Scholarship and Literature. Being, like most journalists, thrifty, I used some ideas I had used before in a speech to an academic audience, and I was pleased enough with what I wrote to put it in a file from which it may some day be disinterred. But it occurred to me that though the essay embodied approximately what I wanted to say to one audience, it was not quite what I wanted to say to another. I was outlining what I considered the very narrow limits within which scholarship could be of use to literature, but I deliberately left the general impression that criticism, on the other hand, could profitably illuminate the darkest corners of the mystery of art. The truth is, however, that I think critics quite as likely as scholars to overestimate the importance of what they accomplish, and since *The Nation* is primarily a journal of criticism I should prefer to say something about that.

In recent years criticism has certainly been taking itself with a new seriousness. After scorning the easy impressionism of the late nineteenth century, it now scorns also the easy Freudianism of the twenties, and is showing signs of scorning only a little less openly the easy Marxism of the thirties. The science of aesthetics has come into fashion again. Poets, many of whom seem to be more interested in criticism than in poetry, have got so far from the old romantic attitude toward their art that they argue at length such metaphysical questions as the cognitive or non-cognitive nature of poetry. But they are especially interested in the secrets of technique and generally prefer to examine a writer, especially if he be a poet, word by word or, at most, half-line by half-line. In *The Nation* itself "sprung rhythm"—and with all deference to Hopkins it is a singularly repellent phrase—has recently been getting an amount of space roughly equivalent to that devoted to the Battle of the Atlantic. And when the Seven Types of Ambiguity can all be discovered in two or three words, then the half-line is admired with all the enthusiasm of Polonius for "mobled queen."

But I wonder whether the New Seriousness isn't reducing itself to a New Pedantry. Mark Van Doren was telling me recently of his experience with a cooperative volume on the poetry of Yeats. It was, he said, careful, learned, intelligent, and ingenious. He read it with great respect for the authors. But it left him with the troubled impression that it was impossible to read Yeats with any profit unless one knew more about him, about the history of poetry, and about a lot of other things, than anyone except the authors of the essays was at all likely to know. At about the same time an enthusiastic dissector of poetry by the methods of semantics said to me with an air of triumph, "At least I have shown that it is not easy to read a poem." But I wonder if to carry that

conviction is to perform any very useful service for poetry. I have the impression that at least ninety-nine out of a hundred contemporary readers accept it already—accept it, indeed, so absolutely that they have no intention of trying. I wonder if the answer said to have been made by Victor Hugo to the lady who asked him if it was difficult to write an epic is not equally applicable to the reading of good poetry: "Madam, it is either easy or impossible." The early readers of Chaucer and Shakespeare and Milton and Pope and Byron and Tennyson found it easy. Is it our ultimate aim to make it impossible?

A good deal of fun used to be made by critics of those academic courses in Shakespeare which devoted most of their time to tracing one by one the etymologies of the words he used as they turned up in the passages being read. The objection was not that the etymologies were false or even that the history of words was in itself a profitless subject. The argument was simply that it was a subject of interest chiefly to a group of specialists, and that when Shakespeare was studied primarily as someone who afforded a text for philological dissection, the student learned nothing about the great poet, however much he might learn about etymology. Now I grant that the ambiguities and the sprung rhythms of a poet may reveal more of his art than a study of the history of his words would. I also admit that the study of such things is a perfectly legitimate, and to many an interesting, one. I deny, however, that it is essential to the most important kind of appreciation of literature, and I would even insist that it is quite as likely as philology or the study of "sources" and "influences" to inhibit in the too self-conscious reader the effect that a work of art should produce. The best reader is the one in whom the author has stimulated the thoughts and emotions he intended to communicate, but that reader is certainly not necessarily the one who is most acutely and most perfectly aware of what makes the wheels go round. When the seven ambiguities have been disentangled and spread out on the dissecting board they have lost their magic power.

I say nothing—though I might say a good deal—about the additional fact that even when the sprung rhythm and the seven ambiguities really are there they are seldom *all* that is there, though they do tend to convince the complacent analyst that the admired line or the admired passage is *nothing but* a certain rhythm and a certain set of associations. I should like to go at least as far with Van Wyck Brooks as to insist that a really great writer is a Great Man Writing, as well as an adroit technician, and this the admirers of technique are likely to forget. But leaving all this aside, it seems to me that if we are talking not about how accurate or how interesting literary analysis may be as a subject for specialists but simply about how much service it renders to literature, then the new seriousness is, if anything, rather less useful than, to take an extreme case, the mere whooping it up for this or that unknown writer which such men as Huneker used to do.



Recently I read in *The Nation* a very good review, by a very able critic, devoted to a new book on Dickens. But in the course of it the author said something to the effect that it was high time criticism was doing something for the author of "Pickwick" and "Our Mutual Friend." The implication seemed to be that if criticism didn't do something pretty soon, poor Dickens would be lost to the world. The truth is, however, that if criticism neglects him it will be too bad for criticism but no great loss for Dickens, who will continue to be read whether critics do or do not discover what seems to them an adequate justification for the interest which he continues to evoke. To talk about the necessity of doing something for him is like anxiously calling attention to the growing neglect of Niagara Falls or the Grand Canyon. Criticism needs literature. But in all seriousness and speaking as one who, in various ways, made his living for more than twenty years by writing about books and plays, I doubt that literature very much needs either the critic or the scholar.

All along I have, of course, been assuming that criticism and scholarship both have it as their ultimate aim to do something for literature; that both are rather elaborate means taken to accomplish what the eighteenth century would have called "the diffusion of polite letters," and are not simply a highly technical and rather remote subject for detached specialists. But perhaps this assumption is wrong. Perhaps many critics are, on the contrary, as was suggested by something I read only a few weeks ago, anxious chiefly to frighten off as much of the potential audience as possible, very much in the spirit of the lady editor of a then moribund periodical who remarked to me brightly, "You see we have succeeded in whittling away our subscription list until the magazine reaches only those who are genuinely interested in aesthetics."

In any event, the article which raised my doubts, an essay-review in a large metropolitan daily, concerned itself with a recently published study of the audience for good music on the radio. The study was said to reveal that a very large number of listeners to such music were not properly prepared for the music they were hearing—just as undoubtedly most readers of Yeats's poetry are not properly prepared—and that though they enjoyed it, it was almost invariably only as a series of disjointed passages rather than as an architectural whole. No doubt this is true; in me at least the statement merely evoked the unsensational reflection that half a loaf is better than either no bread or bad cake. But the author of the study and the commentator seemed indignantly agreed that something should be done and done quickly to discourage the playing of good music on the radio and thus to protect Bach, Beethoven, and Brahms from unqualified listeners who should be given only what was fit for them.

What proportion, I wonder, of the audiences which for more than two centuries kept Shakespeare alive on the stage understood everything that a qualified critic could find in his works. How much better off would they and literature have been had they been convinced by semantic critics that it is not easy to understand "Hamlet" and that accordingly it ought to be protected from them? What, in other words, is the best base for great art, a broad base of eager readers

and hearers or a select coterie capable of analyzing the seven ambiguities and of knowing a sprung rhythm when they see one? If serious criticism tends to encourage the choice of the second alternative, then I hope that serious criticism will be read by no one except serious critics.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

## The Martyrdom of Poland

*THE NEW ORDER IN POLAND.* By Simon Segal. Alfred A. Knopf. \$3.

POLISH scholars used to disagree as to the causes which led to the repeated partitions of their country. The Krakow school of historians upheld the theory of inner decay; the Warsaw school maintained that external aggression was responsible. The so-called Scientific Institute set up in honor of Hitler's birthday settled the controversy by explaining that the Jews were to blame for the downfall of the old Polish state.

This explanation provided at least an excuse for the persecution of the Jews; the Nazis have not bothered to give a reason for the treatment which the "inferior Polish race" has had to endure. Not only Jews but Poles have been expelled from the area incorporated in the Reich. From Gdynia the Nazis removed the entire population of 130,000 and from Posen one-third of the inhabitants in order to make room for German colonists; the remaining Poles were degraded "to the status of a lower class." The 82,000 people that have been tortured and killed during the two years of occupation include Gentiles as well as Jews. Food rations for Germans are twice as high as they are for Poles. Education being unnecessary for an "inferior race," all universities and high schools have been closed. Ritual slaughter has been forbidden because under German sovereignty "cruelty of any kind to animals is considered impossible." Yet cruelty to human beings seems to have been possible, and not only to Jews, as is illustrated by the cases of a seventy-nine-year-old Protestant and a seventy-five-year-old Catholic bishop.

The economic policy of Poland is determined exclusively by the necessities of the Reich. Cheap Polish labor is taken to Germany to enable German exports to compete on the world market. Since Poles can be drafted for any kind of work, their condition differs little from that of the Jews, who are subject to forced labor.

At the beginning of the occupation not only Polish but German and Czech Jews were to be dumped into the Lublin "reservation"; later on ghettos were established in six cities along with all the abominations that the term ghetto implies.

Mr. Segal's picture of present-day Poland—both the incorporated area and the region now termed *Nebenland* (annex country)—is all the more gruesome for being pruned of sensationalism. Here are the facts, conscientiously gathered and carefully sifted, about the torture and exploitation of Poland and the Poles. Here also is a documented picture of the fate which is in store for other European colonies of Greater Germany.

I should disagree with the author only at one point. Like other scholars aiming at objectivity, Mr. Segal terms Nazi ruthlessness and the manifestations of the berserk revolu-



tion a "system of government." The systematic perpetration of atrocities is not a form of administration; and it sounds as if the author were being ironical when he points to the difficulty of determining the "legal character of the Government General" and when he speaks of "the principle of two judicial systems." For obvious reasons the Nazis prefer to call tyranny, violence, and terrorism a New Order or a totalitarian form of government, but there is no reason why we should not call a spade a spade. RUSTEM VAMBERY

## Of Our Own Time

*THE GARDEN IS POLITICAL.* By John Malcolm Brinnin. The Macmillan Company. \$1.75.

IT WAS the writer's privilege to choose a manuscript of Mr. Brinnin's for one of the Avery Hopwood awards which he received, significantly enough, for three successive years, and it is a tribute to the living quality of this verse that familiar poems offer renewed pleasure. Even obviously occasional pieces have a durable toughness. Here is a young man aware at once of his world and of the instrument with which he calibrates it. He has learned most of the necessary lessons: from the now aging masters, the care for the exact epithet and a reverberant concision of statement; from their influential heirs, that ethical concern which compels him to see the garden as political. Beyond that, they have taught him, what is more valuable, to take no narrow view of man's fate, but to envisage the social order in the setting of the larger natural order which nurtures and challenges it.

The book opens with a handful of pieces on political subjects, while each of the remaining four sections includes some personal and some social poetry. Even in the love lyrics the political theme is sounded, giving additional weight to the title poem. And sensitive though Mr. Brinnin is to the meanness and horror of our time, the dominant mood is one of hope. Indeed, he does not always escape the tyranny of a youthful optimism. The value of these poems is not their effort to disperse the dark night of our present fear. Their value is that here sincere feeling informs technical alertness. Consider the peculiar fitness of the opening lines of the Address to the Refugees:

We have the statue for it—Liberty,  
Whose classic vulgar hands invite you Home. . . .

Note the metaphors in A Letter, with the startling excellence of this image:

If no one dressed in seaweed lurches in  
Like some surprised Ophelia with green hands,

followed by the beautiful placidity of:

There is communication on the earth  
As quiet as the opening of a wing.

Examine the condensed writing on the Visiting Card for Emily, and then go back to some more recent and more public history, like Cadillac Square, or to one of the most moving and least ambitious pieces, Rowing in Lincoln Park, and see how in each there is the strength of feeling, the insight, the tenderness that illuminate the poem. Mr. Brinnin's is not the more accessible kind of poetry. It is difficult partly because of the privacy of certain references, which is

a fault, partly because the poet telescopes his meaning with a rapidity that bewilders, which is the defect of a virtue.

In spite of a buoyancy marking certain pieces which seems somewhat unreal today, his is essentially contemporary work. This is not only because some of the finest passages deal with airports and travel by plane, but because of the nature of the garden that the poet cultivates. The contemporaneity of the book is also due in part to his gift for finding the unobtrusive half-rhyme and for introducing interesting irregularities into the meter. But chiefly this poetry is of our own time because it is written by a man who is young in this time, and who, having the eager awareness, the hungry spirit of youth, has set down for us what his heart grieves over, what his imagination hopes for, all the while conveying faithfully what his keen senses report concerning this our world.

BABETTE DEUTSCH

## Post-War Probings

*THE COMING SHOWDOWN.* By Carl Dreher. Little, Brown and Company. \$3.

*BOOM OR BUST.* By Blair Moody. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. \$2.50.

THE title of "The Coming Showdown" does insufficient justice to the contents. Dreher's book is much more than a discussion of what kind of world we may have in the future. More than half the book deals with past economic and political crises when showdowns should have come about but didn't. It presents a graphic picture of what business as usual consisted of during and after World War I. Still more important, it gives some of the current facts that show how business as usual has affected our participation in World War II. Against this background are placed fundamental problems concerning America's future. Dreher believes that collectivism of some sort is inevitable, that the question is whether it will be a fascist or a democratic collectivism, and he argues persuasively for the desirability of the latter.

Moody is more the journalist, less the thinker. "Boom or Bust" reviews the major policies of the pre-war New Deal and calls for a bigger, better post-war version that will take fewer zigzags and be more diplomatic. Full employment, based upon more government spending, and a better distribution of a higher national income are his goals. No attempt is made at independent analysis; the emphasis is upon popular explanation of the major ideas held by the more progressive economists and administrators in Washington.

Neither book is a definitive statement of the domestic issues facing us today or after the war. "Boom or Bust" will serve as quick, easy reading for someone who wants to learn some of the fundamentals of New Deal thought. "The Coming Showdown," on the other hand, is a good book for the more thoughtful to read carefully and then to brood over. A significant difference between the two books is that Moody seems to think this is a world where worth-while plans are all that is needed to get the proper things done. Dreher, knowing a hundred-fold more about planning, is aware of its limitations and fully recognizes the role played by social conflicts.

BERTRAM M. GROSS



## IN BRIEF

### ALL THE TRUMPETS SOUNDED.

By W. G. Hardy. Coward-McCann. \$2.75.

Probably no Biblical figure is more suggestive to the fictional imagination than Moses. Mr. Hardy's long and circumstantial life of the Jewish leader is especially engaging in the section that deals with the proud young Egyptian prince as yet unaware of his mission. A curious provincialism in the prose and in the treatment of the female characters lowers the intensity of an interesting story.

**PLUME ROUGE.** By John Upton Terrell. The Viking Press. \$2.75.

If Mr. Terrell's novel about the opening of the West were less burdened with literary aspiration it would be a better novel. The material is there, and Mr. Terrell seems to know it thoroughly. But nobody in this story asks a straight question or gets a straight answer, the complexity of the characters seems to spring from the author's ambitions for them and not from themselves, and the action is advanced with a kind of persistent indirection that is rather wearisome. Placed between the chapters—a pointless device, and the publishers should have been firm about it—is a poetic counterpoint to the main narrative, set in different type.

**HIGH STAKES.** By Curt Riess. G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$2.50.

Nazi espionage in America is the subject, the FBI is the hero, and Mr. Riess states clearly that the characters in his novel are *not* wholly fictitious, nor the similarity to persons living or dead coincidental. The result is a thriller that owes its excitement more to the timeliness of its revelations than to the creative talents of its author.

**FORWARD THE NATION.** By Donald Culross Peattie. G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$2.50.

This brief fictionized account of the Lewis and Clark expedition is worth reading by anyone who hasn't looked into the Journals themselves. Mr. Peattie rightly makes a heroine of the Indian girl, Sacajawea, who guided the explorers across two-thirds of the continent. Because his narrative of a great exploration is so generally sound and readable, one can overlook the occasional platitudinous heroics that mar his prose and even forgive the amateurish attempt

to set off Napoleon and Josephine—representing futile pomp and destructive ambition—against Thomas Jefferson, Lewis and Clark, and Sacajawea—representing vision and courage.

## RECORDS

VICTOR'S June list included a first recording (Set 901, \$2.63) of Schubert's Rondo Op. 70 for piano and violin. This is a small-scale work, but in the slow introduction one hears the dramatic force, and here and in the rondo itself the melodic loveliness, the harmonic freedom, the rhythmic exuberance of the great works on larger scale. It is recorded by Hephzibah and Yehudi Menuhin; and though Yehudi's playing is more straightforward and therefore more acceptable than usual, it hasn't the incisiveness of phrasing and rhythm that causes Hephzibah's playing to dominate in effect even though poor balance in the performance or the recording causes Yehudi's to predominate in volume. I should mention that I am speaking of what came off the records on a five-year old Magnavox Symphony phonograph with a markedly limited range and a heavy pickup, which I must suppose was different from what the sound of the music and the surfaces would be on a wide-range machine with a sensitive, light pickup.

Newly recorded also, I believe, are the three Strauss waltzes on Victor's July list (Set 907, \$3.68)—the unfamiliar and charming "Liebeslieder" and "Morgenblätter," the well known "Du und du" from "Die Fledermaus," which is one of the best. They are well performed—the first two by the Vienna Philharmonic under Krauss, the second by the same orchestra under Kleiber. And they sounded well recorded on the Magnavox Symphony.

Also I have at last heard Victor's February set (867, \$5.52) of Shostakovich's Symphony No. 6 recorded by Stokowski with the Philadelphia Orchestra. The work has two fast movements of the usual Shostakovich hubbub—the melodically and harmonically distorted grimacing and nose-thumbing carried to diffuse lengths by pretentious fluency. And these are preceded by a slow first movement in which Stokowski or Koussevitzky may hear profundity, but in which I hear only an attempt at profundity pushing itself to diffuse lengths again by means of a mere ability to keep sounds following sounds—one striking example of the intention, the

method, the result being the long flute solo (on side 3, I believe). The performance seems good and sounded well recorded on the Magnavox Symphony.

One would suppose that with the present scarcity of materials Victor would avoid duplication of a work except where the duplicating performance is of outstanding importance and interest, as a Toscanini performance is. No such importance and interest explain the issuing of a new version of Dvorak's "New World" Symphony recorded by Iturbi with the Rochester Philharmonic (Set 899, \$5.78). It is a performance with details that make me prefer the older Szell-Czech Philharmonic version, the recorded sound of which, on the Magnavox Symphony, is very good in its own way—with more body where the new version, on the same machine, gives indications of more spaciousness and brightness.

Victor also offers a new album (Set 893, \$4.73) of piano pieces of Brahms played by Artur Schnabel, at the same time as it withdraws one of the albums in which the pieces are better played by Bachaus. Bachaus did not record the Rhapsody Op. 119 No. 4, which Schnabel, as it happens, plays very well. But of the others—the Rhapsody Op. 79 No. 1, the Intermezzi Op. 76 No. 7, Op. 117 Nos. 1 and 2, Op. 118 Nos. 2 and 6, Op. 119 No. 3—I prefer Bachaus's performances because he phrases them simply, whereas Schnabel distorts the phrases with the mannered style in which he plays Chopin. The recorded sound of his performance is brighter.

B. H. HAGGIN

## CONTRIBUTORS

ANTONIN BASCH was formerly director of economics at the Czech university in Prague. He is now professor of economics at Brown University.

GUNNAR LEISTIKOW was foreign editor of a Copenhagen newspaper.

RUSTEM VAMBERY, criminologist and sociologist, was a member of several Hungarian ministries and government committees. He is now writing and lecturing in this country.

BABETTE DEUTSCH, poet and critic, is the author of a book of verse entitled "One Part Love."

BERTRAM M. GROSS has contributed frequently to the *New Republic*, *Harper's*, and other magazines.



## RECENTLY PUBLISHED

- The Diffusion of Science.* By Jesse Lee Bennett. John Hopkins. \$2.25.
- Keep Them Human: The Young Child at Home.* By C. Madeleine Dixon. John Day. \$1.50.
- India Today: The Background of Indian Nationalism.* By W. E. Duffett, A. R. Hicks, and G. R. Parkin. John Day. \$1.75.
- Anthology of Canadian Poetry (English).* Compiled by Ralph Gustafson. Penguin. 25 cents.
- Strategic Materials and National Strength.* By Harry N. Holmes. Macmillan. \$1.75.
- Fire in the Pacific.* By Simon Harcourt-Smith. Knopf. \$2.
- See Here, Private Hargrove.* By Marion Hargrove. Holt. \$2.
- The Truth About Ann.* By Thomas Lennon. John Day. \$2.
- Jane's Fighting Ships, 1941.* Edited by Francis E. McMurtrie. Macmillan. \$19.
- Year of the Wild Boar: An American Woman in Japan.* By Helen Mears. Lipincott. \$2.75.
- American Reveille: The United States at War.* By Ward Morehouse. Putnam's. \$2.50.
- The Best Poems of 1941.* Selected by Thomas Moulton. Harcourt, Brace. \$2.
- Global War: An Atlas of World Strategy.* By Edgar Ansel Mowrer and Marthe Rajchman. Morrow. \$1.
- The Latin American Republics: A History.* By Dana Gardner Munro. Appleton-Century. \$5.
- Christianity in Peril. The New World Order and the Church.* By Andrew R. Osborn. Oxford. \$2.
- Anthology of Magazine Verse for 1938-1942 and Yearbook of American Poetry.* Edited by Alan F. Pater. Paebur. \$10.
- Negroes in Brazil: A Study of Race Contact at Bahia.* By Donald Pierson. Chicago. \$4.50.
- A History of Economic Thought.* By Eric Roll. Prentice-Hall. \$4. Revised Edition.
- State Housing Agencies.* By Dorothy Schaffter. Columbia. \$7.50.
- The Port of New Orleans.* By Harold Sinclair. Doubleday, Doran. \$3.50.
- Religion in Colonial America.* By William Warren Sweet. Scribner's. \$3.
- Turkey.* By Barbara Ward. Oxford. \$1.
- The Golden Age of Colonial Culture.* By Thomas J. Wertenbaker. New York University. \$3.
- The Growth of American Constitutional Law.* By Benjamin F. Wright. Reynal and Hitchcock. \$3.
- The Coming Battle of Germany.* By William B. Ziff. Duell, Sloan and Pearce. \$2.50.

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# Letters to the Editors

## To Defeat Hamilton Fish

Dear Sirs: A committee known as the Independent Committee of the Twenty-sixth District has been formed to bring about the defeat of Hamilton Fish in the coming Congressional elections. It is composed of Democrats and Republicans and has a large membership in the three counties forming the district. It is not controlled or directed by either political party and will be guided in its actions solely by the desire to defeat Fish and to elect in his place a competent Congressman, regardless of party.

The committee has already distributed thousands of pieces of literature showing the record of Congressman Fish; it has delivered many radio addresses and expects to use the radio freely; it has held a number of meetings in homes in the district; and it is preparing through its Research Department carefully documented evidence of Fish's record which it intends to publish and make available to writers, speakers, publishers, candidates, and all who need such information. It is a people's movement and contains in its ranks representatives of the various interests in the Congressional district. It will need a substantial campaign fund; it will need helpers in the distribution of literature and the holding of meetings. In every way possible the cooperation of those who are interested is invited.

The committee's main office is now at 2 Cannon Street, Poughkeepsie, New York. After the primaries it expects to establish branches in various sections of the district and to make an aggressive fight.

JAMES H. CAUSEY, Chairman  
Poughkeepsie, N. Y., July 23

## On Revolution in Italy

Dear Sirs: In *The Nation* of June 20 Gaetano Salvemini, in his review of "Agent in Italy," agrees with the book's author that Italy will not drop out of the war by itself. "Such an event," says the author, "can be brought about by only two means. . . . One is invasion by the United Nations, which would be warmly welcomed and abetted by the mass of the people. The other is for Germany to be militarily defeated and Nazism destroyed. . . . There will be

no revolution in Italy until peace comes again to Europe."

Many Americans seem to be very impatient for a revolution in Italy and to think that the Italians should revolt without delay if they want to regain the respect of the world. The Italian people already oppose the Fascist regime in many ways, and it is possible that an actual revolution will gradually develop. But to think that it is the Italians' duty to revolt now is nonsense. If the Italians are now prisoners of Hitler and Mussolini, this is not the fault of the Italian people alone. In his article *World War III?* in *The Nation* of June 20 Alvarez del Vayo wrote: "From the moment that fascism established itself in Italy there was in Europe a popular anti-fascist current strong enough to have forced the adoption at Geneva of a policy of resistance to violent and unilateral solutions of international problems. But the defenders of the existing economic order saw in fascism an effective means of creating a new balance of power against any possible advance of a democracy which might try to go too far." To expect the Italians to revolt now is like expecting the Spanish people to revolt against Franco after the latter received the support of all the governments in his fight against Spanish democracy; or like expecting the French people to revolt against Pétain when he enjoys the moral and material support of the United States.

I think that the Italians already deserve the respect of the world because, in spite of having been poisoned for twenty years by a fascism which has been kept alive and prosperous by the reactionaries of the whole world, they have behaved in this war as a civilized people.

As Salvemini says, the British and American governments still speak of making peace with the king or with the Italian army chiefs, thus showing the Italians that a revolution would be welcomed only if the people had no benefit from it. It seems to me that if we ask a people to revolt, we should make it clear that we are with them without reserve and will welcome their popular revolution as part of a people's war for a people's victory.

M. T. MARSTRO,  
Italian News Editor

Columbia Broadcasting System  
New York, July 21

## A Thai Asks Us to Hurry

Dear Sirs: My unlucky homeland has lost its democratic freedom. Our democratic regime was inaugurated on June 24, 1932, by a group of earnest Buddhists, aided of course by native men at arms. During the brief glorious period of less than ten years, up to December 8, 1941, the masses became deeply impressed with the unfamiliar yet comfortable notion. Now the destiny of all Thais is dark.

The gallant Thai minister in Washington, M. R. Seni Pramoj, after the arrival of a short communiqué from Bangkok to the effect that Japanese forces had entered Thailand told the people of this country of his intention to strive for his country's independence regardless of any eventuality—be it death. That was his stimulating action on December 10, 1941, just two days after the government had capitulated.

The hundred-odd Thai students in America were chilled by the gruesome news when the legation circular reached their hands. It is not at all a pleasant feeling to know that one may become a man without a country permanently.

The Thai minister kept his word when he refused officially to deliver the declaration of war against the United States as instructed by the puppet Bangkok government. The Thais in the United States are still free to help the righteous Allies. They are still free to face torture and slow death as long as the Japanese aggressors are at large.

Shortly before the departure of the Gripsholm, a final warning came through the royal Thai legation at Berne, Switzerland, with the following Japanized message: "Kindly communicate to all concerned that by Premier's order Thai subjects are to return Thailand on first exchange vessel. Penalty for disobedience in official case is instant dismissal from the service; in ordinary case they will lose their Thai nationality and will be barred forever from entering Thailand."

Now we know where we stand. Now we know where we are heading for. Will it be asking too much, if I beg the American fighters to speed up a little bit, before my mother gets too old and too familiar with the hissing sound?

M. C. CHETNA  
Ithaca, N. Y., July 20



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## *The Shape of Things*

IN THE PAST WEEK THE R. A. F. HAS STEPPED up its offensive against Germany and the occupied countries in an impressive manner. From July 25 to 31 inclusive five heavy raids were made against four German cities—Hamburg (hit twice), Duisburg, Saarbruecken, and Dusseldorf. All these places, it is worth noting, are key communication centers as well as the homes of leading war industries. At the same time fighters and light bombers have been carrying out regular daylight sweeps along the invasion coast hitting at airfields, barracks, gun-sites, and freight trains as well as constantly and successfully challenging Nazi planes. One result is that the Luftwaffe has been stung into making a new series of reprisal raids on Britain. But these seem to have caused comparatively little damage while costing the Germans a far higher percentage of losses than the British have suffered in their night bombing attacks. Altogether the Nazis lost 113 planes over Britain and Western Europe during July while 251 R. A. F. machines were downed—a comparison by no means unfavorable considering the immensely greater scale of British operations. Undoubtedly, the British offensive—soon to become the Anglo-American offensive—has by no means approached full violence. In a radio message to Germans Air Marshall Sir Arthur T. Harris, Britain's bomber chief, warned that far heavier raids were coming and that one city after another would be pulverized. We do not know whether the Anglo-American staffs regard this air offensive as an end in itself or as a preliminary essential to the establishment of a second front. Recent Nazi moves suggest a fear that the latter is true, and we hope this fear will be rapidly justified.

✱

GENERAL DRAJA MIKHAILOVITCH'S ARMY continues to maintain a second front of genuine military significance, tying up Axis forces at least as large as those engaged in North Africa. For some weeks it has been on the offensive and has extended its operations to all parts of Yugoslavia. One daring column is reported to have carried the war right to the Italian border near Trieste and Fiume. Other bands have been raiding along the banks of the Danube, threatening oil shipments from Rumania and forcing the Hungarians to send heavy



reinforcements. The latest reports speak of a foray into Dalmatia which succeeded in destroying the important bauxite mines at Suk, smashing harbor installations along the coast, and capturing large quantities of Italian supplies. In Croatia battles on a large scale have been taking place. The Axis radio frequently speaks of "punitive expeditions" but the only successes they seem to have scored have been against civilians. There are many Lidices in Yugoslavia. Tens of thousands of men, women, and children have been massacred and huge numbers deported. But support for the patriot army grows ever stronger, and increasing numbers of Croats are revolting against their fascist government. Three weeks ago Major Helm, Gestapo chief in Croatia, was assassinated in the streets of Zagreb. His bodyguard ran amok with grenades and machine guns, killing 700 persons and providing an unforgettable demonstration of the meaning of the "New Order." Despite General Mikhailovitch's successes, he badly needs supplies if he is to continue fighting. To what extent support is reaching him is of course a military secret. But we hope that everything possible is being done to send him essentials by air. He has shown his ability to make a little go a long way.

✱

INDIA'S ZERO HOUR IS VERY NEAR. NEW movements of the Japanese Burma army toward the Bengal frontier are reported and on August 7 the All-India Congress is expected to ratify Gandhi's proposals for a civil disobedience campaign to compel Britain to grant immediate independence. It is uncertain what form the campaign will take—a general strike, a boycott of British goods, refusal to pay taxes—these are some of the possibilities. Undoubtedly there will be mass demonstrations giving rise to excitement which can all too easily result in bloody disorders. This Gandhi himself has recognized. It is improbable, however, that Congress will receive as wide support as it has in the past. The Communist Party, which the Indian government has wisely legalized, is influential both among the students and the trade unions and it is hotly opposed to disruption of the anti-Axis front at this time. Nor are Indian business men, busy with war contracts, likely to be so free with financial support for Congress as they have been in the past. But even a partially successful civil-disobedience campaign might have disastrous results. In a recent open letter "To Every Japanese," Gandhi wrote: "You have been gravely misinformed that we have chosen this particular moment to embarrass the Allies when your attack against India is imminent. You will be sadly disappointed if you believe that you would receive a willing welcome from India." But, in his latest statement, he warned that unless India received complete independence now "her hidden discontent may burst forth into welcome for the Japanese." It is clear

that Congress believes that Britain's present danger presents a unique opportunity. Yet Britain cannot defend India and at the same time abdicate all its authority, so any victory Congress achieves will be a Pyrrhic one. At this stage lifting India out of the British frying pan means dropping it in the much hotter Japanese fire.

✱

AIDED BY AMERICAN PLANES THE CHINESE have succeeded in nullifying a greater part of the successes won by the Japanese in their great offensive of early summer. Although Japan still holds the important air bases in Chekiang province seized several weeks ago, the Chinese have recently recaptured a number of towns in the area, including Kienteh, thirty miles north of Kienhwa, and Tsing-tien, a few miles from the important city of Wenchow. The Chinese have also reoccupied a short stretch of the Hangchow-Namchang railway and thus, temporarily, at least, disrupted Japanese plans to link Shanghai and Canton by rail as part of a grandiose Shanghai-to-Singapore rail project. Several sections of the Peiping-Hankow railway are reported to have been put out of commission by Chinese sappers. The small American air force which has been sent to aid Chiang Kai-shek's forces has distinguished itself in both offensive and defensive action. The Americans have successfully raided Hongkong, Hankow, and various Yangtze river ports, and have succeeded in turning back the one attempt that the Japanese have made to resume their usual summer bombing attacks on Chungking. Efforts by the Japanese to destroy the main American base at Hengyang have so far failed despite the use of more than a hundred late-model bombers and fighters manned by experienced airmen. Although Hengyang is not as favorably situated as some of the air fields that have recently been taken by the Japanese, it is well within Flying Fortress range of Tokyo—if only China had the Flying Fortresses!

✱

SERIOUS SHORTAGES IN STEEL, ALUMINUM, copper, and other critical materials are threatening to slow down armament production at a moment when additional output is desperately needed if a second front is to be opened. Responsibility for the new bottlenecks is difficult to fix. Friends of Donald Nelson have been inclined to blame the Army and Navy Munitions Board for diverting steel and other materials to relatively unessential projects. The board insists that the WPB alone has the power to cope with the raw-materials shortage. Harvey Anderson of the WPB's Conservation and Substitution Division declares that there "is no real shortage of critical materials . . . merely the most extravagant kind of wastage." The waste is held to be most flagrant in the Army and Navy, but is serious throughout industry. It is evident also that we are paying a heavy price for industry-dominated estimates of steel and aluminum



needs made by the OPM in the early days of the arms program, as well as the business-as-usual attitude which permitted large quantities of essential materials to be consumed in unnecessary civilian production. Basically, the shortages are due to poor coordination and lack of planning. But although responsibility for industrial planning rests with Donald Nelson, his ability to anticipate and prepare for tomorrow's needs clearly depends upon the United Nations' grand strategy for the war.

✱

THE SENATE PATENTS COMMITTEE WILL, WE hope, resist pressure from Under Secretary of War Patterson to "go easy" on its investigation into certain of our patent monopolies. It is more important than ever to throw the spotlight on every one of them, and to make sure that they are available for use in war production. Even in the field which has been most investigated—that of synthetic rubber patents—there is no ground for complacency. Du Pont is still keeping its neoprene patent to itself. Standard is doing likewise with butyl and under cover of the war program has succeeded in establishing a measure of control over Buna rubber that John W. Davis himself thought impossible and contrary to the anti-trust laws. We also hope that the committee will reject the feeble patents bill proposed to it by Thurman Arnold on behalf of the Department of Justice. We can hardly believe that this bill really embodies Arnold's views, and we feel compelled to attribute it to pressure within the Administration intended to tone down action against the patent monopolists. Instead of the lengthy legalistic rigmarole envisioned in the Arnold bill, we believe that there should be compulsory licensing of all patents, with the same right to seize patents as we have to draft men. And, somewhere, officials with the courage to use that power.

✱

JUKE BOXES AND RECORDED BROADCASTS have created some real problems for American musicians, but no solution is likely to be found until the players are represented by someone other than James Caesar Petrillo. It is unquestionably true that canned music in its several forms has cut down the number of jobs open to professional musicians and has lowered individual earnings. Some way should be found to distribute royalties so that orchestra members get more for records which make money for their owners than they get for those which merely entertain a household. But this will not be done by ukases from Mr. Petrillo barring members of the musicians' union from making new recordings. The most immediate effect, as Elmer Davis has pointed out, will be to cripple hundreds of small radio stations throughout the country which are invaluable to the nation as disseminators of news but which survive economically through the use of recorded music on sus-

taining programs. We could probably get along without juke boxes, but the fact is that they do afford amusement to a great many people who have few other ways of getting it, and in only a few places where they now perform could the management afford to replace them with even one tinny piano. What the musicians face is a difficult technological problem similar to those that have been faced by workers in many other industries. It will be solved partly by intelligent collective bargaining, partly by painful readjustment. Mr. Petrillo understands neither of these processes and until the musicians shelve this frock-coated symbol of labor racketeering, the public will not be lavish with its sympathy.

✱

A TOUCH OF THE LUDICROUS IS A SMALL price to pay for maintaining the traditions of American juridical procedure. Whatever the fate of the Nazi invaders who landed on our beaches in the middle of June we need not begrudge them the few extra weeks of life involved in giving them a more than fair trial. The niceties of jurisprudence, however, can be carried too far, and in this case the procedure was beginning to take on such overtones of fantasy that the Supreme Court's refusal to give the defendants standing in the civil courts came in the nick of time. If defense counsel was not so obviously in desperate straits it might almost be suspected of having sabotaged the prisoners' case, so fanciful were its contentions: the defendants were escaping from Germany; not counting several chests of choice explosives, they were unarmed; they had no intention of carrying out their orders; they were entitled to civil trial since the beaches where they landed were not theaters of war. Had the Supreme Court granted their petitions, American soldiers would have to go into battle with John Doe summonses in place of rifles and a round of subpoenas in their cartridge belts. But the Supreme Court held firm, and Ringling Brothers need not worry about having to turn Gargantua loose on a writ of habeas corpus.

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THE COWARDLY ATTACK ON WALDO FRANK in Buenos Aires was a typically fascist attempt to silence argument by violence. Mr. Frank himself has absolved the Argentine government of responsibility, but there is no doubt that it is morally responsible, both because of its statement declaring the noted American author *persona non grata* and because of its toleration of the fascist press which directly instigated the assault. The incident has aroused widespread indignation in Argentina and throughout Latin America, and it may have a healthy effect by drawing new attention to the pro-Axis character of the Castillo regime. But as Mr. Frank said, in an interview with *PM*, it should not be allowed to react against the Argentine people, who are badly misrepresented by their government.



## Three Ways to an All-Out Effort

WHATEVER action the President takes on the farm rubber bill, we hope that Congress will go on embodying its suggestions on war production in legislation. At the very least, bills like the farm rubber bill tend to call the attention of the White House to the need for drastic changes in the war-production setup. They exert much greater pressure on WPB officials than mere recommendations. And they serve, by informing the public, to prepare the way for what must some day be a fundamental reorganization in our present system of managing industry for war.

The capacity of WPB officials to ignore Congressional recommendations and to forget their own pledges of reform has shown itself in one instance after another. Three main criticisms have been made of the war-production effort, and these criticisms have been amply bulwarked with evidence elicited in a series of Congressional investigations, but nothing has been done about them. Where Knudsen was coldly contemptuous under an appearance of simplicity, Nelson has proved essentially indifferent under an appearance of agreement.

First among these criticisms is that an all-out effort will not be achieved so long as the industry and commodity branches of the WPB are largely in the hands of men who have a private interest in the industries or commodities under their jurisdiction. In hearings earlier this year before the Truman committee, Nelson and his chief subordinates, James S. Knowlson and Philip D. Reed, promised that no man would be allowed to pass on matters directly affecting his own company, but this has been so narrowly interpreted (and so frequently disregarded) as to have produced no real change in the situation. One of the oldest lessons of the war-production program is that steel men cannot be trusted to expand steel production, that automobile men cannot be trusted to force conversion of automobile plants to war purposes, and that aluminum monopolists cannot be trusted to tell us the truth about aluminum. Yet today a Ford man is head of the automotive branch, a director of Goodrich Rubber and the Rubber Manufacturers Association is head of the rubber branch, and a Mellon man is in charge of chemicals.

The second point is that an all-out effort cannot be achieved until we bring the smaller business men into the program. The war-production program today under Nelson is being operated by substantially the same big business men in whose hands it has been since the beginning. Newer men and older ideas—Higgins and mass production in shipbuilding, Kaiser and cargo planes, Publicker and rubber from grain alcohol—all find

it difficult to make headway against this big-business bureaucracy. Until independent business men are represented in the program, we shall not get the fruits of genuine enterprise and we shall not be able to tap the idle resources in our smaller plants and mills.

The third point made again only recently in the Truman report on the Guthrie case, is that an all-out effort cannot be achieved without bringing labor directly into the war production program. In the NDAC and in the OPM, labor was represented by Hillman. In the WPB, there is no labor representation in the upper levels of the setup. Wendell Lund, the labor production head, is well intentioned and trying to do his best. But he is not a trade-union representative, and he was picked because the inside big-business crowd, with Hillman pushed out, didn't want a labor leader around. Yet labor proposals for increasing the output of steel and copper open new possibilities of overcoming the shortages of these materials. Labor's ideas often conflict with the customary and the most profitable ways of doing business. That does not make them any less useful in the war program.

Is Donald M. Nelson going to stop agreeing politely with everybody who talks to him? Is he going to substitute action for the appearance of action and make the essential changes? Or will it be necessary to find a new WPB head before we can hope for full war production?

## A New Plan for Spain

OUR appeasers are planning a surprise which may be sprung any day now. Since failure has so far been the outcome of every attempt at appeasement, a surprise must necessarily be in the nature of a success, or at least an apparent success. And that is what certain persons in the London Foreign Office and in our own State Department are working for. Just one instance of successful appeasement would, in their minds, provide historic justification for a long succession of failures and expose leftists and non-conformists of all colors as irresponsible talkers without any sense of foreign affairs.

The plan, worked out quite recently in London and in Washington, has for its final objective the establishment of a new Spanish provisional government made up of six or seven generals which would prepare the way for the early return to Spain of Infante Don Juan, third son of the late King Alfonso and heir to the throne. Franco, it is agreed, would be confronted with an ultimatum from the army demanding that he dissociate himself from the Phalanx, but, as recompense, the plan provides that a place would be made for the Generalissimo in the new regime. The authors of the scheme hope for two happy results: the obvious advantages of a pro-Ally policy on the part of Spain and the beneficent



influence on Latin America of a military-clerical Spanish government.

Two persons are said to have been primarily concerned with perfecting the new plan of appeasement: the Papal Nuncio in Madrid and the American Ambassador. In this maneuver may be found an explanation of the amazing speech delivered by Ambassador Hayes on July 30 in Barcelona in which he declared that "the United States understands Spain's position in the war." We wonder who in the United States "understands" it besides Mr. Hayes and some of his colleagues in the State Department and some members of the Catholic hierarchy. Surely not the people at large. For the policy of Franco and the speech of Hayes and the plan to establish a clerical-military reaction in Spain are all of one piece and all designed to disgust men and women who believe that we are fighting for the Four Freedoms.

## Western Front—Talk and Reality

BY FRED KIRCHWEY

THE worst thing that could happen to the United Nations would be the collapse of the Eastern front. That is admitted even by persons who deny the possibility of a Western front. Newspapers have almost dropped the habit of talking about a second front as a device to help "our hard-pressed Russian allies." More and more it is realized that the Russian front is our front, the Red Army our army, and the struggle along a thousand miles of blood-soaked Russian earth the only part of our war against Hitler that amounts to a row of shell holes.

If the Caucasus is lost, much more is lost than oil and territory. The Caucasus guards the entire Middle East from Nazi invasion. Even an Allied victory in Egypt would be meaningless with German armies driving through to the Persian Gulf and to the shores of the Mediterranean.

If the Caucasus is lost, or if the German army pushes down to the Caspian Sea, the central routes for the transportation of supplies into Russia will have been severed—the chief railway lines, the great inland waterways. Russia will not only have lost its own most valuable sources of oil and its most highly developed industries, it will have been cut off from all supplies from the outside world except such as can be convoyed through the dangerous northern sea route.

If the Eastern front collapses, the Nazis can send a hundred divisions to the West in case they choose to move in that direction. With no first front left in Russia, when could a second front be opened in Western Europe?

These desperate facts are known and accepted. There

is really no debate about them. The unanswered questions are two: One, can Russia hold out if no help is available beyond that afforded by heavy Allied air-raids on Germany and Occupied Europe? And, second, if the chances are against Russian survival without a second front, is an effective invasion of the Continent possible?

Experts argue these questions over the air and in square miles of news print. Absolute disagreement is registered by responsible men who should have access to the same facts. But the general public, in America as in England, continues to demand a second front without regard to the calculations of officials or special writers. The demand is born of an instinctive feeling that inaction must again bring disaster, that risks must be taken even with the odds on the other side, that nothing could be worse in any case than the defeat of Russia.

Last week *The Nation* pointed out the obvious truth that the current clamor for a Western front is, in a sense, *ex post facto*. Either an invasion of the Continent has already been decided upon and planned to the last detail or no invasion can be launched in time to check the Nazi *drang nach Osten*. Either decisive action will be taken soon—within the next few weeks—or it will not be taken this year. So, from the point of view of practical advice, demands for a second front are all but senseless.

But advice is not the purpose of political agitation. And war is only partly a practical business involving amounts of equipment and plans of action. It is also a political—and therefore an emotional—business, a business involving the desires of men and the ambitions of leaders. The success of a given course of action may depend as much on these unpredictable sources of strength as on the slow, patient preparations that make possible the effective movement of planes and men, guns and tanks. A second front cannot be opened this summer as the result of public demand; but if a second is on the point of being opened its power will be multiplied by the popular desire, the sense of ardent participation, that has made itself manifest in recent weeks.

But if the passionate feeling of the people is a source of strength in time of action, it is a deadly threat if action is refused. The people believe that Roosevelt and Churchill promised a second front in 1942. The penalty for failure to keep that pledge would be too great for any politician to face; and the effect of such failure on the war effort here and in Britain and on Russia's fighting spirit would be beyond calculation. It is this obvious fact, more than the evidences of actual preparation, that leads me to believe a second front is going to be attempted. Public men as astute as the President and the British Prime Minister would never offer the people such broad promises, or allow popular feeling to rise to such heights if they did not mean to act. The demand for a second front is part of the preparation for a second front.



# Japan's Second Front

BY DONALD W. MITCHELL

ANY close observer of Japanese actions in the present war is at once impressed by two things: the marked ability of the Japanese to complete a definite plan successfully despite obstacles and losses, and the apparent uncertainty, lack of decisiveness, and opportunism once the basic plan has been worked out.

The first five months of Pacific warfare produced one of the fastest and most successful campaigns in history. Japan struck swiftly and powerfully at one objective after another, accepting occasional heavy losses and upsetting all its opponents' pre-arranged plans and time tables. But the days that followed the conquest of Burma have shown an entirely different picture. A Japanese fleet entered the Bay of Bengal, made threatening gestures at India, and did great damage before its retirement. Submarine and air raids have been conducted off the coasts of Australia. A strategically unsound attack was launched at our Hawaii-Midway area. China received increased attention and a Japanese submarine sank a Soviet merchant ship in the Sea of Okhotsk.

These tentative moves in many directions have led some military writers to the conclusion that Japan's purpose has been to mislead its opponents and thus mask its real intentions. While this may be partially true, it seems at least as likely that the Japanese, engaged in consolidating their gains, are "testing" the resistance at various prospective points of attack.

Whatever the motives, the process has already resulted in definite gains to the Japanese. It has caused the British to rush reinforcements to India, and the United States to employ its best general, a fair-sized body of troops, and desperately needed merchant shipping in Australia, an inactive theater of war and one very poorly adapted to serving as a base for offensive operations. However justified the move may have been from political and ethical standpoints, the diversion of large supplies to Australia has already been proved a strategic mistake.

After the Doolittle raid on Tokyo the Japanese shifted their main attention to China and started simultaneous offensives from several directions. But these gestures have recently weakened into what is mainly an attempt to take possession of air bases within bombing radius of Japan. Chinese resistance has been unexpectedly successful because—and this is important—Japanese divisions are now being diverted to Inner Mongolia and Manchukuo.

Since 1919 sporadic outbreaks have occurred between Russians and Japanese without bringing on war. But the

success of Germany has introduced a new element into the situation. Japan may hesitate before taking so decisive a step as a full-fledged attack on the Soviet Union but, with Siberia weaker than it has been for some years, the common unreadiness of the two powers is no longer equal in degree. Police duties in its newly won empire employ only a small proportion of Japan's forces. India seems to have been abandoned as an immediate objective. Australia is probably not worth a major effort nor does it as yet offer any particular threat. The mid-Pacific has proved far too expensive. Japan apparently believes that China can wait. There remains, then, only Siberia.

Under normal conditions the Soviet Union enjoys an unusually favorable situation for offensive action in the Far East as compared to Japan. Bombers based at Vladivostok are in a position to raid virtually every major industrial center in the Japanese Empire. But much of this well-advertised advantage has been lost. At the time of Japan's entrance into the war the forces maintained on each side of the Manchukuoan-Siberian border were estimated at twenty-five divisions, or roughly 500,000 men. In both cases the troops were of excellent quality, with perhaps a slight advantage on the side of the Soviets, whose mechanized forces proved more than equal to their opponents in repeated frontier clashes. However, the ratio of these forces has undoubtedly changed. Japan has certainly diverted many of these border troops to its southern campaign, and the Russian reserves which last year repulsed the Germans before Moscow were Siberian troops. But the significant fact is that Japan is in a position to replace its border divisions while the Soviet Union is not.

The only information on the Soviet Far Eastern fleet is two years old and comes from the Japanese newspaper *Hochi*, which credits the Russians with 18 destroyers, 160 motor torpedo boats, and 70-odd submarines—a fairly formidable force in view of its closeness to Japan's centers but one which, due to its lack of heavy ships, would almost immediately have to yield command of the sea to Japan. There are probably 1,000 to 1,500 reasonably modern planes also available. Behind this front are lines of communication which are free from sea attack and reasonably safe from air raids but definitely vulnerable to attack by land.

Aside from the weakening effect of troop withdrawals, there is some danger that the ideal air base of Vladivostok could not be maintained for any length of time. Located at the very end of an extended peninsula, it can



be supplied only by the long line of the Trans-Siberian Railway, a line which everywhere runs close to the borders of Manchukuo. Recognizing this vulnerability, the Soviets have developed several secondary bases farther north but these newer centers, farther from Japan, are naturally of much less offensive value.

The vast extent of the Soviet Far East in itself operates against complete or speedy conquest. Any adequate occupation would require months or even years. A weaker Red Army could if necessary retreat for some distance, pursuing a scorched earth policy, lengthening Japanese communication lines, and at the same time holding air bases from which to continue harassing the invader.

The significance of a second Russo-Japanese war to the United States is obvious. We have been urging the Russians to make their bases available to American bombers, but in an effort to placate Japan they have not only refused to allow the delivery of bombers for the European front via Alaska and Siberia but have even been unwilling to supply the technical information essential for full aid by this route. A new Siberian front would offer the hoped-for chance of bringing American troops to grips with the Japanese at the end of a much shorter transportation line than those now available. It would also provide an opportunity—the last and only good one we may have in the present war—to hit Japan hard by bombing from nearby bases.

Are we ready to take advantage of this opportunity? Not fully. The slowness of both the Canadian government and our own War Department has held up the building of a defense highway to Alaska which should be in use at the present moment. Air transportation and reinforcement by way of Alaska have been prevented by the Russians themselves.

A major proportion of troops and supplies, moreover, would have to go by ship and cross the North Pacific under heavy naval escort. Clashes with Japanese vessels would be frequent, and it is here that our services have been perhaps most at fault. The official Navy view that Japanese occupation of three barren Aleutian islands is not in itself a serious menace to the United States is substantially correct, since bases there are far from Alaska and much farther from the United States. But if we are to take any advantage of an additional land and air front, we have no right to allow our foes to occupy and consolidate positions along the route that would have to be followed by Pacific shipping. We should rather take steps to add to the security of this route by snatching the offensive away from Japan, by seizing and fortifying outposts in its own Kurile Islands. If we wait until the Siberian front has already been established, Japan will again determine our policy. We may then face the choice of abandoning an ally or taking an action which the enemy has already prepared to meet.

# *Who Is the State Department?*

## III. THE ASSISTANT SECRETARIAT

BY ROBERT BENDINER

**A**DOLF AUGUSTUS BERLE, JR., is the thinker of the State Department. He is its dreamer and its boldest planner. When Welles and Roosevelt agreed to make him an Assistant Secretary, despite the somewhat hostile indifference of Cordell Hull, they did not expect the subjects allotted to his post (finance, Canada, Greenland, and aviation) to occupy more than a corner of his brilliant, if unpredictable, mind. At forty-three Berle had amassed an impressive record. Son of a liberal Boston minister with marked ideas on child training, he had gotten off to a lightning start, emerging from Harvard with honors at the age of eighteen and from its law school at twenty-one, with a year out for his master's degree. After a brief apprenticeship with Brandeis he had spent a year in military intelligence work and wound up his war service as Wilson's adviser on Russian affairs at the Versailles Conference. He was then all of twenty-three. Corporation law, writing, and academic work in the

fields of law and finance occupied him until the election of Roosevelt, who first made him financial adviser to the American embassy in Cuba and, later, special counsel to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. A term as chamberlain in the New York municipal government preceded his appointment to the State Department.

Berle was a natural choice for a post in the New Deal. He had long since discarded the Brandeis doctrine, and in "The Modern Corporation and Private Property," written with Gardiner Means, he accepted "bigness" as the essence of the corporate era. The solution to the problem of maldistribution, the authors agreed, lay not in the breaking up of giant business and financial structures but in strict government controls over management. By virtue of the wide distribution of corporate stocks, management had replaced ownership in the control of industry, they wrote, without retaining the checks and responsibilities that ownership had formerly imposed. While



Berle went farther than most New Dealers in urging a concentration of power in the hands of government, his book unquestionably pointed the way to such controls as the Securities and Exchange Commission.

Little of Berle's importance in the department stems from his assigned areas of operation. Alone among the Assistant Secretaries he takes part in the major councils



A. A. Berle, Jr.

on foreign policy. He is also chief drafting officer of the department. More than any other individual, he frames the statements of policy which eventually appear, usually in drastically altered form, over the signatures of the Secretary or even the President. Most of the messages that were frantically dispatched to Europe's rulers in the days leading up to the debacle at Munich, and

again in August 1939, were drafted by Berle.

Another task adopted by Berle, and reputedly dear to his heart, is supervision of the department's informal intelligence service. On intimate terms with J. Edgar Hoover, with whom he exchanges information, Berle has himself taken to playing the G-man in a small way. One highly placed envoy on leave, incensed at having his mail opened and secretly photostated, went to the length of taking quarters in another government building rather than expose himself to this zealous departmental snooping. American travelers returning from wartime Europe are questioned at La Guardia Field by naval intelligence men concerning their activities abroad. In one instance an arrival protested that he was on his way to Washington and would divulge his information to the proper authorities. He was asked point blank whether he would see Berle and on giving an affirmative answer was permitted to pass. It has even been charged that Berle has agents in other government departments. This cannot be proved but it is known that he keeps a sharp eye on liberal and radical movements and has kept many an anti-fascist refugee from getting a visa on the faint suspicion that he might be tainted with Stalinism.

Overflow work from the Welles desk, particularly on Latin American affairs, occupies a good deal of Berle's attention. As Counselor to the Embassy in Havana in 1933, he supported Welles in the Cespedes affair, and, like Hull and Welles, he is impressed with the extreme importance of hemispheric cooperation. But he too sees unity in terms of political negotiation with governments rather than through a more fundamental appeal to the people of the hemisphere. Thus he viewed the seizure of

St. Pierre and Miquelon not as a victory for the forces of democracy, but rather as a technical contravention of the Act of Havana, even though the move accorded perfectly with the spirit of that agreement to keep the Axis out of the Americas.

Berle manages so well to combine this formalistic approach in action with the most eloquent flights of theory that he frequently serves as the department's interpreter to liberals of all shades. He is accessible, cordial, and free with his time, and his wide-ranging conversation is fascinating as an intellectual exercise. Berle's mind is much occupied with the post-war world, particularly America's economic demobilization, which he believes will have to be as carefully regulated and financed by the government as the mobilization has been if we are to avoid a catastrophe. He has not allowed his enthusiastic hostility to Communism and Communists to blind him to the necessity for wholehearted cooperation with the Soviet Union for the duration—and perhaps even after. Similarly, a more than faint anti-British bias had to be doused when war came.

Not of the rich stock that characterizes the department, Berle married into the Bishop family, resting on the bedrock of New York real estate and substantial enough to make the Social Register. The Berles are not prominent in the social life of the capital though they do considerable entertaining in Latin American diplomatic circles.

Socialistically minded liberals who rejoiced when Berle was appointed to the department have long since ceased to regard him as a champion. More than four years after his appointment to the post, Berle has left no mark on the course of American foreign policy. On the contrary, that policy has left a mark on him. Intimacy with great events seems to have developed in him a scorn for the idealism of his old friends and a sense of infallibility which has won him few new ones. The man who, by his own admission, went into the department "on condition that I could do some dreaming" before long became the overly shrewd diplomat who fully endorsed the appeasement of Japan, who saw the problem of Vichy solely in "military" terms, without regard for the implications of political warfare, who schemed along with his colleagues to buy Franco and Pétain with food, credits, and diplomatic favors. It was Berle who in the days preceding Munich urged that we should not be "swung off base by either diplomacy or emotion." Alsop and Kintner, in their quasi-official "American White Paper," quote a memorandum by Berle pleading "for the most hard-headed—even cold-hearted—approach to the Czecho-Slovak question."

Passionately opposed to the materialism of the Marxists but still believing in some vague form of socialism, convinced of the need for strong government controls over the national economy, and attracted to the play of



power politics, Berle inspires doubt on all sides. People admire his brilliance, his potency in argument, the broad perspectives that he brings to the department; but he does not command the confidence that would be accorded a steadier, if less glittering, mind.

## II

None of those complexities of character which make Berle the Great Anomaly of the department afflict the Assistant Secretary next in line. The Breckinridges of Kentucky and the Longs of Virginia combined to make in him a Democrat of the old school, a politician of pure and simple lines who strayed into the State Department by chance instead of going to Congress by way of the Missouri State Legislature. Born in St. Louis sixty-one years ago, Breckinridge Long came East to Princeton at the turn of the century. He studied under Wilson, and the connection proved fruitful. Returning to St. Louis to practice law, Long married Christine Graham, a granddaughter of the General Blair who had held Missouri in line for the Union and a daughter of the rich paper-manufacturing Graham family. Out of his wife's ample fortune Long contributed generously to the Wilson campaigns and found himself in 1917 as third Assistant Secretary of State (the Assistants were ranked in those days). The Republican victory of 1920 eased him out of office, and, like Hull, to whom he had become attached and who had likewise been buried under the Harding landslide, he joined the party machine. An ardent League of Nations champion, he contested the party's Senatorial nomination with Jim Reed in 1922 and lost. Long's ardor for the League, incidentally, was not enduring. To conciliate American isolationists, he successfully fought the transfer of the League's International Labor Office to the United States when the war broke out, and the ILO ultimately found haven in Canada.

After the Senatorial defeat the Longs bought a racing stable and an estate near Washington and settled down to become leaders in the ultra-fashionable social set of the capital. While waiting for a turn in the political tide, Long continued to contribute to the party's campaign chests and remained in close touch with its leaders. As one of the Wilson-House group, he had come to know Franklin D. Roosevelt and in 1932 he backed the New York governor against the opposition of the group headed by Newton D. Baker. At Chicago he served as Roosevelt's floor manager and again contributed sizably to the campaign fund. The President, whether or not he regards Long highly as a statesman, retains a personal fondness for him as an old friend and supporter and as a convivial fellow.

It was inevitable that with Roosevelt elected and Hull installed as Secretary of State, Long should come into his reward. Just as Berle came in as a Welles man—only

to break sharply with him—so Long reentered the department as the Secretary's man and has always been scorned by Welles. He was sent to Italy and soon appeared to forget his worship of Jefferson in his admiration for Mussolini. Long burned the cables with advice to his government not to invoke oil sanctions against Italy, and when his counsel prevailed and the democracies had given the first great proof of their unwillingness to contest the advance of the fascist states, he told Louis Fischer that he was very happy because he had "helped avert a European war."

Long's role in blocking oil sanctions was grounded on more than a fear that Il Duce would declare war in retaliation. The Ambassador was so attracted to the regime that he could even speak of the Ethiopian victory as the "fruitful harvest of Mussolini's enterprise." In the summer of 1936 he resigned, ostensibly for reasons of health, though it was hinted at the time that his indiscreet approbation of Il Duce's "enterprise" might have had something to do with his return to Washington.

For three years Long worked intermittently at odd jobs in private life. One of these, strangely enough in the light of his subsequent efforts to obtain help for Franco, was a fruitless lobbying campaign to lift the Spanish embargo, undertaken at the behest of pro-Loyalist organizations at a handsome fee.

In matters of policy Long does not rate as an important figure in the department. Since his freely offered assurances that Mussolini was too smart to get sucked into the war he has been chary of offering political advice. Until the spring of 1941 he was chairman of the Board of Foreign Service Personnel, but his most conspicuous task as Assistant Secretary, before the United States entered the war, was the supervision of Avra Warren's Visa Division. And the record of that division ranks as a monument of ineptitude and callousness.

It is impossible here to review the scandalous story of the department's handling of the refugee problem, but it is noteworthy that some of the most ardent official defenders of appeasement grow apologetic over this aspect of the department's record. The ultimate failure of the refugee policy does not lie primarily in the number of victims admitted. That has been woeful enough, to be sure, but here the role of Congress cannot be ignored, nor can a badly informed public opinion. The



*Breckinridge Long*



department's policy had deeper defects than the numerical: its essence lay in the systematic discrimination that was practiced against all those who had in any organized fashion dared to oppose the tyranny of fascism. It was not that the department favored fascism but merely that it distrusted anyone who was vocal in opposing that curse of the twentieth century, the flat assumption being that the dissident must be a radical. As a result, the crudest tests of political conservatism were applied and the most endangered victims were in all too many cases the ones least likely to be admitted.

Among the consuls—ultimately responsible to Mr. Long in the matter of visas—prejudice, indifference, and maddening red tape were the order of the day. Officials like Ogden Hammond, Jr., in Vienna, Leland B. Morris in Berlin, and James B. Stewart in Zurich were openly charged with anti-Semitism. When complaints were filed with Long, he is said to have admitted that anti-Semitism existed in the service, but no action of any kind was taken against these outer guardians of American democracy. Long, moreover, opposed any congressional change in the quotas themselves, and Warren was given to boasting of how he had reduced the issuance of visas to a minimum.

The Department has always been quick to explain that great care had to be taken to protect the country from fascist agents in the guise of refugees. Fascists without disguise, however, had little trouble getting in. No suspicion attached to Pierre Massin, for example, although he had financed the rise of the virulent Jacques Doriot and although, as he was at no pains to conceal, he was in good standing with German officials in Paris. John Makkai, a Hungarian of the same stripe, was admitted with similar ease. So was Armand Gregoire, a French fascist who had even made a quick visit to Germany three weeks before he got the visa that enabled him to come here to "study law." But the young son of the former Foreign Minister of the Spanish Republic was denied a visa because his father's past was suspect in the eyes of Avra Warren and Breckinridge Long. And Free French aviators were even refused permission to cross American territory on their way to Canadian training fields.

Even as a bureaucrat Long has little to recommend him. Whatever the President may owe him for political services rendered, his status as an Assistant Secretary of State comes under the head of Presidential luxuries.

### III

A newcomer to the department and something of a stranger to its traditions is Assistant Secretary Dean G. Acheson. His appointment early in 1941 was hailed as an attempt by the President to inject fresh corpuscles into the sluggish bloodstream of the department, perhaps to

compensate for Berle's failure to live up to expectations. It is still too early to predict the success or failure of the operation. Mildly progressive in his personal views, Acheson would hardly rate as a fire-eater in other agencies of the government. His education (Groton-Yale-Harvard) is in the best State Department tradition and his social and financial status compares favorably with that of most of his colleagues. His previous experience in the Roosevelt Administration was a brief tenure in the post of Under Secretary of the Treasury in 1933. Berated as a "sound money man," he resigned after six months and returned to his private law practice in the capital.

Acheson's reputation as a liberal stems in part from the fact that he was a protégé of Brandeis and for two years served as the Justice's secretary. More than that, he has been outstandingly sympathetic on the refugee issue, he and his wife having even arranged parties for the benefit of the Emergency Rescue Committee. Acheson's firm—Covington, Burling, Rublee, Acheson and Shorb—has acted as Washington counsel for a wide range of corporations and causes. He appeared before the United States Supreme Court as attorney for the Ethyl Corporation, owned jointly by Du Pont and Standard Oil of New Jersey, but before the same court he also argued the New York minimum wage case.

Acheson has always favored the more militant aspects of the President's foreign policy, and his private condemnation of his colleagues' conduct in the affair of St. Pierre and Miquelon was spirited in the extreme. On the other hand, his own militancy left something to be desired on the occasion of the department's fight against the Gillette-Coffee resolution. This measure, proposed in the summer of 1941, called for an investigation of the leak of American supplies to the Axis countries. Acheson was chosen to present the department's case to a Congressional committee, and the case he made was the same mess of contradictions which the department had been serving up long before his arrival on the scene. In the words of I. F. Stone, he argued "that disclosure of the facts would be unwise; that the facts are already disclosed in Department of Commerce reports; that exports to countries friendly to the Axis are being carefully watched; that, of course, although they are being carefully watched, there is no way of being sure supplies are not being forwarded to the Axis; that one must be careful in shutting off supplies to countries friendly to the Axis because that would make them friendly to the Axis." The argument may have lacked logic but, coming from a recently appointed interventionist, it was taken as a sign that the President opposed the resolution, which was promptly abandoned. Viewed either as Acheson's own convictions or as a first painful surrender, the performance was not promising. It is possible, of course, that Acheson was simply made the departmental goat on



this occasion and that better things are to be expected from him.

## IV

The most recently appointed of the Assistant Secretaries is the one who has been longest in the service, in fact the only real career man among them, Gardiner Howland Shaw. A scholar and a deeply religious man, Shaw is less political than any other high official in the department. Personnel is his chief concern, and although he has been in charge too short a time to make any kind of record, he conveys the impression of being genuinely eager to abandon the snobbish standards of the department. Independently wealthy himself and equipped with the standard Boston-Harvard background, Shaw diverges sharply from the usual pattern. Aloof from Washington society, he leads an austere bachelor existence, giving much of his wealth and time to penal reform and to charities for children. His social philosophy centers about a kind of religious humanism. "Where American ideals are concerned," he once wrote in *Commonweal*, "there has so far been no New Deal," and he counsels his read-

ers to turn inward and cultivate the "ideal of success based upon the interior life." In the scheming world of the State Department it is a bit of a shock to come upon the advice that "we can learn from a Lord Grey of Falloodon who found it possible to study birds and enjoy the poetry of Wordsworth while at the same time carrying the heaviest of burdens as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, or a Monsieur Herriot who has written a biography of Beethoven in the midst of an arduous and distinguished political career, or a Kenneth Grahame, who successfully combined important duties at the Bank of England and the authorship of a series of particularly delightful books for children." If Mr. Shaw's gentle philosophy does not especially equip him to confront Axis thuggery on the diplomatic front, neither does it stand in the way of his being a capable administrator and, as a judge of personnel, a vast improvement over his predecessor, Breckinridge Long.

*[The concluding article of this series, to appear in the next issue, will tell "Why the Cow Is Sacred"—why a fighting President conciliates a department so frequently at odds with his fundamental purposes.]*

## Two-Way Stretch

BY SUZANNE LA FOLLETTE

NOW that all good citizens have ransacked their premises from attic to garage in search of rubber to be salvaged for the war effort, a few notes on replacements seem to be in order. The shortage of rubber is so acute and has been so widely publicized that those who have parted with articles not easily spared may possibly not realize that as yet there appear to be few rubber gadgets (except tires and tubes) that one need do without. Tires and tubes, as everyone knows, have been frozen for months. Everyone knows, too, that confiscation of those now in use has been hinted more than once by government spokesmen as a not impossible step, and that there is constant talk of nation-wide gasoline rationing to force conservation of tires. But rubber—rubber for comfort, convenience, beautification, amusement—is still to be had at modest prices and in large quantity in the usual over-the-counter transactions, without a by-your-leave to Mr. Henderson, Mr. Nelson, or any other official gainsayer.

I propose to furnish a sort of guide to replacements of rubber articles donated for reclamation. It will not be complete. The rubber shortage being what it is, patriotism and economy dictated a halt in my researches when they had worn the second pair of rubber heels down to the leather.

One word of warning. These researches were com-

pleted in late July, 1942, a little more than seven months after Pearl Harbor, five months after the fall of Singapore, and four months after the fall of the Dutch East Indies. We have lost access to 90 per cent of the world's supply of raw rubber, and our stocks are dwindling. I am told that most of the rubber goods now available were on hand or on order by January 1, and when they are exhausted there will be few or no replacements.

If you have responded to the appeal for rubber by donating the very erasers out of your pencils, you need not cross out the misspelled word. You can still buy plenty of new pencils, with the usual erasers. Or you can buy slip-on erasers, containing only a little more rubber than those you donated, which will enable you to use up the old pencils with no inconvenience. There are also the usual large separate erasers in harder and softer rubber, adapted to all needs. And if you have reluctantly tossed your typewriter eraser into the salvage container, you will not be forced to pay for your generosity by becoming more accurate. You will find plenty more, either with or without the little attached brush.

Broken nails need not be the price for parting with your rubber typewriter keys, for these can be replaced. And you need not waste another minute tying and untying knots of string because you have donated all your rubber bands. These are on sale in opulent variety, from





## OUR RUBBER SITUATION



### SUPPLY



TOTAL STOCKS JANUARY 1st. 693,000 TO.



CRUDE RUBBER IMPORTS 434,000 TO.

**TOTAL SUPPLY 1,157,000 TONS**

SYNTHETIC RUBBER  
PRODUCTION 30,000 TONS

**1942**

### DEMAND



ARMED FORCES: LEND-LEASE  
307,000 TO.



CIVIL CONSUMPTION  
150,000 TO.



TO NON-AXIS COUNTRIES  
198,000 TO.

**CARRY-OVER**

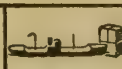
**502,000 TONS**

**TOTAL DEMAND 655,000 TONS**

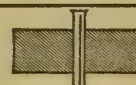
### SUPPLY



FROM CARRY-OVER 502,000 TO.



CRUDE RUBBER  
IMPORTS  
135,000 TO.



SYNTHETIC RUBBER PRODUCTION  
350,000 TO.

**TOTAL SUPPLY 987,000 TONS**

**1943**

### DEMAND



ARMED FORCES: LEND-LEASE  
463,000 TO.



CIVIL CONSUMPTION  
124,000 TO.



TO NON-AXIS COUNTRIES  
198,000 TO.

**CARRY-OVER**

**202,000 TONS**

**TOTAL DEMAND 785,000 TONS**

### SUPPLY



FROM CARRY-OVER  
202,000 TO.



CRUDE RUBBER  
IMPORTS  
98,000 TO.



SYNTHETIC RUBBER PRODUCTION 800,000 TO.

**TOTAL SUPPLY 1,100,000 TONS**

**1944**

### DEMAND



ARMED FORCES: LEND-LEASE  
463,000 TO.



U. S. CIVILIANS  
124,000 TO.



TO NON-AXIS COUNTRIES  
198,000 TO.

**CARRY-OVER**

**315,000 TONS**

**TOTAL DEMANDS 785,000 TONS**

GRAPHIC BY PICK-S



the three-inch loop which you tried to stretch to eighteen, to the loop which measures a good eighteen inches without stretching.

You can also replace the little rubber sponge in its glass dish, which you bravely decided to do without. Or if you prefer to moisten your envelopes with those bits of rubber sponge ingeniously set in a smooth rubber holder fitted into a glass tube, you may have those instead. You will find rubber date stamps, and your stationer will still make up special rubber stamps to order.

The woman addicted to the rubber makeup pad need not be torn between her desire to be beautiful and her impulse to be patriotic. She can indulge both by tossing the old pad onto the salvage heap and replacing it with enough new ones for a long duration. The Good-year company puts out an "automatic compact" called "Vic-tex," ingeniously fashioned from two round pieces of fine rubber sponge welded together at the edges, with an opening on one side through which powder can be inserted. Other aids to beauty are rubber complexion brushes, rubber curlers in fascinating variety, and ingenious rubber rollers which will hold your locks firmly in an eight or nine-inch roll on the back of your neck without benefit of hairpins.

Rubber bathing shoes are still to be had, as well as rubber-soled sneakers; also a perfect rainbow of rubber shower caps and bathing caps. One ingenious cap of very thin rubber comes compressed into a little ball tied up in a cellophane bag, and is so stretchy that it can be draped to taste. Many shops carry rubber-lined beach bags; and you can still find the inflatable rubber fish and swans and water balls that children and grown-ups like to take in swimming.

In these days when you are walking to save rubber, it will be a comfort to know that the supply of rubber heels and soles is holding up well. Like rubber stoppers and numerous other household articles, these are of reclaimed rubber, use of which by manufacturers was unrestricted until a couple of months ago. You can still buy the elastic bands which relieve the strain on arches and ankles. Elastic may still be had by the yard, too, in all the usual widths.

The corset makers are experimenting with new materials in the effort to secure flexibility and elasticity without rubber. But the customer need not experiment—yet. The elastic girdle is by no means a thing of wistful memory; nor is the girdle of pure rubber. Garment grippers of "live rubber" will keep blouse and skirt, or shirt and trousers, from parting company.

The variety of gadgets for the home is bewildering. You will be able to replace the rubber mat with its little suction cups, which kept you from breaking your neck in the shower. You can also buy the spongy kind, in an assortment of pretty colors. You can buy rubber covers for your bathroom shelves, and rubber-coated racks for

your towels. The supply of rubber bath sponges holds up well. Indeed, in a certain de luxe five-and-ten I found the great granddaddy of all rubber sponges, intended for your car, but also recommended for your person. Weight, five ounces; price, twenty-five cents, which is cheap at a time when your morning paper tells you day after day that every ounce of rubber is precious.

Rubber mats are not confined to the needs of the bath. There are mats to protect the top of your stove, to place before the door or the sink; round utility mats in several sizes. You can buy rubber-coated dish drainers and plate racks, rubber faucet sprays and faucet connections, door-knob covers, toilet-seat bumpers, toilet-box plungers, holders for deodorant. There are rubber-insulated domes of silence, rubber cups for the feet of chairs and sofas, rubber tips for chair legs, bumper tacks, floor stoppers, suction cups, candle fitters, fly swatters, wedges for doors and windows. The supply of extension cords and plugs seems endless. Rubber covered flashlights can still be had. You can even buy electric fans with rubber blades into which the children can thrust their hands with impunity.

The children need not yet forego their rubber toys—animals and dolls that squeak, rubber balls, rubber-tired toy automobiles and planes large enough to ride in. One super-de luxe roadster has pneumatic tires perhaps an eighth the size of those you placed on the salvage heap. Bicycles, tricycles, and scooters are purchasable, all rubber tired, and doll carriages large enough to hold the baby. Balloons are plentiful, and toss-ups in amusing forms, from bunny rabbits to an image of your Uncle Sam with the slogan "Remember Pearl Harbor" neatly lettered across his lower limbs.

This should give you a fair idea of the myriad articles of need, comfort, convenience, and luxury still freely available in the scarcest of our strategic materials. I have left out rubber for therapeutic uses. One must stop somewhere; and besides such articles have priority ratings.

While you are replacing your garden hose with "victory hose" of rubber-lined fabric, or buying your winter goloshes or some new toys for the children, you may feel like picking up something for the salvage heap. I learn that as yet the government has made no move to secure retail stocks of rubber for the war effort. Perhaps the experts attach no importance to them, but the mere layman finds them impressive when he remembers that imports have practically ceased. Indeed, he can't help reflecting that military uses, added to civilian uses exclusive of tires and tubes, must be putting quite a two-way stretch on our rubber stock pile. A "buy-rubber-for-salvage" week might help. I would gladly open it by donating my five-ounce rubber automobile sponge. I only bought it to find out how much it weighed. An automobile sponge isn't really of much use when your car has no tires.



# Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

## Targets for Tonight

WE ARE all becoming painfully familiar with the term *logistics*—"that branch of the military art," to quote my dictionary, "which embraces the details of transport and supply." We know how much the United Nations are handicapped by the fact that their main industrial centers are separated by wide seas from the fighting fronts, making the shipping shortage our No. 1 bottleneck. Hitler, on the other hand, with his supply bases in the midst of a compact land mass, can use lines of communication corresponding to the radii of a circle, and in all his major campaigns he has had available a highly developed network of railroads and highways.

Nevertheless, it is well to remember that, despite these geographical advantages, Hitler is also suffering from logistics trouble. His transport facilities were never adequate for a long war and after three years of campaigning they are strained to the utmost, so that a scientifically designed bombing offensive aimed at the weakest links may well throw the whole system into confusion. From the beginning the R. A. F. in its raids on Germany and German occupied territory has always regarded transport as among its major objectives. How often we have read of the bombing of Hamm, the site of enormous freight marshaling yards! And the constant attacks on Bremen and Hamburg are designed not merely to destroy factories, warehouses, and shipyards but to render these ports unusable for shipping.

Leaving aside air transport, which the Nazis have used very effectively but which at present cannot be relied upon for mass movements of men and freight, Germany has four interlocking systems of communication—sea-shipment, inland waterways, roads, and railroads. Before the war, a great deal of the trade between Germany and its allied countries was carried on by sea. Coal exports from the Ruhr to Italy went by barge to Rotterdam and were there transferred to ships sailing through the Straits of Gibraltar. Oil from Rumania, ores and agricultural products from the Balkans, were brought to Germany by sea. Now this traffic must move, if at all, by the Danube or by rail and the task of transporting even a bare minimum of coal to Italy by rail monopolizes a large number of locomotives and freight cars.

Sea routes were also important for inland trade. Coal and heavy manufactures from the Rhineland used to move by sea through the Kiel Canal to East Prussia, which sent return cargoes of grain and potatoes. At the beginning of the war the combined German and Italian merchant marine, including all vessels over 100 tons, totaled 7.9 million tons. Up to the end of last year the

British claimed that they had captured, sunk, or severely damaged no less than 5.225 million tons of Axis shipping. This far exceeds the estimated new construction in Germany and Italy together with tonnage captured in occupied countries. The possibilities of sea transport, therefore, are now severely restricted. Ships creeping down the North Sea coast are constantly attacked by British planes and naval units and even the Baltic has become so dangerous that almost all the ferry services to Denmark and Sweden have recently been discontinued.

Germany has five important navigable rivers—the Rhine, Elbe, Ems, Oder, and Danube—linked together by an extensive canal system. While preparing for the war, the Nazis did much to improve these waterways and this policy has undoubtedly paid them dividends. But there are many signs that the system has become congested in its efforts to relieve the overburdened railroads. Last winter orders went forth that certain classes of freight must be dispatched only by water, but not long after another order forbade the use of the Danube system for short hauls. Inland waterways offer some tempting bombing targets. The recent plastering of Duisburg, the greatest inland port in Europe, has undoubtedly put a severe crimp in its shipping activities. Regensburg on the Danube, the transshipment post for Rumanian oil, is probably high on the R. A. F.'s priority list of places to be visited when the nights are longer. And the new aqueduct which carries the Mittelland Canal over the Elbe near Magdeburg certainly merits some high explosives.

In the pre-war period, super-highways were Hitler's favorite public works, and many people believe that they represent one of his most serious errors, for gas and rubber shortages greatly restrict their use in war. Road traffic in Germany now is confined to short hauls and can make only a minor contribution to the solution of transport problems.

While road building boomed railroads were neglected. As early as 1938 they were operating at near capacity, and an official report that year spoke of the urgent need for 100,000 new freight cars. In his recent book, "Will Germany Crack?" Paul Hagen provides much evidence of the overstrained condition of the railroad system and reports numerous accidents, some due no doubt to sabotage, but many caused by defective material. Lack of efficient lubricants, in particular, has led to the rapid deterioration of rolling stock.

From its western conquests Germany was able to loot 2,500 locomotives and 150,000 freight cars, which alleviated for a time the transportation crisis. But the Russian campaign has multiplied the strain on the railroads without producing any similar compensation. The Red Army left little equipment behind, and German locomotives proved unable to stand up to the Russian winter as Hitler himself has admitted. Moreover the Eastern campaign so drained reserves of rolling stock that un-



necessary passenger travel has been made a crime, and cities like Berlin are short of vital coal and food because supplies cannot be moved. Yet if a second front is established, the German railroads must shoulder the task of rushing reinforcements from the east. That is why British fighter planes are now peppering every locomotive they can catch and why intensive bombing of every junction, major railroad bridge, freight yard, and repair shop that can be reached is an essential prelude to an Anglo-American invasion of the continent.

[Keith Hutchison will be on vacation during August but will resume Everybody's Business in September.]

## In the Wind

THE FIGHTING FRENCH may go on occupying St. Pierre and Miquelon but the American State Department has neither forgotten nor forgiven. M. Alain Savary, present Administrator of the islands, arrived recently in Montreal intending to proceed from there to Washington and New York for consultation with De Gaullists in this country. He has been informed by the American consul that his application for a visa has been rejected on orders from Washington.

AMERICAN TROOPS in Great Britain who now know enough to avoid using the word "bloody" in mixed company can thank Eric Knight, the novelist, for their education in British usage. Mr. Knight, it turns out, is the author of the unsigned and excellent "Guide to Britain" provided for the enlightenment of the A. E. F.

TWO NEW COMMITTEES have sprung up to fill crying needs in American life. One is established to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the appearance of the first greeting card. The other is the National Hallowe'en Committee, which feels that because of the war "this year, more than ever, there is certain to be great activity centered around the traditional Hallowe'en celebration."

FUNDAMENTAL CONTRIBUTION to the social sciences by Gill Robb Wilson, president of the National Aeronautic Association: "I hold that air commerce properly belongs in the category of free private enterprise since it can if properly fostered by Government sustain itself on the profit motive and provide social security for the quota of society therein engaged."

THE TROTSKYITE PAPER, the *Militant*, has published a letter from a German underground worker asserting that several Trotskyists in the Reich early in 1941 learned of the coming attack on Russia and informed the Soviet Embassy. Their information, which is said to have included even the names of the divisions to be used, was taken into account in the Soviets' preparedness plans.

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*. A prize of \$5 will be awarded each month for the best item, —EDITORS THE NATION.]

## The Truth about Hungary

ACCORDING to Professor Renner's "geo-political" map of post-war Europe, Hungary has been permanently handed over to Germany.

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These and many other questions are answered in a timely 48-page booklet by *Rustem Vambery*, well-known Hungarian criminologist and sociologist, who has written extensively on Central European problems and whose articles have frequently appeared in *The Nation*.

Mr. Vambery's booklet, part of which appeared in *Foreign Affairs*, shows how the Magyar people can escape from the domination of the semi-feudal military dictators of their country. Since Hungary's central position in southern Europe and the social structure of the Magyar population lend the Hungarian problem more than local importance, Mr. Vambery believes that only a Danubian Federation, as suggested in this booklet, offers an adequate solution of the Hungarian problem if it is to be solved in the interest of the Hungarian people and the future peace of Europe.

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# BOOKS and the ARTS

## One Morning the World Woke Up

BY OSCAR WILLIAMS

One morning the world woke up and there was no news;  
No gun was shelling the great ear drum of the air,  
No Christian flesh spurted beneath the subtle screws,  
No moaning came from the many agony-faced Jews,  
Only the trees in a gauze of wind trembled and were fair.

No trucks climbed into the groove of an endless road,  
No tanks were swaying drunken with death at the hilltop,  
No bombs were planting their bushes of blood and mud,  
And the aimless tides of unfortunates no longer flowed:  
A break in the action at last . . . all had come to a stop.

Those trees danced, in their delicate selves half furled  
And a new time on the glittering atmosphere was seen;  
The lightning stuttering on the closed eyelid of the world  
Was gone, and an age of horizons had dawned, soft, pearly,  
The world woke up to a scene like spring's first green.

Birds chirped in waterfalls of little sounds for hours,  
Rainbows, in miniature nuggets, were stored in the dews,  
The sky was one vast moonstone of the tenderest blues,  
And the meadows lay carpeted in three heights of flowers:  
One morning the world woke up and there was no news.

## Two Studies of Appeasement

*WITH JAPAN'S LEADERS.* By Frederick Moore. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.75.

*JAPAN RIDES THE TIGER.* By Willard Price. The John Day Company. \$2.50.

BOOKS about our enemy in the Far East continue to come off the presses. The publishers are inspired perhaps by the desire to provide badly needed information to a reading public which has been subsisting on an unbalanced European diet and by the hope that one of them may succeed in puncturing American apathy.

The reader of Frederick Moore's book is bound to suspect that the author desired to explain and apologize for his long service to the Japanese government. In a frank autobiographical account, the more convincing for its naivete, Mr. Moore recalls his fourteen years as counselor to the Japanese government, a period which came to an ugly end on December 7 when he found himself in the unenviable position of being employed by the Japanese Embassy in Washington while bombs were falling on Pearl Harbor. There was little idealism in Mr. Moore's decision to work for the Japanese, who paid him \$500 a month plus 10,000 yen a year, as he stated in his report to the State Department, with which he was registered as a Japanese agent. His employment was not legally improper, but to many persons his support of the

Japanese cause through these years, when he knew so much of their aims and methods, will appear morally and intellectually questionable.

Mr. Moore recalls with justifiable pride that when he was stationed in Peking as a news correspondent he cabled to this country the first reports of the notorious "twenty-one demands" which Japan made on China in 1915. Did these mean nothing more to him than news stories? Japanese treachery and aggressive intentions were fully exposed at that time and were revealed again during the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, which Mr. Moore also covered as a news correspondent; yet with full knowledge of these things he went to work for them in 1921 as "adviser on international affairs."

Had Mr. Moore limited himself to purely technical work, such as correcting the faulty English of official communications translated from the Japanese, he would have been no more at fault than numerous other foreigners employed by the Japanese. But in serving the Japanese as an "adviser," which covered everything from making contacts for Japanese officials to hiring a butler for the ambassador, Mr. Moore acted as an apologist for Japanese aggression. In 1932 he joined his friend Yosuke Matsuoka, whom Secretary Hull later called "as crooked as a basket of fishhooks"—I personally had occasion to learn in Tokyo that this was an understatement—in defense of Japan's invasion of Manchuria before the League of Nations. "I felt that Japan had considerable arguments to present to the League, and I was glad to be of assistance to her government," he writes. In March, 1932, during a discussion at the Institute for Far Eastern Affairs at the American University in Washington, he presented one of his "arguments." He suggested that the Japanese could defend China from Russia!

Mr. Moore explains in his book that he defended Japan because "Western peoples were not warranted in denouncing the nation for imperialism that was relatively limited compared with the imperialisms of Britain, France, and Russia." This was a view of international affairs that fitted in nicely with Japanese propaganda.

Mr. Moore, however, did more than justify Japanese aggression. He made a serious effort to restrain American intervention in the Far East at a time when we might have been able to check the Japanese without recourse to arms. At a Town Hall discussion in New York in 1937, the year in which the Japanese started the "China incident," Mr. Moore urged an American policy of strict neutrality and hands off.

It may be recalled that Mr. Moore is the author of another book, published in 1929 and called "America's Naval Challenge," free copies of which were distributed to members of Congress. Disparaging the Administration's efforts to bring the American navy up to parity with the British, Mr. Moore said: "In no case are we likely to have war with that country [England] or Japan, unless this country is responsible in a large part for it." He insisted that America did not need to maintain a navy capable of defending the



Philippines. "We should maintain armament for the proper home defense of our possessions, from Alaska and from Maine to the Panama Canal, but not for defense across the Atlantic or across the Pacific"—advice with which the Japanese were thoroughly in accord.

After the resumption of the China invasion in 1937, Mr. Moore found it increasingly difficult to defend his employers, and is indignant that only five years after the seizure of Manchuria the Japanese should have sought more loot. He did not, however, resign his post. Japan had begun to "ride the tiger," and Mr. Moore like his employers found it difficult to dismount. Mr. Moore says he continued in their service in the hope that he could serve both the United States and Japan by attempting to prevent war, although it had already become clear that peace could be purchased only by surrender to the Japanese program of conquest.

Mr. Moore, together with his fellow-isolationists and appeasers, failed to realize until it was very late that national disaster was implied in their counsel. We might have had peace in 1931, when Mr. Moore found Stimson's policies so distasteful, or even in 1937, when he advised a "hands-off policy," but in 1941 all that was left was "hope." It was Ambassador Saito who pointed out to his somewhat startled adviser the wisdom of a strong American policy by saying he hoped Congress would approve the fortification of Guam because "the effect would be valuable upon our militarists."

Willard Price's new book is largely a rewritten version of his "Children of the Rising Sun," published in 1938. In the earlier book the author saw with exceptional clarity the course of Japanese aggression but was completely at a loss about how it should be met. In fact, his suggestion was not to meet it at all. He virtually conceded Japanese domination of the Far East and, like Mr. Moore, suggested that the United States withdraw. Like Mr. Moore again, he thought that "our best hope may be through Japan," with which country we carried on more trade than with any other in the Orient. He even questioned the value of a military victory over Japan because "things would soon be just as before."

Mr. Price's new book eliminates the numerous inaccuracies and outdated views of his old one, while retaining much interesting and important information about the Japanese people, whom Mr. Price understood better than he did the international situation.

JOSEPH NEWMAN

## The Mind of Nehru

*GLIMPSES OF WORLD HISTORY.* By Jawaharlal Nehru.  
The John Day Company. \$4.

A HISTORY of the world by the second most important leader of India naturally arouses great interest. It is, if nothing more, a testimony to the intellectual versatility of its author, who amid the activities of political life has read so widely and gathered facts so intelligently that he has managed to produce a quite creditable survey of world history, not inferior to Wells's "Outline of History," to which incidentally the author acknowledges his indebtedness. Interest in the work is increased by the knowledge that the book was written in prison in the period 1931-34, and that it was meant primarily for his youngest daughter. The chap-

ters are in the form of dated letters to her, but the personal element is never obtrusive. Many chapters were obviously written for a larger audience, for they would hardly be comprehensible to a small girl.

It cannot be claimed that the book as history contains anything striking or original, although its emphasis on Oriental events and its treatment of the great heroes of the East wholesomely offset the usual historical survey which makes world history ancillary to the history of Europe. The author has some difficulty in finding a pattern to give meaning to the panorama of events that he records. He presents modern history primarily as a struggle between imperialism and nationalism, and his position as a nationalist leader prompts him to regard this struggle as a conflict between good and evil, but he is too conscious of the divisive force of nationalism in the world to hold to such a thesis resolutely.

Most of us will probably be more interested in the glimpses into Nehru's own mind that the book affords than in its presentation of world history. Among the great leaders of history Akbar, Napoleon, and Lenin claim his particular interest. Akbar he regards as "in a sense—the father of Indian nationalism," a "wise despot," who made commendable efforts to synthesize Hindu and Moslem culture. Of Lenin he declares that "as time passes he grows greater; he has become one of the chosen company of the world's immortals." His enthusiasm for Lenin extends to the whole Soviet experiment.

It is not unnatural that he should find difficulty in doing justice to Britain and British civilization. He thinks that Britain does not have real democracy but rather exploits the democratic idea for undemocratic purposes. The depth of his anti-British feeling warps many a judgment. His own political convictions may be described as passionately democratic and socialistic. Of the terror unleashed by revolutionary movements, he observes that it is only more vivid than the "day-to-day terror of starvation which overshadows millions."

Quite obviously his political convictions are not identical with those of Gandhi. He is of course generous in his appreciation of the Mahatma. He observes that "behind his language of peace and friendship there was power and the quivering shadow of action and a determination not to submit to wrong." But it is significant that he transmutes Gandhi's religious doctrine of non-violence into pragmatic strategy, justified because no other alternative is open to India. "Armed rebellion seemed out of question for the Indian people. We were disarmed, and most of us did not even know the use of arms. Besides, in a contest of violence the organized power of the British government, or any state, was far greater than anything that could be raised against it." Gandhi's program was "an effective way to get the masses to function, and it seemed to fit in with the peculiar genius of the Indian people."

Nehru's autobiography furnished us of course with other glimpses into the mind of one of the great political leaders of our day, and perhaps this book gives us no new insight. It is nevertheless a rewarding experience to accompany this man through the paths and bypaths of history. He is plainly a leader of striking spiritual integrity. Is he also, one wonders, a man of resolute action?

REINHOLD NIEBUHR



## Humanity and Humor

ONE MAN'S MEAT. By E. B. White. Harper and Brothers.  
\$2.50.

BETWEEN July, 1938, and December, 1941, while the Second World War was getting under way, Mr. White was turning his place in Maine from a vacation retreat into a working farm with chickens, pigs, and sheep. He still had to earn his living by writing, and the essays in this volume—most of them for *Harper's*—were composed on the run, as it were, between the hen-house and the radio. They are divided between E. B. White the farmer and E. B. White the paragrapher of current affairs, whose talent has made such an impress on the front pages of the *New Yorker*, but the interplay of the two personalities is close and healthy; his devotion to his farm spares Mr. White no responsibility in the world, and his worldliness gives an added dimension to his farm. Unlike most literary people who return to the soil, Mr. White is a person of sensibility, not a sentimentalist, and when, for instance, he helps deliver a lamb, he has a decent self-consciousness but no need to glorify himself. An individual and a gentleman, he isn't out to sell you the idea that a farm is any man's meat. The record of his adventure shows not the slightest trace of being directed against you: peculiar among literary farmers, Mr. White didn't leave the city in order to leave you behind, nor is it any part of his effort to outsmart you on new territory. He will respect you and leave you alone as long as you respect him and leave him alone; this would be his definition of democracy, and he is ready to die for democracy. Vulgarity is something Mr. White takes into account by the way; he helps fumigate it out of existence with his fine aseptic prose.

The kinship with Thoreau is explicit throughout this book but there is also Mr. White's implicit kinship with Montaigne. Obviously, compared to the great humanist, Mr. White's powers are on a minor scale; in the matter of style, real as his gifts are, we question whether his felicity has not sometimes been achieved by going around rather than over intellectual hurdles. But as we read the diary he kept in the First World War, we recognize how compellingly the humanistic tradition had already claimed him, even as a young man. Perhaps this isn't remarkable—young men often reach a kind

of climax of intellectual decency in their college years, after which their development is a steady retrogression justified in the name of "reality"—but what is remarkable is that Mr. White has held fast to this heritage into maturity and through a period in the world's history in which, on the liberal as well as the reactionary front, it has been so tempting to pervert mind to the uses of power.

I recall only one essay in the volume that deals specifically with the temptations that writers face in a troubled society. Nevertheless, every line Mr. White writes—whether he is dealing with egg-production or the Townsend plan, country schools or Anne Lindbergh (his analysis of "The Wave of the Future," incidentally, is a small masterpiece, one of the best things in the book)—supports in practice this single statement of his literary creed. It is January, 1939, and Mr. White has been informed that a certain writer, stricken by the cruel events of the world, has vowed never again to write anything that isn't significant and liberty-loving. "I have an idea that this, in its own way, is bad news," writes Mr. White. "Having resolved to be nothing but significant, he is in a fair way to lose his effectiveness. . . . Even in evil times, a writer should cultivate only what naturally absorbs his fancy, whether it be freedom or cinch bugs. . . . A literature composed of nothing but liberty-loving thoughts is little better than the propaganda which it seeks to defeat. In a free country it is the duty of writers to pay no attention to duty. Only under a dictatorship is literature expected to exhibit an harmonious design or an inspirational tone." And he sums up: "A writer must believe in something, obviously, but he shouldn't join a club."

Well, Mr. White has joined no club except a society called Friends of the Land, but he believes in many good things. Being a humanist himself, he is a firm believer, for one thing, in man's humanity.

DIANA TRILLING

## CONTRIBUTORS

SUZANNE LA FOLLETTE began her editorial career on *The Nation*, leaving to become a member of the *Freeman* staff when that lively weekly was founded by Albert Jay Nock. She is the author of "Concerning Women" and "Art in America."

OSCAR WILLIAMS is the author of a book of poems, "The Man Coming Toward You," and editor of "New Poems 1942: An Anthology of British and American Verse."

JOSEPH NEWMAN served as Tokyo correspondent of the *New York Herald Tribune* until the outbreak of war. He has recently published a book about his experiences entitled "Goodbye Japan."

REINHOLD NIEBUHR, professor of applied Christianity at Union Theological Seminary, is a contributing editor of *The Nation* and the author of several books, including "The Nature and Destiny of Man" and "Reflections on the End of an Era."

DIANA TRILLING regularly reviews fiction for *The Nation*.

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## IN BRIEF

**THE UNINVITED.** By Dorothy Macardle. Doubleday, Doran and Company. \$2.50.

As you've probably heard, this is the new "Rebecca." It's about a nice young brother and sister who take a house in North Devon, despite being warned that there are "disturbances," and find among their uninvited guests a strange pair of materializations. The goings-on include emanations, séances, and some pleasant conversations; you don't have to believe in ghosts to enjoy it, although it probably helps. A very successful job.

**SHAKESPEARE IN HARLEM.** By Langston Hughes. Alfred A. Knopf. \$2.50.

This book by the "Negro Poet Laureate" describes itself as a "book of light verse. Afro-American in the blues mood. Poems syncopated and variegated in the colors of Harlem, Beale Street, West Dallas, and Chicago's South Side. Blues, ballads, and reels to be read aloud, crooned, shouted, recited, and sung. Some with gestures, some not—as you like. None with a far-away voice." Death, frustration, poverty, and persecution are related in tones that ask, as it were, for sympathy through laughter rather than for sympathy through understanding. From the drawings (in reverse) by E. McKnight Kauffer to the title and lavender print on the black-cloth cover, the book attempts a folklore atmosphere and succeeds in being lugubrious. In the main, the lyrics, more in the category of Americana than poetry, are sincere and very readable, a kind of tragic light verse of today.

## RECORDS

A CHICAGO reader has sent me a clipping from the *Chicago Daily News*, in which he says I will be interested "as an admirer of Schnabel, and especially of his playing of the Beethoven Fourth [Concerto]." I think that others besides myself will be excited by the news that Schnabel has been recording the Fourth and Fifth Concertos with the Chicago Symphony under Stock. With some of the outstanding recorded performances like the Cortot-Thibaud-Casals versions of Beethoven's Trio Op. 97 and Schubert's Op. 99 being withdrawn from the catalogue, it

is a relief to know that Schnabel himself is making replacements for his incomparable performances of those two Beethoven concertos in the old Victor sets. And one hopes that after this beginning Victor will go on to record Schnabel's incomparable performances of Mozart—in the Concertos K. 450, 453, 466, 482, 488, 491. One hopes also for more recordings of his incomparable performances of Schubert.

The word "great" may be used loosely for mere emphasis; but applied to the last instrumental works of Schubert—the C major Symphony, the C major String Quintet, the posthumously published piano sonatas in C minor, A major, and B flat—it is used strictly to describe the experience and emotion they communicate, the musical forms in which the experience and emotion are communicated: in these respects the works are among the greatest that have come down to us. Only one of them, the posthumous Sonata in A major, has been available in a recorded performance fully commensurate with the stature of the work—the performance by Schnabel. The C major Quintet, in particular, we have had only in the mediocre performance of the Pro Arte Quartet; and so the Columbia set (497, \$6.83) offering a superb performance by the Budapest Quartet with Benar Heifetz as added cellist is one of the events of the year. I played the set on a privately made phonograph which gives the finest reproduction of records that I know; I played it on this machine first with the wide-range, light-weight Brush PL-25 pickup, then with the limited-range, heavy Astatic Tru-tan; and with each pickup I also played the imported recording of Beethoven's Quartet Op. 74, which gave me the sound of the Budapest Quartet as I know it in the concert hall—the rich, warm, beautifully blended sound of the entire group, with the dark, deep-plumbing sound of Schneider's cello as its foundation. It would have been a pleasure to hear these things come off the Columbia records; and it was a disappointment to hear instead an altered over-all sound that was voluminous but cold and coarse, with the cellos heard only faintly under the other instruments. This was true with both the Brush and the Astatic; but the surfaces which were extremely noisy with the Brush were fairly quiet with the Astatic. The records, in other words, will sound best on the machines of limited range with heavy pickups that are in most homes.

The contrast between Toscanini's

shattering concentration and intensity and Bruno Walter's rhetorical expansiveness that was presented by their recorded performances of Beethoven's "Eroica" a year ago is now to be observed in their performances of the Fifth. Toscanini's version was issued by Victor two years ago; Columbia now offers Walter's (Set 498, \$4.73), which on the whole is more straightforward and effective, to my ears, than his performance of the "Eroica"—with only a couple of *Luftpausen* in the second movement, as against the emotional wallowing in the "Eroica." The recorded sound of the Toscanini performance was hard, wooden, harsh; with the Brush the sound of the Walter performance is voluminous but cold and hollow on top and wooden down below, and reverberant and noisy; with the Astatic it is brighter and clearer; with both the surfaces are a little gritty. In the end you may prefer the powerful and well recorded Weingartner performance, which it is to be hoped Columbia will keep in circulation.

The Grand Fugue Op. 133, which was the original finale of Beethoven's Quartet Op. 130, and which for some listeners remains formidable and difficult to grasp even after other works of this last period are accessible, has been recorded for Columbia by the Busch Chamber Players (Set X-221, \$2.63). The Budapest Quartet of ten years ago recorded a performance that can still be listened to; but this is a piece of music which gains by the greater weight of sound from the larger group of players; and even apart from that the Busch performance is a good one. Its recorded sound is a little cold but otherwise good, the surfaces gritty—with both pickups.

When I heard Ormandy's performance of Schumann's Second Symphony a few years ago I found it a little tense and hard; but at that time I had not yet heard the violently, explosively tense performance which Mitropoulos has recorded for Columbia with the Minneapolis Symphony (Set 503, \$5.78), and which I find even less advantageous than Ormandy's for a work of such warmth and intimacy. On a Scott 23 machine with the Brush the over-all sound was good except for coldness, occasional faulty balance (the murmuring strings at the beginning, for example, were almost inaudible), and occasional rattles and break-ups; and the surfaces were bad. With the Astatic the surfaces were quieter.

B. H. HAGGIN



# Letters to the Editors

## Hawaii's Loyal Japanese

*Dear Sir:* In his *Nation* article of July 25, Albert Horlings scores the United States for its liberal or lax treatment of persons of Japanese extraction now residing in Hawaii. He argues that the great majority of them cannot be trusted; that we are taking a bad risk. The charges made by Mr. Horlings against these 150,000 Japanese, 110,000 of whom are American citizens, are numerous and serious. I wholly agree with Mr. Horlings that "Hawaii's safety is not a local matter, and a decision relating to a control of a possible fifth column must be determined by national interest." It does not follow, however, that a prejudiced, ill-considered presentation of the case will be any help in clarifying the situation. Being of Japanese descent, born and reared in Hawaii, I too may be biased, but let us look at the other side of the coin.

The degree to which people of Japanese blood have been assimilated into Hawaiian-American society has been, I feel, grossly understated. I doubt whether there is one island sociologist or any one else familiar with the island's racial problems who will go halfway with Mr. Horlings. The statement in his opening paragraph to the effect that a majority of us cannot read or write English is plain nonsense. For the citizen group, the extent of American schooling is as high as for other racial groups in Hawaii and compares very favorably with that of the mainland states. Alien Japanese recently arrived in Hawaii do as well, on the whole, as others of like circumstances. "Thousands see or hear almost nothing American, while they consume Japanese food, Japanese clothing, Japanese music, Japanese pictures, Japanese newspapers and magazines by the shipload," says Mr. Horlings. He does not mention the overwhelming majority who prefer Bob Hope, Bette Davis, and Gary Cooper; who read the *Reader's Digest*, the *Woman's Home Companion*, the *Saturday Evening Post*, *Life*, *The Nation*, *Harpers*; who dress as Americans and sing American songs. It seems silly to deny that our attitudes are fashioned after American patterns. Where Mr. Horlings gets the idea that we of Japanese blood "imagine Hawaii without American rule" and picture ourselves

as top dogs in this new Hawaii, I do not know.

The question of dual citizenship cannot be dismissed so easily. As Mr. Horlings states, it is true that a great number of American citizens have failed to burn their bridges to Japan. Non-expatriation, however, is by no means an indication of disloyalty to the United States. Many are still dependents of aliens who cannot become American citizens because of the Immigration Act of 1924 and, therefore, cannot act independently. Many have been simply negligent, for expatriation is a cumbersome and time-consuming affair. The leaders among the citizen group are all expatriated, for it is impossible to make much headway in Hawaii without taking this step. As we go into the third and fourth generations, this problem will automatically be solved.

The question of our loyalty, of course, forms the hub around which all other considerations revolve, and loyalty is too much an intangible thing to permit of estimates or generalities. Most of our non-Japanese island leaders have vouched for the loyalty of Hawaii's Japanese. This was borne out during and after Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor and has been officially confirmed, but Mr. Horlings prefers to judge our loyalty on purely racial lines.

What of the solution? Can we gamble on the loyalty of the 150,000 Japanese in Hawaii? I will not deny for one minute that some agents of Tokyo and their dupes are still running loose, but the overwhelming majority of us here proved that we will stand by America when the zero hour strikes. We have brothers and relatives in the armed forces of the United States and are just as anxious for an Allied victory as other Americans.

Double or triple the FBI force in Hawaii. This would be more practical and wise than a wholesale evacuation which would involve innumerable hardships as well as seriously undermine our democratic concepts and the value of United States citizenship. That the Japanese on the West Coast have been evacuated is no reason for the same treatment in Hawaii. In reading through the Tolan Committee hearings and reports, I am far from convinced such drastic steps were necessary, especially since they were instigated not by the military but

by hysterical civilians and interested groups. I suggest further that we young men of fighting age be given the same opportunities in the armed forces as other American boys and, secondly, some assurance of equality in the post-war world.

THOMAS H. IGB

Madison, Wis., July 29

## Bethlen an Anti-Nazi?

*Dear Sirs:* In his *Nation* article of July 25 Mr. Kovacs referred to Count Stephen Bethlen as "the well-known anti-Nazi." This epithet seems to me too generous and somewhat misleading when applied to the man who wrote in 1938 the following lines in his *Hungarian Quarterly*:

Many a time it would have been easier [for Hungary] to become incorporated in the ring of the Little Entente, for that would have meant exchanging our condition of life for far more favorable ones than those existing at present. We could have sold our birth-right for a mess of pottage and made it possible for a hostile Great Power to come into being on the southeastern frontier of Germany, which might have completed the work of blockading her. We did not do it, although there were those among us who might have been won over to this policy. . . . By not doing it, however, we have rendered the German nation an immense service; and we are still doing so today, when this road might still be open to us.

Count Stephen Bethlen, the president of the *Hungarian Quarterly*, Tibor Eckhardt, one of its vice-presidents, and many more such "anti-Nazis" are certainly annoyed today with the Nazis in Hungary who actually supervise the methodical oppressing of the unfortunate Hungarian people, a function the Hungarian estate owners and Junker-bureaucrats consider their privilege.

When Secretary Hull spoke the other day of "growing cancers within and among the nations" and of that extreme nationalism which "encouraged and facilitated the rise of dictators," it was hard not to recall that among all the Prime Ministers of Europe Count Stephen Bethlen was the very first to seek a meeting with the still plotting and relatively obscure Hitler in 1930, and was the first to confer with him when the Führer came into power in 1933.

STEPHEN DOKTOR

New York, July 26



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## *What Gandhi Wants*

BY LOUIS FISCHER

**L**ORD LINLITHGOW, Viceroy of India, said to me: "Gandhi is the biggest thing in India." Now he has ordered Gandhi's arrest. I think all of us will have to pay for this. Trouble in India means prolongation of the war. It is therefore America's business.

Shortly after the British were driven out of Burma, General Alexander, the commander of the British army in Burma, gave an interview to the press in New Delhi, India. The text of the interview was printed the next day in the Indian papers. "Burma must be reconquered," Alexander said. "It is part of the British empire." Just imagine how this must thrill the Chinese soldiers who are at bay in Burma or the American pilots who are flying over Burma or the Indian troops who would have to retake Burma: they fight to give Burma back to the British empire. Yet Alexander expressed what he felt. He is battling for empire.

General Sir Archibald Wavell, now British Commander-in-Chief in India, takes a few moments occasionally to continue work on the second volume of his biography of General Allenby under whom he fought in the first world war. Wavell gave me part of the manuscript to read. One chapter deals with the 1922 crisis when Allenby threatened to resign as High Commissioner of Egypt unless the British protectorate over Egypt were dropped and independence granted to the Egyptians. In brilliant prose reflecting a deep grasp of politics, Wavell described Allenby's struggle with the British Cabinet in London. Prime Minister Lloyd George, Foreign Secretary Curzon, Milner, and other ministers opposed him. But of all the opponents of Egyptian independence, Wavell writes, "the most determined had been Winston Churchill" who was then in the cabinet.

Churchill led the opposition in the House of Commons against the 1935 Act of India under which India was ruled until the outbreak of this war and which granted some limited measure of self-government to India.

Churchill is a good imperialist by temperament, tradi-

tion, and conviction. So is the Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery. He told me so. Neville Chamberlain was an appeaser because he was afraid that if England became involved in a war, his England, the England of money and privilege, would die. He was probably right. But Churchill says, No, England can fight a war and win it and remain his old England. Churchill's England includes India.

We must be very clear that Gandhi's civil-disobedience move is not merely a matter of whether the police are stronger than the Indian nationalists. It raises the whole question of what we are fighting for. In my talks with Mahatma Gandhi in his village of Sevagram, central India, I said we wanted the world to be a better place after the war. He replied, "I am not sure it will be. I would like to see right now a change in the heart of England and in the heart of America. Then I may believe your statements about the future." Gandhi has confronted us with the problem of our moral position in the war.

If the British wish to imply that Gandhi is pro-Japanese they may do so; it only makes a settlement in India more difficult. Gandhi is not pro-Japanese or pro-Axis. He is pro-British, he is pro-Chinese, he is pro-American. He wants us to win the war. But he does not think we can win it unless we enlist the support of Indians by purifying our war aims.

Jawaharlal Nehru, who actively demonstrated his anti-fascist attitude in relation to Abyssinia, Loyalist Spain, and China, agrees with Gandhi on this matter. I was present at an open-air meeting in a park on the outskirts of Bombay addressed by Nehru. A crowd of some 30,000 men dressed mostly in white and women in bright sarees gathered to hear what he spoke into the microphone. Before long a group of Communists yelled: "This is a people's war." Now Communists are always well-disciplined and purposeful and they came to that meeting either to disrupt it or to impress their views on it by repeated interruptions. After their first shout, one

BURLINGAME



immediately sensed the hostility of the audience towards them, and Nehru simply said: "If you think this is a people's war go and ask the people." Thereafter the Communists shut up.

I think it is a people's war, but the leaders and people of India see no proof thereof in the behavior of their rulers, and the arrest of Gandhi will certainly not incline them to see it that way.

On my travels in India, I spent a night and morning in the same railway compartment with a Bengali Moslem, an officer in the Indian Air Force which is, of course, a British air force. He had volunteered two years ago. I have never heard more violent denunciations of the British than from him. "I am told," I probed, "that the people of Bengal are pro-Japanese." Bengal, with a population of 60,000,000, is the province which the Japanese will probably invade first if they do invade India. "No," replied the airman. "If you pardon me, that is not the correct way of putting it. But we have been slaves so long that many do not mind who their master is."

Practically every Englishman I talked to in India realized that the country had never been as anti-British as it is today. The causes may be manifold and subject to dispute. The fact is indisputable.

This is the problem—whether we like it or not, and it is not solved by maligning Gandhi in America or imprisoning him in Poona. There was no Gandhi in Burma, yet the civilian population, the British admit, helped the Japanese.

Wavell said to me that in Burma 80 per cent of the population were indifferent to the war, 10 per cent were pro-British, and 10 per cent were pro-Japanese. That may be correct. But the 10 per cent who were pro-British fled to India while the 10 per cent who were pro-Japanese stayed to show the Japanese forces shortcuts across difficult terrain, to lead them to British warehouses, to feed them and to create the friendly atmosphere which facilitated the invader's progress.

Both the Gandhi Congress and Mohammed Ali Jinnah's Moslem League have publicly resolved not to cooperate with the British in the war effort. Some Moslem leaders might have wished to stand by the empire, but the war is too unpopular in India for them to risk advocating such a policy. In the circumstances, the primary task of the British governments in London and New Delhi should have been to court Indian civilian support. Cripps tried it. But he did not enjoy the collaboration of some key British politicians. In any case, he failed.

Another attempt should have been made. Gandhi and Nehru and other Congress leaders were ready to make far-reaching concessions. The British knew this because they watched Gandhi openly reduce his demands. First he asked the British to go bag and baggage. Later he said they and the United States could keep their armed forces in India and use India as a base for military opera-

tions against the Axis. This and similar equally clear developments told the British that agreement with Congress was possible through compromise. But the British seem to have closed their hearts and minds. From what many of them said to me I am convinced that they have decided that Gandhi's influence is waning and this is a golden opportunity to break his power. The present is a queer time indeed for such a dangerous experiment.

Is this to be the second front—the front against Gandhi? Perhaps, after their many defeats in the field, the British can actually win a victory over Gandhi. I do not know. He is a tough, shrewd, and strong customer, and India is in an ugly mood. But if the British do crush the Gandhi movement what have they achieved? India will be bitter, sullen, and resentful and an easier prey to Japan and Germany. If they crush Gandhi then one of our biggest successes in this war for democracy and freedom will be the smashing of a great world-known movement for democracy and freedom.

Many experts wonder whether the United Nations have enough armed force to hold India against an Axis push. There may be no invasion of India. But if it came, the active and passive aid of the Indian people might improve the chances of resistance. We are not so strong as to afford to throw away such help.

British officials in India told me that they did not believe Indian cooperation would be of much avail in case of invasion. That may explain their readiness to strike at Gandhi when they should be preparing to strike at the foreign enemy. But they have made too many mistakes recently in handling military and civilian problems in the East for us to trust their judgment.

Can anything be done now? I think yes. Gandhi is not at all vindictive. He would forgive the British if they released him, and he would negotiate with them with a view to supporting the war. Nehru said at a meeting: "I would fight Japan sword in hand." But, he added, he could only do so as a free man. That is the crux of the situation.

It is difficult, however, to imagine the British suddenly generating the suppleness of policy and the subtlety of brain to alter their course without a potent prod from the outside. Only the United States could make such a move. Of course Washington can take the position that this is the British empire's private business. It is, admittedly, a delicate matter. India is the British empire. But America has armed forces there, and if India becomes a battlefield it will be a serious matter for us whether the ground is solid rock or a soft mire. Besides—and this is not the least consideration—India is an acid test of the sincerity of America's purpose in fighting this costly war.

[In later issues of *The Nation*, Louis Fischer will discuss the failure of the Cripps mission and other phases of the Indian situation.]



## The Shape of Things

THE TRAGIC PATTERN REPEATS ITSELF IN India: provocation is met by repression; repression breeds rebellion; rebellion is crushed by force. The old pattern—but in a new, ominous setting of total war with the United Nations facing their most desperate crisis. The outcome can only be catastrophe. India in revolt, held down by British troops, is an open invitation to Japan. Can anything be done? At this moment there is little profit in apportioning blame. The Congress leaders have allowed their old distrust of British to half-blind them to the total, unmitigated slavery that faces their country and the world under Axis rule. The British have too easily abandoned the effort, implicit in the Cripps mission, to overcome this distrust by every available means, without regard to "face" or traditional counsels of caution. But what matters today is not past mistakes; what matters is the chance of preserving India against chaos and terror—and ultimate conquest by Japan. We join Louis Fischer in pleading for final effort to reopen negotiations between the British authorities and the Indian leaders. We beg the President to intervene and offer his services as mediator between the leaders of the Indian parties and the government of India. If he made his offer in collaboration with the two other chief nations allied with Britain—Russia and China—it would carry great weight with British and Indians alike. It is, we believe, the last and only hope of averting a tremendous defeat.

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WHEN DO THE UNITED NATIONS PROPOSE TO unite—even for military purposes? Everyone agrees that a unified high command, with a predetermined global strategy, is indispensable, that it is sure to come eventually—and that we shall have to go through worse disasters than any yet experienced before we get it. Pending catastrophe, we must presumably go along making bombs that don't fit British bomb racks while England makes bombs that don't fit ours. We must follow one theory of how to attack Germany by air while the British follow another, so that we can take no part in the air offensive on the Continent until we have built a completely separate force in England, even down to the ground crews. We must play our commitments in the Pacific against those in Europe; the British must weigh their stake in Africa against their obligations to Russia; the Chinese must plead for an Asiatic front, perhaps at the expense of a Continental invasion, while the Russians think solely in terms of a second front in the West. What may fortunately precipitate the formation of a United Nations general staff without the preliminary disasters accepted by the fatalists is the serious shortage of raw materials and the consequent necessity for their

intelligent allocation. Against this crying need, against the overwhelming popular demand—80 per cent in the last Gallup poll—stand the same traditional nationalistic jealousies that staved off a unified command in the World War until the darkest days of 1917. All the United Nations are at fault—not least the Soviet Union, whose continued reluctance to divulge economic and military information to its allies makes that much harder the second front support which it so eagerly awaits and so richly deserves.

✱

THE NAZI DRIVE INTO THE CAUCASUS HAS moved with *Blitzkrieg* rapidity since the fall of Rostov scarcely two weeks ago. The German army has succeeded in taking the Maikop oil fields and has pushed well on toward Grozny, an even more important oil center near the Caspian. But though the Soviets have lost the greater part of the North Caucasus, they are putting up magnificent resistance at Stalingrad and have made slight progress in the counter-drive at Voronezh. The battle for Stalingrad is likely to be the crucial struggle of the 1942 campaign. As long as the Soviets can hold this important tank-manufacturing city, they have a chance of launching a counter-offensive that might pinch off the German forces in the Caucasus. Loss of the city would cut the last remaining supply route by which oil from the Baku fields may be delivered to the armies in North Russia. It is obvious that Stalingrad will not fall easily. Soviet forces in this sector have been heavily reinforced. The presence of Major General Follett Bradley in Moscow has encouraged the rumor that units of the American air force will soon be sent to Russia to fight alongside the Soviet air force. Meanwhile the arrival of new contingents of American troops in Britain reinforces the hope that a second front is in the making. It must become a reality within a few weeks if it is to be of any use in turning the Nazi tide in the Caucasus.

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ELMER DAVIS LIVED UP TO EXPECTATIONS in his first report to the country as Director of the Office of War Information. Mr. Davis did not mince words in saying that neither our material aid to our allies nor our production of war materials had been as large as we said they would be. He gave us some encouraging news about ship sinkings, but offset it by reporting that our production of military planes, tanks, artillery, and naval vessels—especially anti-submarine craft—had fallen behind schedule in June. He pointed out that so far our allies have been doing most of the fighting and that our turn must come soon if we are going to win. His frankness, even his pessimism, was refreshing after the vague optimistic reports we have been getting in the press regarding the progress of our military and production efforts. But the Davis statement was nevertheless disquieting. While it is true that "we are not yet more than ankle deep in



the war," the fault certainly does not lie with the common people. It is to be found in lack of planning, lack of imagination, and lack of faith in the people.

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THE PRESIDENT HAS VETOED THE GILLETTE bill which would have set up an independent agency for the manufacture of rubber from farm products, on the ground that it would divide authority; and he has appointed a committee consisting of Bernard Baruch, Dr. James B. Conant of Harvard, and Dr. Karl T. Compton of M. I. T. to investigate the whole rubber situation. With the soundness of the general principle that rubber control should be centralized we have no quarrel; but it is up to Mr. Roosevelt to see that it is exercised by independent, disinterested persons. In other words the stranglehold of the oil-chemical-rubber combine on synthetic-rubber production must be broken. We have a great deal of respect for Bernard Baruch and his distinguished colleagues, though we wish the President had appointed at least one expert from the farm states. The test of the committee will be whether or not it accepts the WPB's alibi that the present synthetic-rubber program—which does not allow for the production of rubber from farm products—is adequate and functioning. Testimony before the Gillette Committee indicated that the program exists only on paper and that actual construction work has scarcely begun.

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A FRESH OUTBURST OF UNREST IN FRANCE has led neutral observers in Switzerland to predict the early fall of Laval and his replacement by a new Hitler favorite. Doriot, on his part, has hastened to proclaim himself Berlin's latest choice. Apparently unshaken by the slaying of his lieutenant, Henri Gachelin, a new evidence of the hate that surrounds his movement, Doriot has assured his followers that he will be in power before October "with the Marshal or against him." As interesting as the news itself is the way in which it has been presented. In comparison with Doriot, Laval is offered as a minor evil. Here we are again in the middle of another conga dance of appeasement. First came Weygand. We were asked by the State Department and by a section of the press to recognize how lucky it was for the democracies that Weygand stood at the right hand of the old Marshal instead of the small, envious, anti-British Darlan. Then Weygand disappeared and Darlan's star rose. Nobody could, of course, convert him over night into a pal of Churchill. But we were told that it would be infinitely worse for France and for the democracies should he be supplanted by that hateful symbol of German-French collaboration, Pierre Laval. Then, Laval. He was more difficult to fit into the intricate dance pattern. To begin with, his behavior was rude and disdainful to anybody who tried to appease him in any lan-

guage but German. But at the mere rumor that Doriot might take his place we notice a certain inclination in the press to concede that Laval is, after all, a much better man than Doriot. Who will be held up as "the greater evil" if Doriot becomes Prime Minister of France? Himmler?

✕

FROM BUENOS AIRES TO MEXICO THE movement of protest against the cowardly assault on Waldo Frank has assumed extraordinary proportions. There is scarcely a Latin American capital where the press, the universities, and the literary clubs have not expressed in one way or another their sympathy for the noted author. This has confirmed the fact, about which Waldo Frank himself complained not long ago, that he enjoys in the Spanish-speaking countries much more authority and popularity than in his native land. Certainly the demonstrations of feeling in Latin America have found faint reflection in the North American press. As was to be expected, in Argentina itself the condemnation of the fascist attack was mixed with severe criticism of the government and the local authorities. Américo Ghioldi, the much respected leader of the Opposition parties in the Chamber of Deputies, spoke of the article by Waldo Frank which produced the government's declaration that its author was *persona non grata* in Argentina, as "the most correct and inspired analysis that had been written on the situation of the country." The leader of the Socialist Party, Nicolás Repetto, told the Conservative members who sided with the Opposition, that it was illogical to condemn the attack on Waldo Frank if at the same time the government itself were not condemned for its arbitrary interpretation of the article in *Crítica* as an affront to the Argentine nation. All this emphasizes what we have said a hundred times—that Latin America at heart is with the democracies and that a clever American and British policy would find no difficulty in winning its active support.

## Monopoly: Hitler's Ally

THIS war cannot be won until monopoly is out of the saddle. The Truman committee hearings on steel reveal conditions worse, if possible, than those it disclosed a year ago in its inquiry into aluminum. We have not enough armor plate to keep our tank arsenals going at capacity. The Detroit press reports that the great Chrysler arsenal has been on the verge of shutting down for lack of steel. We are not producing enough steel plate to build enough ships to carry the tanks we are making. Some people at the War Production Board explain complacently that the lag in the tank program does not matter since tanks are piling up even at reduced rates of production—waiting for ships to carry them



away. There are countries in which the steel manufacturers responsible for this situation would be awarded not an "E" but a load of lead.

What do the Truman committee hearings reveal? At a time of the greatest steel shortage in history many steel plants are partially or totally idle. This in itself is news only to a press which has consistently ignored the detailed and specific recommendations Philip Murray and the United Steel Workers Union have been making. The small plants which figured in the sensational disclosures of the hearings were discussed in the Murray plan of January, 1941, and were among the score or more named in his second steel plan in June of this year. The first report revealed almost 6,000,000 tons of idle capacity; the second showed how steel-plate production might be increased 15 per cent and armor-plate production increased many times by industry-wide planning to end competitive scrambles which leave a sizable proportion of our facilities, even in the big companies, working at less than capacity.

The steel-plate shortage for shipbuilding began to be apparent in February, 1941, at the very time that Stettinius and Gano Dunn were telling the President—who repeated their words—that talk of a steel shortage was "a deliberate lie." The shortage of steel plate could have been remedied at once by one or both of two measures: conversion of continuous strip mills to plate production and compulsory allocation of steel business to get maximum output from big companies and small.

Instead of taking these measures the government last July began to dicker with Bethlehem Steel for a \$23,000,000 plate plant at Sparrow's Point, Maryland. Three months passed before Bethlehem turned up in October with a contract. The contract was so extortionate that Clifford Durr, now a Federal Communications Commissioner, then counsel for the RFC Defense Plant Corporation, wrote a memorandum (later turned up by the Truman committee) opposing its acceptance, and later resigned in disgust. Although the OPM told the President last September that this plant was part of the navy "speed-up" program, it is now revealed that Bethlehem and the WPB—after wasting all that time—have decided to abandon both the Sparrow's Point and the Bethlehem Los Angeles steel-plant projects because neither could be completed even by July, 1943!

The hearings also reveal that Henry Kaiser, who is now building a steel plant at Los Angeles, was kept dangling by the OPM and the WPB from midsummer of 1940 to March, 1942, before a direct appeal to Nelson finally brought him permission to use \$50,000,000 of his own money—not the government's—to build this plant. The explanation lies in the disclosure that the WPB committees which control plant expansion are made up entirely of dollar-a-year men still on the payrolls of the big steel companies. No independent steel

man can obtain either the certificate of necessity allowing five-year amortization on his investment or the materials for expansion without the permission of these committees.

While steel is so scarce, the WPB is handling our steel supplies with the carelessness of a sailor on a spree. The *Journal of Commerce* reports that despite inventory control the inventories of manufacturers using steel aggregate 17 million tons, more than four times the pre-war normal. Only a few months ago the inventories of the railroad-equipment industry were found to have enough steel above reasonable requirements to build sixty ten-thousand-ton cargo ships. Priority control is as flabby as inventory control. In June requirements were 10,000,000 tons; production 5,000,000 tons. But the WPB has no records to show where almost 1,000,000 of the 5,000,000 tons went! Supervision of this kind, plus the go-and-sin-no-more consent decrees imposed on Carnegie-Illinois and Jones & Laughlin for consistent violation of priorities, explains why a "black market" flourishes. And why we and our allies are still losing the war.

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# Who Is the State Department?

## IV. WHY THE COW IS SACRED

BY ROBERT BENDINER

IF POLITICS were simply an exercise in cold logic it would be impossible to explain why President Roosevelt tolerates, consults, and conciliates a Department of State so drastically at odds with his fundamental purposes. The department, after all, is responsible to him. He is charged by the Constitution with the conduct of foreign affairs and he has only to clean house to obtain a department consonant with his own views. Strong Presidents have traditionally been their own Secretaries of State, and Roosevelt is among the strongest of the strong.

It might be argued, of course, that the President himself was sold for a time on a policy of appeasement, that his own position did not, in fact, differ materially from the department's, and that he, like his official advisers, was swept by the tide of events into ultimate resistance. But the facts are all against this theory. It is true that the President bears a particular responsibility for the Spanish embargo and for the miscarried policy toward Vichy; it is true that in the last analysis he is responsible for the sum total of American foreign policy, with all its mistakes of omission and commission. Yet it remains clear beyond doubt that his lapses into appeasement have been by way of surrender rather than through choice. Nowhere in the record is there an instance of his forcing appeasement on reluctant advisers; the process has all been in the opposite direction. The daring proposal to quarantine aggressor nations was solely his own idea, slipped into a prepared speech without the sanction of the department; while the virtual retraction of that challenge was the work of advisers who were horrified at his boldness. Earlier than any other top-rank statesman he understood, and said, that a militant tyranny anywhere in the world was a threat to all the world. Two of the Administration's boldest moves in the field of foreign policy—the destroyer deal and the Lend-Lease Act—came directly from him and not from the department. If his foreign policy has moved a step backward for every step and a half in the direction of a cooperative internationalism, the forward motions have been the ones dictated by choice. Where he has appeased, it is not the enemy who was the prime object of the appeasement but his advisers, both in office and in private life.

All these considerations—the President's militant point of view, his dynamic character, and his legally

constituted power over the department—serve only to heighten the paradox. The question of why he has seen fit not only to leave the department intact but to surrender to it from time to time remains to be considered.

The mystery is more apparent than real. In the complex of presidential politics there is a great deal more than the mechanical application of a given policy, and the enigma of Roosevelt's relations with the department works itself out in the light of political, personal, and administrative realities. Some of them are compelling, some are not. None of them justifies appeasement as such, but all of them help to explain the President's vacillation.

### THE PRESIDENT AND POLITICS

To begin on the loftiest plane, the President is not an independent force, free to operate at will. He is a resolution of forces, embodying in his person the aspirations of conflicting sectors of the population. Not merely in a demagogic, vote-catching sense, but in the best tradition of representative government, he dare not regard himself as an individual, free to impose his own position without regard for the views of a sizable opposition. To do so would be to put a period to the course of democratic development, to substitute the *Führerprinzip* for representative government. On the other hand, to go to the opposite extreme and bend before every breeze, to give no guidance and assume no leadership, would be to invite paralysis and the equally certain destruction of political democracy.

The problem is an infinitely delicate one of degree, and all but the rabidly biased will admit that Roosevelt has shown a remarkable skill in steering somewhat on the leadership side of a middle course. Inevitably he has swung the wheel over from time to time. That is in the nature of his office. Lincoln repeatedly appeased the conservatives of his party, and the Northern Democrats as well, and he was roundly berated for it by the radicals. Nevertheless, his own point of view prevailed in the end. This is said, certainly not in defense of appeasement, but as a commentary on the nature of the presidency. In other words, a cogent case cannot be made against the President for heeding an authentic force within the country, however dubious; it can be made only against the force itself. The State Department to



a large degree identified itself with such a force, and this is what distinguishes its conduct from the President's. It championed appeasement, whereas the President, as President, merely yielded, on occasion, to appeasement's advocates.

On a lower level of politics, as opposed to theoretical statesmanship, there are equally compelling, if less noble, explanations of the President's indulgence of the department. His choice of Hull, to start with, and his support of the Secretary through thick and thin have been due in no small measure to Hull's weight with Congress. Until 1932 no Secretary of State since Taft's Administration had been an alumnus of House or Senate. Hull was a member of both and he commands a respect on Capitol Hill which no President—especially one whose Administration is as controversial as Roosevelt's—can afford to overlook. In particular, the Southerners in Congress venerate Hull. He is one of them, in fact their most honored representative in the government. His mild internationalism, his homey morality, his social conservatism, and above all his years of struggle against the tariff dragon make him their logical St. George, and they would take it very much amiss if the President were to deal high-handedly with him.

The power of the Southerners, moreover, is not to be taken lightly—thanks to the rule of seniority by which the chairmanships of Congressional committees are determined. Throughout twelve lean years of Republican rule, few Northern Democrats got elected to either house, but no G. O. P. landslide ever kept the Solid South from sending its quota of Democrats to Washington. The result was that when the great overthrow occurred in 1932 and the new majority party proceeded to reorganize the committees, the chairmanships went automatically to the veteran Southerners. The newly elected Northern Democrats got scarcely a look-in, though some of the standbys of the city machines likewise came into their own. Even now, ten years after, the most vital committees of Congress are chaired by Southerners. In the Senate the Foreign Relations Committee is headed by Connally of Texas, the Military Affairs Committee by Reynolds of North Carolina, Finance by George of Georgia, Appropriations by Glass of Virginia, Commerce by Bailey of North Carolina, Agriculture by Smith of South Carolina. In the House the crucial Ways and Means Committee is chaired by Doughton of North Carolina, Naval Affairs by Vinson of Georgia, Military Affairs by May of Kentucky, Judiciary by Sumners of Texas, Agriculture by Fulmer of South Carolina. The list is far from complete but it will suffice to illustrate Hull's pivotal position in the Administration.

Beyond the President's political dependence on Congress there stretch the vastly complicated questions of his strategy vis-à-vis the electorate. They are questions which are beyond the scope of this article but they bear

on it in so far as they show the inevitability of the President's tacking and hauling before the winds of a country that could not make up its mind. If the dictates of public opinion go far to explain the President's indecision, however, they afford little justification for the conduct of the department. In the first place, the department stands in no such political relationship to the electorate. Its officials think of themselves, and are thought of, as experts. On the basis of their prestige they could have strengthened the President's hand in educating the country to the need for a firm stand against the fascist advance. They followed no such course. On the contrary, they weakened the President's hand at every turn. Far from opposing conciliation, they had constantly to be conciliated themselves—and to a certain degree they were in a position to command it. They were the President's experienced advisers. By the country at large the department has always been held a bit in awe, what with its fund of "confidential information," its general air of legitimate secrecy. It would not have helped Roosevelt's position with the country if so revered a figure as Hull or so skilled a technician as Welles had seen fit to break with the Administration on a question of policy. With the nation so bitterly divided on the issue of intervention, such a split in the highest reaches of the government might in fact have been fatal. In a sense, therefore, the President was as dependent on his advisers as they were dependent on him.

#### PERSONAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE

Even if the exigencies of politics had left it possible for the President to clean house in his State Department, it is extremely doubtful that he would have done so in any effective degree. Here again the question is not one of logic but of reality—this time the reality of the Roosevelt character. It is well known in Washington that the President finds it next to impossible to dismiss anyone. He has kept men in office long after it became clear to the country that they had nothing in common with his purposes and would not hesitate, in fact, to work against those purposes. As a personal trait, this loyalty may be an attractive aspect of the President's character. As an administrative quality it is a good deal less laudable. But whatever its merits, it is a fact.

When a fairly close personal relationship is involved, it becomes doubly hard for the President to act—and that happens to be the case with the leading figures of the State Department. Hull, besides being the President's ace with Congress and the lieutenant best equipped to keep the right wing of the party in line, is an old friend and a political supporter of long standing. Welles, besides having contributed generously to past campaigns, is one of the President's last remaining ties with the Groton-Harvard world of his youth. He enjoys the society of Welles—perhaps all the more because that world



has so bitterly denounced him as a traitor to his class—and a dinner at Oxon Hill is among his favorite diversions. Breckinridge Long commands an affectionate loyalty for years of consistent, if unintelligent, personal support, and further down in the department the protégés of Hull and Welles are assured the friendly interest of the White House.

The President does not play favorites, however, and among his closest friends are those who, like Bullitt and Davies, are for personal reasons at odds with the department hierarchs. Within his official family he stays on good terms with both sides in any controversy and cannot bring himself to alienate either. In his strong dislike for rows he will go far to bury issues and smooth over differences rather than make clear-cut decisions. He has had his fingers burned on the few occasions when he has interfered in the administration of the department and his reluctance to repeat the experience has been a source of weakness. The department finds it easy to appeal to his tendency toward procrastination, and while it may not be able to sell him much in the way of affirmative policy, it has often succeeded in selling him on caution and delay, which happen to be the chief ingredients of appeasement.

Those who urge a clean sweep of the department overlook one final reality, even more formidable than the President's personality, namely, the Civil Service and the department's own merit system. Even if this carefully worked-out scheme of job security, unassailable in principle, were not politically risky for any President to attack—and it is risky to an extreme degree—it would still be technically beyond his assault. The laws governing the operation of the department are Congressional statutes and only Congress can repeal or revise them.

#### THE ROOSEVELT SOLUTION

Despite all these political, personal, and administrative handicaps, it cannot be said that the President has allowed the department to run untrammelled. Aside from invoking his own considerable powers of persuasion, he has resorted to three devices of control. The first and most elementary is the simple act of anticipating his foreign experts with some move or pronouncement which leaves them no recourse but to follow—or at least to seek a compromise. Beside the quarantine speech—and more important—the destroyer deal with Britain may be put in this category. So may the stab-in-the-back speech against Mussolini and, above all, the Lend-Lease Act, probably the most vital legislation of the entire war crisis.

A less blatant device has been the quiet substitution of special emissaries for the routine service men in the case of particularly important or delicate missions. This practice is far from new but Roosevelt has probably carried it further than other presidents. To clear up the false impressions left by Ambassador Kennedy, to restore

decent working relations with the British, and simply to obtain reliable information, Harry Hopkins was sent to London, with instructions to get as close as possible to Prime Minister Churchill and learn the precise intentions of the British government. He did his job well and the President followed up by naming his Social Security Administrator, John G. Winant, as Ambassador. Hopkins was later sent on an informal mission to the Soviet Union; Lauchlin Currie, one of the President's six "anonymous" administrative assistants, performed a similar service in Chungking; and Colonel William J. Donovan was sent on an unofficial but highly important tour of the Balkans and the Near East. All of these special agents reported in confidence to the President and acted without benefit of the established State Department channels.

The third and most subtle of the Roosevelt checks on the department is also the most typical. Unwilling to replace major subordinates or to provoke open clashes, the President has quietly hedged the department about with new agencies designed to syphon off its powers. The first of these was the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, better known as the Rockefeller Committee, created to propagandize Latin America on behalf of the Good Neighbor Policy. The department bitterly resented this infringement of its natural jurisdiction and made its peace only when the two agencies united in opposing the Donovan Committee, which at one point threatened to enter the Latin American arena. Formally the Office of the Coordinator of Information, the Donovan agency was commissioned to assemble and analyze, for government use, information on foreign affairs obtained chiefly by short wave and, more important, to direct a counter-propaganda service. So lively was the scuffle between the COI and the department that at one point, according to Pearson and Allen, the Donovan agency sent electricians around to rip out the teletype machine by which the department was receiving news for a contemplated series of propaganda broadcasts of its own.

Even in the issuance of visas the department lost a measure of its control when the President set up a Board of Appeals, consisting of two members responsible to himself, to pass upon rejections of visa applications by lower boards. The Secretary of State still has the last word, but the chances of his overruling the Board of Appeals are slight.

Far beyond any of these trespasses on the department's estate are the powers that have been conferred on the Board of Economic Warfare, which now decides what products are to be exported and where they are to go, the very field of action in which the department for so long concentrated its appeasement strategies. The promulgation, in the spring of 1942, of Executive Order 9128, awarding these extraordinary powers to the board,



came like a thunderclap to the ears of department officials. Welles was indirectly reported—by Arthur Krock, who should know—to have been reduced to "anguish" by this transfer of "a fundamental foreign policy which it is the historic function of the State Department to formulate and conduct." And when Hull returned from a rest cure he is said to have blamed Welles and Duggan for their failure to head off the coup.

Even before the President endowed the BEW with these special powers it had been a thorn in the side of the department. Headed by Vice-President Wallace, it is concerned primarily with obtaining products necessary for the war effort and with using American economic and commercial power as a weapon against the Axis, particularly in Latin America. It believes in vigorous methods. To cite only one example, it urges use of American personnel to speed up the production and shipment of Brazilian rubber. The department, on the other hand, is essentially political. With a nervous concern for the Good Neighbor Policy, it is worried about Brazilian sensitivities and prefers leaving the job to Brazilians, even if that course entails long negotiations and delay. Both agencies obviously have a case, and both harry the President with appeals.

Obviously this device of piling up new agencies to circumscribe the powers of the old has its administrative

weaknesses. It is costly and where it does not produce a duplication of effort it provokes jurisdictional rows that are at least as unpleasant and disorganizing as the bitterness that would be caused by shake-ups in personnel. Nevertheless, it appears at times to offer the President the only way out of a difficult situation. In any event these shifts of jurisdiction must be looked upon as temporary expedients rather than institutional changes. The powers so quickly conferred on a new agency are just as quickly modified or revoked. It is the hope of the State Department that the BEW will never be allowed to use its paper powers in full, and that hope has already been partially justified. In arbitrating between the two agencies the President has tended to mollify the outraged department and to restore to it some of its traditional prerogatives. But his very position as umpire has strengthened his hand. The threat of rival agencies challenging its sacred jurisdictions has stirred the department out of its ancient lethargy and forced it, as the recent pronouncements of Hull and Welles have demonstrated, to speak the language of a people's war.

*[Problems and personalities of the State Department not discussed in this series will be treated in the author's forthcoming book, "The Riddle of the State Department," on which these articles have been based.]*

## Helicopters for Victory

BY HENRY HAZLITT

WE HAVE been telling ourselves now for three years that the Axis powers have won their victories by deceit, treachery, and ruthlessness, and by a numerical superiority in weapons created over a long period. It is all perfectly true. But there is another lesson, more difficult for us to learn, because less flattering to our vanity. The Axis powers have won their victories also by unified command of all services and by the imagination and audacity of their strategy. With few exceptions the strategy of the United Nations, when not actually bungling, has been timid and uninspired.

We have finally learned—from the Axis—the paramount importance of air power. But in the main we have learned only to imitate. The great innovations in air power—self-sealing tanks, troop strafing, large-scale troop transport, parachute troops, gliders—all had to be successfully demonstrated by the Axis first before the generals and admirals of the democracies could be brought to take them seriously. Is it not time that we seized the imaginative leadership?

No one can doubt that our military leaders and technicians are constantly working to increase airplane speed,

maneuverability, ceiling, range, armor, fire power, and the like. But are they applying the same ingenuity and persistence in the development of new forms of aircraft for uses of which present aircraft are incapable? As the war reaches a crisis, the need for one such new form becomes increasingly clear. This is a form of air power that does not require the use of airfields, runways, or catapults; that can land slowly and vertically without injury on any chosen point—field, street, housetop, ship deck, body of water—and ascend with the same ease. In addition it is desirable that such craft should fly slowly as well as fast and still maintain altitude.

This type of machine is not a mere inventor's dream. It is not a mere set of engineer's blueprints. It exists. It exists in the helicopter, impressive flights of which were made in April a year ago by the noted airplane designer, Igor Sikorsky. Mr. Sikorsky has been constantly improving his machine. You do not have to take his word regarding what it can do. He has shown colored motion pictures of its remarkable feats. In these you can see him rise vertically from land, water, and marsh. You can see him rise a foot or two above the water, skim over it



at this level, or hover stationary at the same level, and alight like a feather, without even a splash. You can see him circle around a lake, come to a dead stop in front of a dock, hover in the air at the height of a man's shoulder while a man on the dock hangs a suitcase on the helicopter; then you can see Mr. Sikorsky swing around the lake a few times with the suitcase hanging on, and stop dead again (in the air) in front of the dock, while the man lifts his suitcase off. You can see Sikorsky's helicopter come to a sudden stop in midair from a high speed. You can see the helicopter stop in midair at the height of a man's shoulder while an assistant takes hold of one of the wheels and pulls the machine with him, which is made to follow docilely by the man at the controls like a great floating camel.

Sikorsky also explains that the helicopter is extremely easy to fly. You could learn to fly it indoors, in a moderate-sized auditorium. It seems to be at least as easy to master as an automobile. A striking comparison suggests itself here. Suppose one had to *start* learning to drive an automobile at a minimum speed of sixty miles an hour? How many people would learn to drive automobiles? Yet this is the situation with regard to the airplane. But with a helicopter you can start as slowly as you like.

To anyone with the slightest imagination, all this should suggest an entirely new form of air power, with a range of possibilities in war hitherto undreamed of, waiting merely for us to develop and exploit. This can only be done quickly enough if the leaders of our army, navy, and air forces take an active interest and pool the ingenuity and technical skill of our aviation engineers and designers for that purpose.

Helicopters would have innumerable uses as a supplementary air arm, carrying out all sorts of tasks impossible for the orthodox airplane. They could be used for liaison and reconnaissance in the field under almost any conditions of land warfare. Light, short-range helicopters such as this country could turn out in great quantities without the extensive use of aluminum and other material needed for combat airplanes, could be used all along our coast line, at points where airfields are not available, to spot submarines. They might be much more useful than orthodox airplanes for this purpose because they could hover over a given point, and if necessary slow down their speed to that of a submarine itself. Heavier helicopters could be used from the decks of merchant ships to spot or bomb submarines. They might prove a far more useful anti-tank weapon than airplanes, because, though they can go faster than any tank, they can also slow down to the pace of any tank, and so make the target stationary in relation to themselves.

But the greatest advantage of helicopters, if we had them at this moment, might be in connection with an invasion of the Continent from England. At present the

British and Americans have a hard choice. Mere air bombardment is obviously not going to be enough. And it is enormously costly and wasteful in proportion to the military results that it achieves. From the humanitarian standpoint, night bombing destroys hundreds of homes and kills and maims thousands of civilians, in order to destroy also a few war factories; from a cold-blooded military standpoint, it represents an enormous waste of bombs that miss their intended mark. The only other choice today for supplementary attack is between a full-scale invasion and Commando raids. It is a closely guarded military secret whether or not we have the ships for a successful invasion. In any case there must be terrific losses in ships and men before a bridgehead could even be established. The alternative is hit-and-run raids limited to the immediate shoreline. The individual soldier must do his task in a few hours, return to a designated point on the shore, and hope to find a ship there waiting for him.

Contrast this with a helicopter invasion. Even at their present stage of development helicopters could be landed at points one or two hundred miles in from the French coast, beyond the elaborate shoreline protections. Men could land from them, plant their time bombs or dynamite precisely where they would do the most good, gather information directly or from the native population, supply subject populations with bombs and arms, take back recruits, seize German prisoners from among the occupying forces. If the invaders found themselves outnumbered, they could leave quickly at a hundred miles an hour. And the invaders could come in great numbers. Helicopters with relatively small horse-power motors could be turned out with the speed of automobiles. Those who fly them would require nothing like the elaborate training necessary for regular flyers.

It is true that the helicopter is in some ways not so efficient as the airplane. Let us say that with the same horse-power motor it can go only half the speed of the airplane, or only half the distance, or lift only half the weight. All this does not mean that it would not be extremely valuable in war: for *it can do what the orthodox airplane cannot do*. It is not proposed as a substitute for the airplane, but as a supplement to it. Sikorsky compares the relation of the helicopter to the plane with that of the automobile to the railroad. The railroad is far more efficient than the automobile in certain respects, particularly for carrying great weights over long distances. But the train has to go from one prepared terminal to another, while the family automobile can be parked in your backyard, can go anywhere, and can take you to or from your railroad. Just so the airplane and helicopter. The airplane must start from an extensive and elaborately prepared airfield in friendly territory; it is unable to land in enemy territory and to leave again. The helicopter does not need an airfield at either end.



But would not helicopters be vulnerable to pursuit airplanes, which can go faster and carry more fire power? They would be. So, for that matter, in varying degrees, are bombing planes, flying boats, transport planes, motor-torpedo boats, army trucks, motor-cycle troops, and infantry; but that is not a reason for dispensing with any of these. The helicopter, however, for invasion purposes, would be far less vulnerable than transport ships, invasion barges, or destroyers and cruisers. It is faster than anything that travels on land or sea. It could, therefore, evade hostile airplanes better than anything on land or sea; and, being individually small, it would make an unrewarding target. Helicopters could travel like a swarm of gnats, with the protection of their own fighter planes.

Though any effective weapon, once developed by either side, is taken over as soon as possible by the enemy, the element of surprise, of getting first into production, counts heavily and could play a determining role. Helicopters, moreover, are at least one weapon that

would be far more useful to the United Nations than to our enemies. American mass production could turn them out faster than the Axis. Used in connection with merchant ships they could protect the sea lanes, so much more important to us than to the Axis. A final reason for their superior usefulness to us lies in the very character of the war. Throughout the lands conquered and occupied by the Axis powers there is seething discontent. All these peoples, forced by their conquerors to produce weapons and supplies against us, are our potential and moral allies and need only to be turned into real allies. Think what the United Nations could accomplish today with helicopter raids in Norway, Holland, Belgium, occupied France, Yugoslavia, or in the conquered sections of Russia and China! They could establish contact with and supply arms to guerrilla fighters like those under General Mikhailovitch in Yugoslavia. They could establish so many nests of resistance that the Nazi task would become impossible. If we use air power imaginatively and boldly, we may enormously shorten the war.

## *Keep Them Out!*

### VI. CLARE E. HOFFMAN OF MICHIGAN

BY WILL CHASAN AND ESTHER JACK

CONGRESSMAN CLARE E. HOFFMAN has a grievance. Last April a federal prosecutor asked him to explain the distribution by American fascists of copies of his isolationist speeches in envelopes bearing his Congressional frank. Hoffman's reply, belated from the floor of the House, was that he was being made the target of a "smear campaign." The federal prosecutor, he shouted, "is making ammunition for a campaign. He's a smear artist."

Actually any attempt to "smear" the gentleman from Allegan, Michigan, would be an exercise in futility. A crabbed, small-town Republican lawyer with a dour face and a vigilante spirit, he has been described, among other things, as "scurrilous," "berserk," and "a one-man lynch mob." His voting record in Congress during the past eight years makes Hamilton Fish look like an interventionist by comparison, and Eugene Cox like a New Dealer. In addition, he has earned the ugly distinction of being the most vituperative man in the House. "Get some more men like Hoffman into Congress," one of his colleagues observed recently, "and our democratic process will simply break down."

Hoffman first achieved national prominence through his violent hostility to the New Deal and organized labor. A member of the extreme Tory wing from his

first day in Congress, he was one of the thirty-three House members who voted against the Social Security Act. He opposed slum-clearance and low-cost housing, and fought bitterly against the Wage-Hour Law and National Labor Relations Act. He has kept up a drumming attack on the National Labor Relations Board, commonly referring to it as "this wrecker of business, this creator of unemployment, this conspiring and arrogant NLRB, which has assumed to itself powers never given it by Congress." The Senate Civil Liberties Committee's disclosure of illegal anti-labor practices by American industry so incensed him that he called the committee's chairman, Senator Robert LaFollette, a "disgrace to the Senate, a stench in the nostrils of all true Americans."

Both in and out of Congress, Hoffman has advocated mob violence against the C. I. O. During the "Little Steel" strike, he wired to Mayor Daniel A. Knaggs of Monroe, Michigan, where one of the struck plants was located, that he was ready to march to the aid of the city with a group of "reliable" and "well-armed" citizens. He wired to his secretary at Allegan, Miss Lelia Boyce, instructing her to make preparations for his expeditionary force, telling her specifically to have his son Carl "locate 200 rounds of 12-gauge No. 1 chilled"



shot and "100 rounds of 30-30 automatic." He delivered an inflammatory speech against the C. I. O. at Johnstown, Pennsylvania, when the notorious "Citizens Committee," sanctioned by Mayor Shields, was "restoring law and order" with funds supplied by Bethlehem Steel. Hoffman was so impressed by the city's strike-breaking activities that he said, "What we need in the White House is a man with the capacity of Mayor Shields." Hoffman's presidential candidate, it turned

out, was an ex-bootlegger who had served a prison term for tampering with evidence in a prohibition case.

Hoffman's most blatant appeal for mob violence was contained in a speech to the House last year. If strikes continue, he said, "we shall inevitably see a situation where either the law-abiding citizens will insist upon public officials performing their duty even though it means bloodshed, or will do as



Clare E. Hoffman

was done in the early days in the West—take the law into their own hands. . . . If nothing else will end the lawlessness there is the possibility of a rope, a noose at the end, and a convenient lamppost."

Hoffman's animus against the New Deal often has expressed itself in personal attacks on President Roosevelt. He has charged the President with hypocrisy, with obtaining his election through fraud, with being a tyrant, with unethically making money out of the Presidency, and with "deliberately and wickedly, with the aid of the Communists, preaching their anti-religious doctrine, the destruction of this government by force." On July 9, 1940, he rhetorically asked the House, "Who is Franklin D. Roosevelt that he should characterize the action of anyone as a stab in the back, as he charged was the recent action of Italy? From the beginning of his Administration down to the present moment, the President has himself been stabbing in the back, not only his political friends but our form of government." On another occasion he described the President as a "crazy, conceited megalomaniac."

Hoffman obviously believes in personal abuse as a political weapon. In a letter to some of his colleagues two years ago, he suggested that if five or six of them took the floor each day to "bawl hell" out of the President "we can accomplish our purpose," i. e., the defeat of Roosevelt at the polls. Hoffman's vulgar and venomous criticism of the President, made from the House floor, where the libel laws cannot touch him, are

typical of his personal attacks on other New Dealers. He has called Harold Ickes a dung-cart, and insinuated that Frances Perkins was not reporting her income properly on tax returns. He often attributes financial greed to his opponents. During the foreign policy debate, he proposed a 35 per cent decrease in congressional salaries, saying, "I venture the prediction that if we pass a law taking 35 per cent of the salary of congressmen during the duration of the emergency, there will be at least a 50 per cent drop in congressional oratory on the necessity for war."

In contrast to all this venom, Hoffman's attitude toward the Axis powers has been surprisingly mild. He has taxed Roosevelt with "shattering the world's neighborliness," criticized the Administration for "provoking" Japan, and warned it against "incurring the ill will of the German rulers." After all, he said in a House debate on the Lease-Lend Act, "many of us doubt that Germany wants more than has been asked down through the ages by every people, by every nation, which has found itself with territory too small to contain its increasing millions or with men capable of fighting not needed in peaceful pursuits and with a leadership at once efficient and ambitious."

This unashamed justification of Nazi aggression accounts for Hoffman's opposition to New Deal foreign policy. He voted and actively campaigned against the fortification of Guam, revision of the Neutrality Act, Lend-Lease and the appropriation bills that went with it, the ship-seizure bill, conscription, extension of the draft period, and the arming of merchant ships. In opposition to each of these, he repeated the stock fascist arguments, and his speeches frequently were reprinted in the American fascist press. Almost every one of the papers recently banned from the mails for seditious utterances at one time or another published Hoffman's speeches.

The Michigan Congressman's relations with fascists and fascist groups extended further. As the District of Columbia grand jury disclosed, he placed his franking privilege at the disposal of William Kullgren, editor of the pro-Nazi *Beacon Light*. He inserted speeches by Gerald L. K. Smith in the *Congressional Record*, presented Smith's petitions for the continuation of the Dies Committee, and wrote to *Social Justice* that "no politician or group of politicians, no international bankers or group of bankers, or money changers or war profiteers are going to force us into this war." Hoffman's Washington office was a rallying point for visiting fascists. Elizabeth Dilling wrote, after she and one of the Coughlinite "mothers'" groups had descended on Washington for some unmotherly hell-raising, that he had given them a "fine welcome" and had invited them into his office. Hoffman was the unofficial spokesman for the "impeach Roosevelt" drive, and American fascist newspapers advised their readers to go to Washington, call



on Hoffman, and demand Roosevelt's impeachment.

The Michigan "statesman," as Gerald Smith's *Cross and the Flag* describes Hoffman, was not jolted out of his antagonism to the war effort by Pearl Harbor. In the past eight months he often has derided our allies, but rarely our enemies. Last February he told the House, "I am beginning to wonder whether we are fighting to preserve our land, our nation, or whether we are fighting for the preservation of the British Empire." Previously he had asserted that the United States was sending "suicide squads" to England for attacks against the Continent, in which Churchill had refused to sacrifice British soldiers. He suggested, perhaps significantly, that it would be better to deploy our men and planes against Japan. It will matter little, he declared on another occasion, "whether Hitler gets us and skins us from the top down, or whether our ally, Joe Stalin, gets us and skins us from the heels up."

His criticism of the Administration has grown in intensity. He has accused Roosevelt of not caring as much about winning the war as about keeping the good will of the labor leaders. "The Administration," he says, "is still—in wartime—paying its debts to the labor politicians." Although Hoffman occasionally professes to be concerned with the progress of our war program, he has tried to block most Administration measures for the prosecution of the war. He has denounced Leon Henderson and his Office of Price Administration because they "would make slaves of the farmers, compelling them to cultivate the soil with a wooden plow and second-hand hoe, and to market their products either by mule or horse-drawn vehicle, wheel-barrow or on their backs. He would put all those engaged in the motor industry out of business." He has attacked Donald Nelson's labor-management committee plan as an effort by the Administration "joined with certain labor leaders, to force the management of our industrial plants to turn over their property, the property of their stockholders, to the tender mercies of the labor leaders."

Hoffman's post-Pearl Harbor record has been so damning that Michigan's Fourth Congressional District, in which he has been firmly entrenched, partly because it is blanketed by the Chicago *Tribune*, may turn against him. For the first time since his election in 1934, he will face a strong opponent in the Republican primaries. J. T. Hammond, a liberal Republican state senator, whose legislative district covers 45 per cent of the Fourth Congressional District, has announced his candidacy. Hammond, who ran ahead of Hoffman in the last election, will have the support of A. F. of L. and C. I. O. unions, and of important Republican groups which are tired of being represented by the Allegan isolationist.

The Hoffman camp, moreover, has suffered serious losses. *Social Justice*, which called Hoffman a "good American," has ceased publication. Elizabeth Dilling,

who early this year told American patriots to thank God for Hoffman's "integrity and courage," is busy preparing for her sedition trial. William Dudley Pelley, who praised Hoffman as a "fighting patriot," is in an Indiana jail awaiting sentence for the same crime. Possibly Hoffman may win without these ardent supporters, but not if his opponents do an effective job of getting his record before the voters.

## In the Wind

GERALD L. K. SMITH, whose Bible-thumping is so much a part of his politics that he calls his magazine the *Cross and the Flag*, wrote and published an article in the July issue entitled "Crucifixion [*sic*] Cannot Kill."

ADD PATRIOTIC CELEBRATIONS: National Donut Week, to be held in October, will be especially significant this year, says the Donut Institute, because "October marks the 25th anniversary of the making of the first donut by Salvation Army lassies in France in World War I . . . the traditional association of Doughboys and Donuts . . . and today's war background."

ALTHOUGH THE BEATING of Roland Hayes by city police in Rome, Ga., received a good deal of newspaper attention throughout the country, not one word about it appeared in the Rome *News-Tribune*, the only local paper.

THE HEAD of a personal-finance company in a Massachusetts city has quit the business since the issuance of the Federal Reserve order restricting the operations of such firms. He says that he has closed up shop not because government regulations cut down his profits but because he always knew he was in a dirty business and was glad of an excuse to leave it.

REVERSING ITS OWN previous ruling, the Federal Works Agency has decided that parochial schools are entitled to receive public works grants for improvements and maintenance. Hitherto such schools have been regarded as private institutions and therefore ineligible to participate in the public works program. The issue has always been a sore point with those who see a danger in any weakening of the traditional American separation of church and state.

ONE OF THE MANY well-intentioned newsletters on war and peace problems that have sprung up in the last few years is called *World Community*, published in Lyndhurst, New Jersey. It is currently serializing a long essay on socialism as an answer to war by Henry De Man, the Belgian radical who has become a Nazi labor *Gauleiter*.

[The \$5 prize for the best item received in July goes to Richard Milton of Rowayton, Conn., for his story on Westbrook Pegler's meeting with James C. Petrillo, published July 18.]



# BOOKS *and the* ARTS

## Peacock

BY LOUIS KRONENBERGER

IT IS to Peacock's credit that he has never flared up into sudden fashionableness or become the idol of a raptly worshipful clan. To be sure, the kind of people who take pleasure in Peacock are exactly the kind who have a horror of cults. But the witty little novels go on being read, I suspect, far oftener than they are written about; which is as it should be, since there is not very much to write. One writes what one does chiefly to discharge a debt—as a kind of bread-and-butter letter. There is little to analyze or elucidate. His shortcomings are so palpable that we court his ghostly laughter simply by venturing to enumerate them; while the virtues are more palpable still.

Somebody has said that for Peacock the world was a salon—which puts in picturesque form what everybody has felt. All but one of his best novels—and I am only concerned with the best novels—bring people together, under one hospitable roof and usually round one Lucullan dinner table, to talk. Since they are cultivated and highly articulate people, they would seem to provide the materials for a symposium. That they do not, that they provide the materials for a farce, lies in the fact that each one, however cultivated, however articulate, is something of a maniac. Each has an obsession—a strident panacea, a gnawing *bête noire*. One character is convinced that everything in life tends toward progress, another that it tends toward decay; a third reduces everything to inoculation, a fourth to the work of the devil, a fifth to fish. One man's mania is German philosophy, another's is life in the twelfth century, still another's is "the march of mind." The host, generally more rational and always more colorless than his guests, has yet his mania too—that of collecting maniacs.

Peacock's formula is so simple, his efforts to disguise it are so half-hearted—who thinks twice about the insipid romances or trumped-up escapades that adorn his stories?—that one would imagine his mockery to be soon played out. Wherein does "Nightmare Abbey" differ from "Headlong Hall" except that it is more skilful, or "Crotchet Castle" from "Nightmare Abbey" except that it is more mature? The answer, of course, is that the formula is successful just because it is so simple—folly, absurdity, mania spring from it fully formed, and all they need is to be properly clothed. And with each new production Peacock clothed them in brighter colors—the wit sharpened, the satire toughened, the manias grew more lustrous. With each new production the talkers became funnier and their talk more flashing.

Judged mechanically as "novels," these little books are very limited affairs indeed. But it shows hardly more sense than it does humor to judge them so. The minute we damn Peacock's characters as one-dimensional, we have missed the point about them. They are eccentric, off balance, single-track; and their "reality" lies solely in their intensesness. What human traits they possess, such as a love for wine or

a susceptibility to romance, are merely human—characteristic, not characterizing. Peacock's real triumph is to make his people interesting *without* making them human; to endow them, as well as impale them, with wit; to make them so learned, ingenious, energetic, and quick that they expend more vitality on a single obsession than most people do on a wide variety of interests. Some of them, modeled on Shelley, Coleridge, Byron, Brougham, are creatures of caricature; some are objects of satire or victims of irony; but they all wind up as creatures of farce. In his audacious flouting of realism, in the gravity with which he handles the absurd, Peacock is always creating a world of farce, a world of dialectical farce. His "people who talk nonsense logically" are but the highbrow cousins of people who act out nonsense logically—which is what people in ordinary farce are doing.

Again, it is all too true that Peacock is very deficient in plot; and this, unlike his trick of characterization, is a more positive fault. For he does, however grudgingly, attempt to rig something up in the way of story: to bring mysterious strangers on the scene, or develop a wildly romantic love affair, or—as with the Shelleyan Scythorp of "Nightmare Abbey"—to involve a desperate hero with two women at once. But so indifferent is he to building up suspense, so willing to reveal what he pretends to be hiding, so given to hackneyed and highfalutin situations, that it would almost seem as if his plots, too, were conceived as burlesque. In their own right they are duds, but they do contribute something to the farcical atmosphere.

For it is the simplicity of Peacock's method, the light framework, the manageable proportions, that enable him to explore eccentricity without becoming eccentric, and to be erudite in his trifling without being obscure. If we compare a novel of Peacock's with, say, a novel of Aldous Huxley's, we at first decide that in a simpler age even the sophistication was simpler. But we at length conclude that he had the rapid swoop, and the sharp focus, of the unadulterated comic writer: he worked on a single plane, and so achieved a single effect. His romantic touches provide the atmosphere that suited, not him, but his intentions; though they can pass at times for poetry, they exist for satire. Peacock himself was not romantic; he had much more in common with the eighteenth century that gave him birth than with the nineteenth in which he grew up and grew old. From the eighteenth he inherited Reason, in its most Voltairean sense, and he used it to run a rapier through the new era's groping intellectualism. He inherited Enlightenment, which, though less enveloping than those who wore its mantle supposed, was perhaps more waterproof than the newer garment called Progress. In the end, however, we see chiefly a skeptical mind having its sport with dogmatic ideas. Peacock's satire is almost always aimed at theories, beliefs, opinions, philosophies of life—ranging from Rousseau and Kant to the wildest drivel; very seldom at human feeling and human character. It is in this sense that he is really limited, that he lacks fulness and mystery and something that can



only be called passion. There are no knaves to go along with his fools; no sins to vary, or even flavor, the silliness; his people have no secrets worth discovering; only the mind is made comic, never the body. (Who ever created so many grotesque characters without bothering to say what any of them looked like?) And a world, even a farce world, that ignores the human heart is too incomplete for a full-fledged novel. But since there are a dozen good novelists for every writer like Peacock, his gifts are perhaps the more valuable, not the less, for being so special.

As a satirist he is special too, since he was in no sense a reformer. He has none of the moral heat or personal anger that animates a whole line of English satirists from Swift to Aldous Huxley, but neither has he the qualities that finally frustrate them. Peacock quite lacked Swift's desire to "make sin and folly bleed"; he had no interest in sin, and he preferred to let folly blow itself up till it burst. If he provides a moral, it concerns outlook, not conduct. Against mania in others he sets up his own belief in moderation; and such things as are said to make the angels weep merely moved Peacock to laughter.

Yet though no reformer, Peacock is not a cynic. If he refused to compromise his comic vision with any squinting expressions of earnestness, if he was, at bottom, no more of a Shaw than a Swift—and the point is important, because Peacock has certain resemblances to Shaw—he had a sound enough sense of values. He may merely have looked on at things, but the very image is proof that he did not turn his back. He belongs, in his own period, with the liberals. In one way or another, he said a good deal about the social and economic ills of his time. It is not for such things that we are persuaded to read Peacock now; but at least they are there.

What we read him for are what people have always read him for: his comic gifts, as they provide not profit but pleasure; the skill rather than the pertinence of his satire; the abounding wit; the polished style. The style, which as narrative and dialogue alike keeps a formal tone—partly from its indebtedness to eighteenth-century traditions, partly from its satiric exhibits of pompous learning—is, above everything else, compact. But it is rapid too, considering the retardations imposed by its wit, and easy, considering the weightiness of its language. Peacock is forever parodying the polysyllabic jargon of philosophy and science, but in his own right, too, he half-humorously admits a good many odd and learned words into his prose. The novels are a forest of Latinity, with an undergrowth of Greek; something like "digladiation" or "excubant" crops up on every page.

The wit, to which one is bound to return in writing of Peacock, and with which one could not better conclude, is plainly the best thing about him. Sometimes it characterizes: "He was an excellent sportsman, and almost always killed his game; but now and then he killed his dog." Sometimes it criticizes: "The state of the public charities, sir, is exceedingly simple. There are none. The charities here are all private, and so private, that I for one know nothing of them." Sometimes it pulverizes:

"Allow me," said Mr. Gall. "I distinguish the picturesque and the beautiful, and I add to them, in the laying

out of grounds, a third and distinct character, which I call *unexpectedness*."

"Pray, sir," said Mr. Milestone, "by what name do you distinguish this character, when a person walks round the grounds for the second time?"

But the wit comes off best in longer and more sustained passages: in, say, the cutting description of the Coleridge-like Flosky, or in the massive utterances of the drunken Seithenyn, the key figure of that novel of Peacock's which stands rather apart from his other successes—the mythical "Misfortunes of Elphin."

## Three Personal Histories

*NO RETREAT.* By Anna Rauschnig. The Bobbs-Merrill Company. \$2.75.

*FOUR YEARS OF NAZI TORTURE.* By Ernst Winkler. D. Appleton-Century Company. \$2.50.

*THE BEASTS OF THE EARTH.* By George M. Karst. Albert Unger Publishing Company. \$2.50.

A MAN is known by the enemies he makes. The Nazis probably enjoy the distinction of having made the widest variety of enemies ever bagged by a single political movement. The trio whose books are reviewed here consists of two Catholics and a Protestant; two Germans and an Austrian; one soldier, one journalist, and one *Hausfrau*. Not one of them was a revolutionary. All were devout Christians. Only one had any strong political convictions prior to his clash with the Nazis.

Both Winkler and Karst—these names are of course assumed—were inmates of Nazi concentration camps, and their books are straightforward and completely convincing accounts of the horrors which they and their fellow-prisoners suffered there. Winkler was arrested because of his activities in the Catholic youth movement, which had been forced underground shortly before he undertook his duties. The reason for Karst's arrest remains a mystery, as does everything about his previous activities. We gather from the preface that he was a Viennese journalist and a Catholic.

Oddly enough, Winkler, the soldier, tells a far better story than Karst, the journalist. Karst is obviously hampered by the necessity of suppressing any information which might reveal his identity, for the protection, presumably, of those whom he has left behind in Vienna. Winkler, on the other hand, gives freely of himself as well as of his experiences, with an instinct for the truths that are stranger than fiction which any journalist might envy. Born of a military family and reared as a devout Catholic, he became an army officer as a matter of course. The conflict between his military traditions and his religious convictions had its crisis when Hitler came to power. Convinced that he could not serve God and Hitler, Winkler resigned his commission, and took the road which led to the concentration camp.

His fortitude under the unspeakable Nazi tortures reveals that Christian heroism still lives. His sympathy with the Jewish prisoners, his friendship with Niemöller, transcending sectarian boundaries, his sense of the dignity of man, never explicitly stated but implicit in his attitude toward his Nazi masters and his fellow-prisoners—all these are eloquent of



the fact that a man's religion can be something more to him than a badge of respectability or a passport to a country club.

When the Nazis came to power, Winkler instantly recognized them as enemies, and made his decision at once. Anna Rauschnig, on the other hand, spent years in trying to work out some way of living at peace with them and with herself as well. Her husband has already described the political currents through which the Rauschnigs attempted to steer a delicate course: her own story is chiefly concerned with her struggle to shield her children from the moral degradation of the Nazi new order.

In 1929 the Rauschnigs bought Warnau, an estate in the vicinity of Danzig, and set to work at farming. They hoped to root their young family in the soil. But the fates had other plans for Rauschnig, and in 1933 he was offered and accepted a high office in the new pro-Nazi regime in Danzig. Gradually the sinister outside world closed in upon them. It was not possible for them to keep their son at home indefinitely in the care of tutors of their own choosing; they had to send him to school, where he was taught not to obey his parents and not to believe in God. In time it became impossible for their daughters to remain aloof from the Hitler *Mädchenbund*, where the "coarse and uneducated daughter" of a local farmer presided. The Rauschnig girls were horrified by the prescribed lessons in "biology" given by this Bund leader, lessons whose chief object, it seemed, was the production of "state" babies.

Frau Rauschnig became frantic. Yet she had no need of her husband's warnings that to remain aloof was dangerous. An uncomfortable feeling that her cook was spying upon her hardened into certainty. Eventually Frau Rauschnig discovered that her children's governess, for years a trusted member of her household, was an informer, reporting her intimate conversations with her daughters. At such moments one is moved to deep sympathy with her struggle against forces too huge for her puny yardstick to measure, and too sinister for her *Hausfrau's* mind to grasp.

Like them, Anna Rauschnig could recognize the enemy for what he was only when he trained his guns on her own home and children. It is to be feared that her judgment is bounded by the same narrow horizon when she estimates the virtues of her friends. Grateful for asylum in this country, she dedicates her book "To the United States of America, which has opened its arms to the lost children of the world"!

BETSY HUTCHISON

## Materialism and Democracy

A GENERATION OF MATERIALISM, 1871-1900. By Carlton J. H. Hayes. Harper and Brothers. \$3.75.

AMONG groups opposed to fascism the trend to a metaphysical reaction against the "materialism" of democracy is growing. Such groups hold "materialism" responsible for the crisis of the old order and urge the return to an "idealism," philosophical and religious, against which modern civilization had to fight to make its way. One group blames everything on Marx and Darwin; another belabors the "economic man," who despite his limitations brought a large measure of democracy and freedom while the "political man" of totalitarian statism limits or destroys them; a third calls for an absolute "spiritual authority" within whose tight embrace we shall live happily forevermore. Professor Hayes's book is a synthetic expression of all these views.

As a history of Europe from 1871 to 1900 this book is stimulating and suggestive. Professor Hayes, one of our able, civilized historians, finds his way easily among the sources and piles fact upon fact to make a living picture. Two chapters alone are worth the price of admission—Resurgence of Economic Nationalism and National Imperialism, and Seed-Time of Totalitarian Nationalism. In these chapters you feel democracy moving toward disaster. Revolutionary democratic nationalism is transformed into reactionary economic nationalism; upper-class liberals become conservative and reactionary; democracy fails to use economic forces in the service of welfare and allows them to become increasingly twisted in the service of militarism and imperialism; political conflicts multiply, and as one inflamed nationalism and imperialism clashes with another, a pathological craving for violence grows; racial myths and anti-Semitism are exploited to provide an ideological sanction for reaction. All social forces, including Marxism, labor unionism, and reform, converge to aggrandize the state power, to bring a cult of state worship. Nor is it simply the expression of the interests of one class but a general social and intellectual trend toward statism, which primarily characterizes the power-drives of "élites" from all classes. Hayes conveys an overwhelming impression of the growing economic, political, and intellectual malaise that brought World War I and its aftermath of totalitarian statism.

Yet there is no true understanding in this book of what happened and what to do about it. The reason is simple: this is a tract for the times that offers ready-made prescription for our ills. The prescription did not shape up as the book was written; the book was written to prove the prescription. Professor Hayes calls imperialism and statism the "fruition of liberalism"; he minimizes the new liberal forces opposed to the reactionary transformation and ignores the constructive economic forces and the democratic procedures and values out of which a new free world might be built. Materialism, according to Professor Hayes, is the devil in the piece. And what is materialism? Professor Hayes says much about later scientific work that exploded the mechanical materialism of the nineteenth century. But that is not his dominant idea. He condemns materialism as "a frankly this-worldly pragmatism." He belabors "scientific materialism" on one major point where it was right, in making life "a

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long series of *purely natural* steps." It is all an apology for churchism in its Catholic manifestation (whose anti-democratic support of feudal reaction is neglected). Statism is not wrong because it limits and destroys democracy, but because it "put the national state in place of the church as the cement of human society and as the intermediary between man and his salvation." The disunity of Europe came from its repudiation of the universal authority of the Roman church.

From Professor Hayes's analysis it seems that totalitarianism is a result of the "materialism" of democracy, social reform, and welfare! Yet fascism, too, rejects the "materialism" of democracy in favor of final authority and values. In an address he made before going to his post as American ambassador in Madrid, Professor Hayes attacked "pagan totalitarianism." Is, then, "Christian" totalitarianism all right? Franco is supported and blessed by the church hierarchy in Spain, while the hierarchy in Italy made its peace with Mussolini.

Professor Hayes insists that "ultimate truth cannot be arrived at by methods of experimental science." True, for there is no ultimate truth. But neither has ultimate truth been revealed to the church. Neo-Thomists disingenuously argue that no conflict can arise between the church and science, since "true" science must necessarily be in harmony with truth revealed to the church! It is no accident that Neo-Thomism strengthens totalitarian intellectual trends, for the claim to final truth and universal religious authority is totalitarian. It is no accident that some Neo-Thomists—e. g. Jacques Maritain—are not too excited about totalitarianism, for they feel it may bring a revival of the church's universal supremacy. They make the same mistake that big business and communism made in Germany: "We come after fascism." Religion can flourish as a human moral force only in a democracy, where it is one of many cultural institutions.

Fascism is a catastrophe for civilization. Let us beware lest, in an effort to promote cherished dogmas, we strengthen and promote ideas that may strengthen fascism or bring totalitarianism in other forms. Let us look into the real world and among all men of good will for the forces and action of humanist democracy and freedom. The messianic approach, whether conservative or radical, religious or political, is dangerous. For it is not true that *our* faith *must* conquer or that it alone offers salvation to man.

LEWIS COREY

## Poets and Scholars

*PRINCETON VERSE BETWEEN TWO WARS: AN ANTHOLOGY.* Edited by Allen Tate. Princeton University Press. \$2.50.

**B**ETWEEN 1916 and 1925 three volumes of Princeton verses were published. In those three volumes appeared the work of many men who have gained distinction in the field of letters, though not usually as poets: Edmund Wilson, John Peale Bishop, Raymond Holden, R. P. Tristram Coffin, F. Scott Fitzgerald, T. K. Whipple, and Henry Chapin. In the present collection appears work by eleven men who are now undergraduate students at Princeton and by twenty-five men who have been, at one time or another, undergraduate or graduate students there. Certainly very few of these

eleven undergraduates will become known as poets. A few of the more mature contributors, such as Theodore Spencer, Philip Horton, and A. Fleming MacLiesh, have already made some reputation as poets; most of them have already committed themselves to other occupations. But these considerations, like the fact that only a few of the contributors to the earlier anthologies are now known as poets, do not materially affect the significance of "Princeton Verse Between Two Wars."

The collection is significant as a symptom of a tendency to bring the arts, as practiced, and not merely as a subject for scholarship, into closer contact with the academic world. No doubt this tendency, which can be observed in several colleges and universities, has its dangers: there is the danger that scholarship may be infected with dilettantism and that the arts may be infected with academicism and snobbery. But these dangers seem trivial in comparison with the potential gains. The teaching of literature, for instance, could well profit by a fuller understanding of the nature and vital processes of literature. And contemporary writing could well profit, in intellectual depth and technical range, by a more intimate contact with the literature of the past. It is possible that such a tendency may help to raise both artistic and academic standards. It is sometimes said that the true poet or fiction writer and the true scholar can take care of themselves. In one sense this is perfectly right. But the writer or professor is not, after all, working in a vacuum; he is part of a society, and in so far as that society can be made aware of the values both of the arts and of scholarship, and of the relationship between those values, each will profit.

Even if it contained no very good poems, the collection would still be interesting as a symptom. But there are a number of very good poems in the book, and a large amount of skilful and intelligent verse. In this connection it is particularly satisfying to observe the high level of the work by contributors who are still students. Even if none of these eleven young men becomes a poet, it can still be said that poetry is alive in the academic community of which, at present, they are members.

ROBERT PENN WARREN

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## The NATION'S

### New Literary Page

Louis Kronenberger's comment on Thomas Peacock in the present issue, is the second of the informal commentaries on reading and writing which are to be a regular bi-weekly feature. Future contributors will include Lionel Trilling, Irwin Edman, Joseph Wood Krutch, Louise Bogan, Mark Van Doren, Jacques Barzun, James Thurber, and others. . . .



## MUSIC

MERELY to use words in metrical patterns, or paints in coherent forms, or musical sounds in coherent progressions—is something which not everyone can do, something which requires specific ability or talent. This is not to say the talent is rare; on the contrary, it is common: a large number of people have this facility with words, paints, or sounds. But only a few produce valuable poetry, painting, or music; for this requires more than mere articulateness in an artistic medium. Involved with this articulateness, operating through it, crystallized in the completed form are the artist's personal resources—what he is in character, mind, feeling, what he has lived through, what his experience has done to him and for him, what understanding and insight it has given him. They give his work of art its meaning, its character, its style; and where these impress us as important or great it is because the articulateness in the medium relates itself, in the artist, to an inner core of important or great qualities, emotions, insights—an inner core which governs the flow of words, paints, or sounds, eliminates what is superfluous, what is imitative or derivative, and produces a style, a form, a content which are concentratedly, homogeneously individual.

The mere existence of Shostakovich's Seventh Symphony is evidence of talent: most of us could not produce an hour and a quarter of symphonic music, or even the first minute. Shostakovich is able to make sounds follow sounds the first minute, the second minute, and every succeeding minute to the seventy-fifth; he is able to produce sounds for every requirement of structure and meaning—every theme, every manipulation, every transition, every climax, every detail of expressive content—of an hour-and-a-quarter-long symphony concerned with the struggle and final victory of humanity over barbarism; he is able to produce sounds that are now in this style, now in that, orchestrated now this way, now that, now loud, now soft, fast, slow, excited, calm, boldly assertive, quietly introspective, dramatic, lyric, ironic, pastoral, historical-pastoral, tragical-historical, and in the end Soviet Russian affirmative-triumphant.

But the music that is all these is derivative, eclectic: one hears the con-

ventional pastoral style of the past two centuries; one hears this style melodically and harmonically distorted in the manner of Shostakovich—which is derived from Prokofiev; one hears a long crescendo of repetitions of one theme in the manner of Ravel's "Bolero," including the unceasing snare-drum; among the other things one hears even—surprisingly—a passage for strings in the manner of Sibelius. The music also is diffuse, saying everything at enormously expanded length; it is as pretentious in style as in length; and what it says so pretentiously is feeble, inane, banal. Pretentiousness leaps out at one from that long crescendo of repetitions of one theme—the pretentiousness of the conception, the intention, of the inane theme itself, of the unresourceful, crude, blatant variations in accompanying figuration and orchestration that are devised for the repetitions, of the noise that is resorted to at the end. And these qualities of the music represent the personal resources that are involved with Shostakovich's articulateness in his medium.

One notes, however, that the pretentious banalities, the grandiloquent fervors and affirmations are of the sort to impress an unsophisticated mass audience; that the constant shifting from one striking idea, style, figuration, instrumental combination to another—now pastoral oboe over strings, now this pastoral style melodically and harmonically distorted, now dissonant noise, now a solo bassoon, now a long crescendo of repetitions of one theme, now portentously plucking basses, now a combination of trumpet, harp, and contrabassoon—is a way of catching this audience's ear each time that it is about to be lost. One notes, in short, that the symphony represents not only Shostakovich's resources but the ideas which govern musical composition in Russia.

Shostakovich himself has contended that "there can be no music without ideology. The old composers, whether they knew it or not, were upholding a political theory. Most of them, of course, were bolstering the rule of the upper classes. Only Beethoven was a forerunner of the revolutionary movement . . . [who] wished to give new ideas to the public and rouse it to revolt against its masters." His own end as a Soviet composer is "to contribute . . . toward the growth of our remarkable country"; to write music expressive of the conception of "our epoch as something heroic, spirited, and joyous,"

music which "lifts and heartens and lightens people for work and effort," music which these people can understand, and which he therefore endeavors to make "simple and expressive." And a Soviet critic, Grigori Schneerson, has described the Soviet composer as one who "plunges into the social currents swirling round him" and responds to "the demands of the wide masses of people, their artistic tastes" by speaking to them "in a new, powerful, and intelligible language." The democratization of music in Russia would, then, have this effect if Beethoven were living there today: not that the masses would be given the privilege of hearing the last quartets in which Beethoven expressed mystical states of inner illumination and superearthly exaltation, but that he would be made to write on the level of emotion and language of the masses. What it has meant in Shostakovich's case is that grandiloquently banal affirmations have been added to the distorted grimacings and grotesqueries of his own inclination.

Actually Mozart's G minor Symphony did not bolster the Hapsburg monarchy and Beethoven's last quartets did not undermine it; these works neither upheld nor attacked any political theory; they did not originate in any external events. Mozart and Beethoven wrote from internal compulsions; they expressed their own unique personal emotions and insights in their own unique languages and styles; they wrote for the listener with educated sensitivities who would be able to understand them. All this may condemn them in Russian eyes almost as much as if they had written to bolster the Hapsburg monarchy; but it produced the G minor Symphony and the last quartets; whereas if Mozart and Beethoven had written in a way that satisfied the Russians they would have produced works like Beethoven's notorious "Battle" Symphony.

And on the other hand Shostakovich can turn from the battlefield straight to his pen and music paper; he can produce an hour-and-a-quarter-long symphony that expresses, in terms which the Russian masses understand, the struggle and final victory of humanity over barbarism as they imagine and feel it; his symphony can move listeners in other countries by its associations with events in which their emotions are involved; but what plays on their emotions about the sufferings and heroism of the Russian people is an excessively long piece of bad music.

B. H. HAGGIN



## CONTRIBUTORS

**HENRY HAZLITT**, former literary editor of *The Nation*, is on the editorial staff of the *New York Times*. He is the author of a forthcoming book entitled "A New American Constitution."

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**BETSY HUTCHISON** visited Germany frequently during the period of the Weimar Republic.

**LEWIS COREY** is the author of "The Decline of American Capitalism," "The Unfinished Task: Economic Reconstruction for Democracy."

**ROBERT PENN WARREN** was formerly on the staff of the *Southern Review*. He has recently published a new book of verse entitled "Eleven Poems on the Same Theme."

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# Letters to the Editors

## Followers of Martov

*Dear Sirs:* In the July 25 issue of your magazine you published a statement to the effect that I and my friends M. Werner and A. Yugov had been expelled from the Russian Social-Democratic Party.

This statement is totally false. There have been no such expulsions, nor is there in New York any party committee that would be empowered to expel us.

As for the "increasing sympathy for Bolshevism," a characterization of that kind will certainly not give your readers an accurate conception of the views of that theory of Russian Social Democracy which Mr. Werner, Mr. Yugov, and I represent. Our view, called "Martov's theory" after our party leader who died in 1923, emerged in the very beginning of the Bolshevik Revolution. It involved a critical attitude toward the theory of Bolshevism and was even more critical of the terroristic and dictatorial practices of Bolshevism, among the victims of which members of our group happen to be numbered. Nevertheless, we have at no time been blind in our fight against Bolshevism. We witnessed the gigantic transformation of the country's entire economic, social, and cultural existence and recognized that, however great the mistakes of Bolshevism, it could be only on the basis of a consolidation and further development of these genuine accomplishments of the revolution that the dictatorial regime could be replaced by a democratic one.

It is precisely this attitude which enabled Mr. Yugov to predict and describe the growth of the Soviet Union's economic might, and Mr. Werner to disclose the growing military strength of the Soviet Union, which has been such a striking revelation to the world. It was this view, too, which gave our group the faith, during even the darkest period of the German-Russian Pact, that the Soviet Union would inevitably return to the anti-Hitler front, and which enabled us to predict the colossal role it would play within this front despite its dictatorial regime—not alone as a military but also as a political factor.

Our position enables us not only to devote our own strength to the cause of victory for the Soviet Union, but also to call for aid on all those who cherish the highest ideals of mankind. Our attitude is not dictated by "sym-

pathy for Bolshevism," but by our loyalty to the cause of freedom, democracy, and socialism.

THEODOR DAN

New York, August 4

[We are glad to accept Mr. Dan's correction and to publish the facts about his position and that of his associates. As for the expression "increasing sympathy for Bolshevism," it was used loosely and inaccurately. "Increasing sympathy for Russia" would have been more exact and would have expressed our meaning. Needless to say, the comment even as it stood implied no criticism whatever of the men mentioned.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

## Still for Evacuation

*Dear Sirs:* I took pains in my article to acknowledge the Americanism of many of our citizens of Japanese descent, and I am sorry if any of them feels that I have complicated a difficult personal situation. I discussed the Hawaiian Japanese at all only because I believed a critical danger affecting the national safety had gone unrecognized.

I cannot accept Mr. Ige's sweeping refutations as an answer to that danger. It takes a large, competent, and ruthless force of secret police, one that is not too squeamish about catching a few boots with its fish, to control a fifth column. Where would the F.B.I. get the men who could so much as find their way around Hawaii's Little Tokyos during a blackout, let alone distinguish between loyal and disloyal?

Mr. Ige's is the customary rationalization for the widespread dual citizenship of Hawaiian-born Japanese. If "many are still dependents of aliens . . . and therefore cannot act independently," why should we assume that they could act independently of the same alien Japanese in other matters—in clogging the road to Pearl Harbor with civilian automobiles, for example, as a captain in the naval medical corps, W. H. Michael, suggests in the August *Harpers* may have been the case on December 7? Others are not dependents at all, or are dependents of parents who like themselves claim the full benefits of American citizenship without renouncing their loyalty to Japan. It is only fair to point out also that if positive action is necessary on the part of a citizen for

expatriation, it likewise took positive action on the part of his parents to establish dual citizenship in the first place, and the attitude of Japanese parents in Hawaii is at least as important in this war as the attitude of Japanese youths.

What Mr. Ige is writing about is the Hawaii of myth. If the islands' Japanese really read American magazines, a good many circulation managers must wonder where they get them. Their purchases certainly do not show up in ABC reports from Japanese-inhabited areas. On the other hand, I always found plenty of Tokyo-published material on Japanese newsstands in Hawaii. The literate Honolulu Japanese, if they do read English, also read the two Japanese-language dailies, each with a circulation of around 10,000, both of which until December 7 got their Asiatic news straight from the Japanese Foreign Office via Domei.

As Mr. Ige acknowledges, the question of Japanese loyalty is the nut of the argument. My point is that there is a good deal of doubt about the loyalty of at least some of a people with enemy racial connections who inhabit an area so vital that we must be sure of all loyalties there. I made it plain enough in my article that we could be sure of some Japanese Americans. But there are also many bits of evidence that others have proved themselves disloyal. I did not use them in my article because I have had no opportunity to verify them, but this one comes from a sufficiently reliable source to bear repeating. It concerns the test that came to three Japanese on the little island of Niihau of the Hawaiian group on December 7, when a crippled Japanese plane landed there. The pilot, with the aid of the three local Japanese, set up a miniature military dictatorship that was broken only when American authorities arrived on the scene. There were only three Japanese on the island, but they were 100 per cent for the emperor. I think we may be excused for asking if there are not at least a few more in the 150,000 of similar sympathies. If we believe that there are, and if we can't find out *who* they are, only blanket measures will suffice. Of these it seems to me that evacuation is the most efficient and the fairest all around.

ALBERT HORLINGS

Manhattan, Kansas, August 7



# THE *Nation*

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## *The Shape of Things*

NOTHING BUT GOOD CAN COME FROM PRIME Minister Churchill's visit to the Kremlin. In the first place, it should go far to allay uneasiness over the failure to date of Britain and the United States to make good their earlier promise to "divert German strength from the attack on Russia." Even more important, the Churchill-Stalin talks have in all likelihood produced the first major plan of military action worked out jointly by the United Nations. This is the beginning of the kind of unified global strategy which must be invoked if the war is to be won. Finally, the Moscow conference serves to intensify the war of nerves which has already produced Nazi jitters in Western Europe. At long last it is the Germans who are obliged to wonder where the enemy will strike. Do the Moscow talks presage an imminent Western front? Possibly. The presence of General Sir Alan Brooke, Chief of the British Imperial Staff, might point in that direction, since he would command any such operation. The opening of a front in Western Europe, however, would have to come this month or next, and it is hardly likely that if this were in the wind Brooke and Churchill would only now be discussing plans in Moscow. More logical is the prospect of immediate military aid to the Russians in the Caucasus. The presence of General Wavell, British commander in India, Major General Russell Maxwell, United States commander in the Middle East, and Air Chief Marshal Sir Arthur William Tedder, Commander-in-Chief of the Royal Air Force in the Middle East, point strongly in this direction. So does the fact that Russia's position in the south has become so critical that even an allied invasion of northern Norway—most probable of all the proposed second fronts—would fail to avert the gravest threat to an area of supreme importance to all the United Nations.

✕

OUR OFFENSIVE IN THE SOLOMON ISLANDS appears to have yielded the first major triumph gained by the United States in this war. Although details are not yet available, it is clear that the marines have done more than merely gain a foothold in the Tulagi area. The Japanese are said to have been ousted both from the spacious Tulagi harbor and the nearby airfields. If the



marines can hold these gains—and there is no reason to doubt that they can—the defensive position of Australia is immeasurably strengthened and the possibilities of offensive action against other advanced Japanese bases are considerably heightened. So far there has been no report on losses, but it is possible from the nature of the fighting that they were extremely heavy. The road to Tokyo is still a long one, but at last we appear to be moving in the right direction.

✱

**THE EXTENT TO WHICH BIG STEEL BEARS** the responsibility for the lag in arms production was brought out clearly last week in testimony before the Truman Committee. It now appears that in addition to resisting expansion of steel production in 1940 and 1941 through the influence of its dollar-a-year men in OPM and WPB, big steel has succeeded in tying up large quantities of important raw materials so that they are unavailable to the smaller companies. Representatives of three small companies testified that their companies were operating at from 67 to 78 per cent of capacity because of their inability to obtain raw materials and alloys from the larger companies. It was also charged that the dollar-a-year men who represent big steel in the WPB have prevented expansion of the steel industry in the vital Pacific Northwest area. The situation is not, of course, a new one. Ever since the United States Steel Corporation was founded by Morgan interests at the turn of the century, it has effectively dominated the steel industry, in time of war as well as peace. With ship and plane production bogging down for lack of steel, this is scarcely an appropriate moment for a general clean-up of the steel industry. But it is vitally important that Mr. Nelson and the WPB have a free hand in drafting a program for remedying the steel shortage free of the influence of men who put their company first and their country second.

✱

**ANOTHER SERIOUS RESULT OF THE STEEL** shortage is the effect it has had on employment in war industries, principally rolling mills and shipyards. No one knows how many workers have been laid off, but the figure runs into many thousands, and it is likely to grow. This is bad enough in itself; what is much worse is the danger that fear of impending unemployment among men now working will tend to demoralize production. Men who feel that their wages will come to an end when present stocks of raw materials are depleted are hardly likely to work at top speed. Yet speed is of the essence, and we must take whatever steps are necessary to get it. Perhaps the answer is to be found in the system, at present in effect in Britain, whereby men are paid for their time even when bombs or shortage of materials keep them from working.

**HOPE THAT THE UNSATISFACTORY TAX BILL** will be improved by the Senate Finance Committee is rapidly fading. The Treasury proposals for revising the bill have virtually all been discarded. Among the more important of those rejected in the past week were: (1) a plan under which residents of community-property states would have had to pay individual income taxes on the same basis as other citizens; (2) a recommendation calling for the removal of tax exemption on state and municipal bonds; and (3) a suggestion for eliminating percentage depletion allowances in the oil industry which, if accepted, would have yielded \$200,000,000 in taxes. It is doubtful whether Senator La Follette's excellent proposals for increasing the levy on excess profits, high incomes, gifts, and estates will even receive formal consideration by the committee. The committee is much more likely to look with favor on the suggestions for a 10 per cent sales tax and a removal of all exemptions from the withholding tax on wages as brought forward by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States and supported, in principle, by the National Association of Manufacturers and other business groups. But despite the ballyhoo by such advocates of increased taxes on lower incomes the chances are better than even that the sales tax will be rejected as "dangerous" on the eve of election. In fact, it is highly probable that for political reasons the tax bill will be reported out of committee at least \$2,000,000,000 short of the \$8,700,000,000 requested by the Treasury. This can mean only one thing: ultimate collapse of the President's anti-inflation program. For unless the excess funds created by war spending are mopped up in one way or another, there is no power on earth sufficiently strong to maintain the present price ceilings.

✱

**SOMETHING NEW HAS BEEN ADDED TO THE** Seventy-seventh Congress. Eloquence of sorts has not been lacking in the present House of Representatives, intelligence may be spotted perhaps a little less frequently, and here and there even a degree of courage. But until last week there was small reason to suspect that all three qualities would be displayed on the floor of the House by any one member of the Seventy-seventh. This has come to pass, and the country owes a salute to Representative Elmer J. Holland, Democrat, of Pennsylvania. For many weary months scarcely a day has passed that hasn't seen a Hoffman, a Cox, a Rankin, or one of their fellow-primitives advance to the well of the House to slander the forces supporting the President and a vigorous prosecution of the war. Congressmen who didn't care for this sort of thing simply took a walk or stayed and yawned it out, but they rarely counterattacked. Congressman Holland is made of sterner stuff. In his campaign for election to a regrettably short



fill-in term he announced: "The fifth column may expect no mercy nor tolerance from me. I want them exposed—those in high places, in the so-called Cliveden sets—as well as the half-cracked tools of Goebbels's propaganda machine." His surgical analysis of the McCormick-Patterson-Patterson press is the rich fulfillment of a brave promise. "You will see that their net effect," he told a cheering House, "is to preach defeatism among our civilians and mutiny among our soldiers, to spread dismay among our allies, and to create joy in the hearts of our enemies. . . . Daily these publishers rub at the morale of the American people. Daily they sow suspicion. Daily they preach that we are a nation of fools led by rascals into a hopeless struggle." Unlike the Dieses and the Coxes, Mr. Holland documents his charges with the greatest care. His devastating use of the direct quotation has reduced the Pattersons, Captain and Cissie, to spluttering "Liar," but beyond that they have nothing to say.

✱

FEARS THAT THE SPANISH REFUGEES IN France may be made the price of some dirty Vichy transaction are expressed in a cable from London just received by *The Nation*. According to our informant, the so-called French government is preparing to hand over the Spanish refugees *en masse* either to Hitler or to Franco and the unbelievable crime may be committed at any moment. The report would fit into the recent statement made by Pierre Laval about the number of French prisoners of war that had been released in exchange for French workers sent to Germany. It is revolting enough to see Frenchmen handed back and forth by their government in such a promiscuous slave trade; it would be still worse if some eighty or a hundred thousand refugees who fled into France for sanctuary were thrown into the balance to satisfy the greed of the Nazi buyer. Unhappily the worst must be expected from a regime that came to life under the disgraceful sign of an armistice which among other things sanctioned the delivery to Hitler of the anti-Nazi Germans who had found asylum in France. We should not, therefore, ingenuously appeal to the noble feelings of the French Chief of State or his Premier. We certainly should demand that our government speak very clearly to Ambassador Henri-Haye. He should be told that the further delivery to the hangman of political refugees, be they Spaniards, or Italians, or Germans—would make it impossible to maintain even formal relations with such a gang.

✱

WE HAVE ALL BEEN LECTURED AT LENGTH by various officials on the necessity of withholding or delaying publication of news that might be of use to the enemy. Officials at Mitchel Field are now being impressed, we imagine, with the even greater necessity of delaying publication of such "news" as the great air

marker plot which turns out to have been discovered, and discredited, several months back. As a result of that "scoop" the War Department has reduced its public relations staff in the field and their control has been centralized. Colonel Dache Reeves of the First Ground Air Support Command, who released the aerial pictures of what were presumed to be signs devised by fifth columnists, and Major Lynn Farnol, in charge of public relations at Mitchel Field and formerly a motion-picture press agent, will no doubt be disciplined. We think it would be almost enough to make them read aloud to each other the original wide-eyed account in the *New York Times* of the "deadly guide posts":

From the air, the innocent looking old pathway and the newly made "V" formed a perfect arrow which pointed dead at an Eastern air base. The "V" in this and another picture does not stand for victory, but means sabotage, the Army pointed out.

The "V," as every knows by now, was a feeding station for those famous fliers, the birds, who are, many of them, foreigners, but have never been known to carry bombs.

✱

POLITICAL WAR IS HITLER'S SPECIALTY. HE has developed it to a point of extreme precision and has geared its strategy smoothly into that of the military war. At all stages of his campaign for the extermination of democracy—from Austria and Spain to the present struggle in the Middle East—he has out-manuevered his enemies. Not only have his own tactics been bold and forehanded; he has been able to count on the unreadiness of the democratic nations: their reluctance to deal with the struggle in political terms, their ineptness in political fighting, their outright betrayal of their own case. Since long before September, 1939, *The Nation* has stressed the political character of the war and urged the necessity of using political weapons to win it. Today, politically speaking, this country is just beginning to fight. For our delays and our stubborn attempts at appeasement we shall all pay a bitter price. But gradually the people of the United States are beginning to realize that ultimate victory will depend upon our capacity, politically as well as in the field, to snatch the initiative and use it for a relentless offensive. As a contribution to this effort—to help bring the facts before the public and make their meaning clear—*The Nation* will launch next month a new weekly section on political war to be directed by our Contributing Editor, J. Alvarez del Vayo. The full announcement of the section appears on the last page of this issue. Here we want only to express our confidence that the new venture will greatly increase the value of this journal as a weapon in the fight for a democratic victory, and our satisfaction in adding to the active staff of *The Nation* a journalist of such profound experience in the political struggle as Mr. del Vayo.



## The Indian Dilemma

THE deadlock between Britain and India imperils one important sector, both political and military, of the battle line of the United Nations. It is from this point of view—which places victory over the Axis above all other considerations—that the issue must be judged and a solution pressed. And from this point of view the attitudes and actions of both the British government and the Congress Party seem unreasonable and unrealistic.

The Churchill government looks upon India as part of the Empire and as a vital link in its military defenses against the Axis. Though it has said that, after the war, India will have the "fullest opportunity for attainment . . . of complete self-government," it maintains that India's demand for independence cannot be granted now, because a shift in government would involve at least temporary chaos and, far more important, because the Indians are not themselves united and the country might be plunged into a civil war between Hindu and Moslem. This may make sense from the cautious military point of view. What the Churchill government refuses to realize, as far as India is concerned, is that this is not only a military but a political war and that to meet the Indian demand for freedom and Gandhi's civil disobedience campaign with arrests and other forms of repression was a major strategic blunder.

As for the attitude of the Congress party, there could scarcely be a more vivid and convincing statement of it than is contained in the article by Louis Fischer on Page 145. We sympathize with the Indian nationalists; we can even understand why, to them, the British repression they know at first hand is far more real than the Japanese oppression they have not yet experienced. But our sympathy does not blind us, as their bitterness blinds them, to the cold fact that an Axis victory would not only end India's chances for independence but destroy the freedom of the rest of the world.

These two attitudes are, unfortunately, the fruit of more than 150 years of British-Indian relationship and therefore not subject to easy or speedy change from within either camp. For that reason it is all the more essential that the allies of Britain bring pressure on both sides for a settlement which shall take account of the enormous military and political stakes involved.

Chiang Kai-shek and President Roosevelt are in excellent position to point out to the British that India's demand for independence has become a test of the good faith of the United Nations; and to convince the Indian nationalists that something less than absolute and immediate independence is infinitely preferable to Japanese rule.

Mr. Fischer is convinced that Gandhi, in spite of the

arrests and riots, is still willing, as he was before he began his campaign, to accept the form of independence with a reliable promise of the content. Gandhi has rivals to the claim to speak for all of nationalist India, but it seems likely that if he and the British government could arrive at an agreement, he could command sufficient support to bring about a minimum unity, particularly between the Mohammedans and Hindus, which is essential to Indian self-government.

To the disinterested person there seems no reason why the British government should not at this moment formally offer India its independence not "after the war" but on a fixed date. Given a specific promise, morally guaranteed by the United Nations, Indian nationalists would, we feel sure, be willing to participate in a provisional government until a constitutional convention could be called.

Such a settlement would insure the whole-hearted participation of Indians in the war; it would be a tremendous stimulant to anti-Nazi feeling and action throughout the world. Indeed we can think of no single event which would be worse news to the Axis—and to those covert anti-British isolationists who are currently showing such ill-concealed glee over the "tragedy" of India.

## The Trendless Primaries

BY FRED KIRCHWEY

THE general tenor of editorial comment on last week's primaries was philosophical. The results, we were asked to believe, were inconclusive and proved nothing. Both isolationists and interventionists were elected; incumbents were generally returned. In many instances issues other than the war governed the decision. The control of the local machine, the record of the candidate as a party man, the resentment of voters against interference from outside the district—all these factors had to be considered in judging the significance of the results. After all, if Hamilton Fish and William B. Barry were nominated in New York, Martin L. Sweeney was defeated in Ohio. So what conclusion could one draw?

The New York *Times* on Sunday carried a feature story headed Primaries Showed No Trend, in the course of which the writer summarized his conclusions in the following words:

Local issues, and especially the effectiveness and efficiency of a Congress member in handling the problems and complaints of his constituents, appear to be of more concern to voters than the question of his pre-war stand on foreign policy and his attitude on the conduct of the war.

This sort of comment was typical, not exceptional. And



to my mind it betrays a political innocence altogether frightening in the context of the world situation.

Just consider, for a moment, the state of mind of Dr. Goebbels when he reads, first the election returns, and then a statement such as that quoted above. He finds the electorate of this fighting democracy recording its bland indifference to the attitude of its chosen representatives on the war and American foreign policy. Had a candidate supported the President and backed measures insuring aid to Britain and preparedness for the United States? Okay; fine. He's nominated—provided the local machine is behind him and his party record is unsullied. Was a candidate on record as opposing lend-lease, hating Britain, insisting that America had no legitimate interest in the war before Pearl Harbor? Had he been a friendly visitor to Berlin in 1939? Had he supported the Christian Front? Well, what of it? He's nominated, too, and the voters are pleased with their demonstration of indifference to all foreign influences. They didn't need Wendell Willkie to tell them how to nominate their Congressman. Voting-as-usual—in a summer when the very existence of this nation may hang on the sort of government we choose to lead us through the months and years of agony ahead. I think Goebbels had a right to smile at "trendless" elections last Tuesday.

But, even more, he would have been justified in issuing a typical sneering commentary on the American

commentaries on those elections. When so few of our leading political writers find anything disturbing in a primary in 1942 in which local issues and party regularity decide the outcome, in which the greatest issues that face the nation are ignored or, where they play any role, are as likely to sway the vote one way as the other—this is an even more painful revelation of the political mind of America. The ordinary citizen can hardly be blamed for voting an isolationist into office as long as his act is casually dismissed as an accidental result of local conditions carrying no political significance.

Wendell Willkie said what had to be said after the nomination of Fish. "For the sake of both the country and the Republican Party," he announced, "the fight for his elimination must continue." This is the attitude that should direct all political effort between now and November. Persons like Willkie in both parties must pool their political fortunes to elect a Congress that understands the nature of the war and the urgency of the national crisis. Now is the time for all good men to come to the aid of their country—and, if necessary, to toss their party overboard. The primaries which "showed no trend" must be wiped out by an election which produces a landslide in favor of an aggressive, democratic war and foreign policy.

What was it Fish said about insisting on an active commission when the war started?

## *Gandhi's Rejected Offer*

BY LOUIS FISCHER

**Y**OU can, if you wish, say: We are engaged in a difficult war; the Indian nationalists and Gandhi are making trouble for us; therefore down with Gandhi. But that doesn't help you to understand the Indian situation. You have to look at it, first, from the Indian's angle of vision.

India is a miserably poor, hungry, retarded country. Most Indians are half-starved and three-fourths naked. I have known Russia and Eastern Europe in their worst years. They were paradise compared to India today. The population of India is increasing at the rate of five million each year. Between 1931 and 1941, according to the British census, the population rose 50 million; it is now 393 million. But the agricultural and industrial output of India does not show anywhere near such a growth. Although India is 95 per cent rural and much of the added population therefore lives in villages, the area under cultivation scarcely varies. It was 229 million acres in 1930-31, 228 million in 1932-33, 232 million in 1933-34, 226 million in 1934-35, 227 million in

1935-36, and 231 million in 1936-37, the last year officially recorded. Nor has the yield per acre risen sharply. Indeed, the yield per acre in wheat, tea, groundnuts, an important Indian crop, and linseed has dropped. Of industry, the official Fiscal Commission says: "The development has not been commensurate with the size of the country, its population, and its natural resources." The Indians I spoke to blamed this on the British government's policy of deliberately impeding Indian industry lest it compete with goods made in England.

The poverty and stagnation of India are the background against which the present crisis must be seen. The Bombay Journalists' Association invited me to talk to them. I said I would sit down with them and try to answer their questions. In response to one question I made a pro-war statement saying that if the fascists won the war my world would be black or dead. A journalist stood up and exclaimed: "Yes, but for us Indians there is no difference between British fascism and Japanese or German fascism."



"Now look," I replied. "England is not fascist. It is very democratic, and more democratic today than before the war. I know you do not like the terror and repression in India. But you could not hold a meeting such as this if you were under Japanese or German control. Since my arrival in your country," I continued, "almost every third person I meet tells me he has been in jail. I have lived many years in Russia and Germany. In those countries you do not meet people who have been in jail. They *are* in jail. And many of them are shot."

"The British," another Indian journalist rejoined, "do not bother shooting us. They kill us. When a child is born in India it can expect to live 27 years. In England the life expectancy is 55." These are correct census data. Of every 100 persons born in India, 45 die before the age of 5. The infant mortality in Bombay is 274 per thousand compared to 66 in London. Such figures, plus real suffering, burn deep resentment, hatred, and disloyalty into the soul of India. British rule is an ever-present, unpleasant, close reality to Indians and it often obstructs their vision. They see the world and the war through the thick veil of British domination. That means that they may not see the world and the war at all. They see the British and want to get rid of them.

Indians point to Japan, which started its modern life in 1861 and speedily became a powerful nation. They contend that England has had 150 years to develop India but has not done so. "We have given India tranquillity and order," the British argue. "It is the tranquillity and order of the cemetery," Gandhi said to me. The British empire has made no great effort to convert India into a modern, flourishing, mighty country. That would have spelled the end of the British empire.

All subject peoples dislike their rulers. In India, the dislike is profound. This old dislike has recently been intensified by a new contempt born of British reverses in Hong Kong, Malay, Singapore, and Burma. They shook and shocked India. The sinking of the "Prince of Wales" and the "Repulse" made a terrific impression.

In my talks with Indians they often alluded, peculiarly enough to the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-5. It was the first time, they said, that a colored race defeated a white race, and it gave a tremendous fillip, people told me, to the Indian nationalist movement. But that was thirty-seven years ago, before Indian nationalism had matured under Gandhi's influence. It was fought far from India. Hong Kong, Malay, Singapore, and Burma, on the other hand, are under the very nose of India and important to its safety. Indian soldiers fought and died or were captured in those strategic areas. Out of them 500,000 Indian refugees trekked back to India bringing tales, part true, part exaggerated, of British discrimination in favor of white refugees and against Indian refugees. The Axis radio played up these "atrocities."

Hostility towards the British rose still higher. British

prestige had never been so low. "Can England defend India?" Indians asked, "or will it be as unsuccessful in holding India as it was in holding the adjacent territories?" Delight over British defeats mingled with fear of invasion. Indians wished to make a greater contribution to the protection of their country. "But how could we do so in partnership with our British oppressors?" they argued. "Shall we fight for democracy in Germany and Japan when we are not a democracy ourselves?" Churchill has explicitly stated that the Atlantic Charter does not apply to India. Many Indians felt that if Japan conquered India they would merely be exchanging an occupying power they did not know for an occupying power they had known for 150 years and hated profoundly. Free men who do not understand the emotions of colonial peoples may think this attitude foolish; but it certainly exists. "If England will not give us independence now when it is in distress," Indians said to me, "why should we believe it will grant it after the war?"

This was the political climate of India early in 1942. The spirit of Chinese and Russian resistance was (and is) entirely lacking in India. London knew that something had to be done—and quickly. Sir Stafford Cripps, new member of the War Cabinet, was accordingly rushed out to New Delhi, in March, 1942, to negotiate with Indian political parties. Cripps failed. The Congress party, as well as the Moslem League, as well as the old liberals, as well as the ultra-nationalist Hindu Mahasabha, rejected his offer. He had come out to improve a situation. When he failed, the situation deteriorated.

That is the genesis of Gandhi's latest civil disobedience movement. Shortly after the collapse of the Cripps talks, Gandhi announced his "British Must Go" demand. He told me that it came to him suddenly in the night as he lay in his bed under the stars in Sevagram village. This total and unreasonable demand was a spontaneous, instinctive reaction to the fresh demonstration of British military inferiority in the Far East and to the dashing of many fond hopes aroused by the Cripps mission.

However, followers and friends argued with Gandhi and convinced him, and after a brief period he announced publicly that he had altered his views. "Abrupt withdrawal of the Allied troops might result in Japan's occupation of India and China's sure fall," he wrote in his weekly magazine. Therefore, British and American armed forces, Gandhi declared, could stay in India and use India as a base for military operations.

"But Mr. Gandhi," I remarked when he said this to me, "armies do not exist in a vacuum. They need smooth-running railroads, for instance."

"They could run the railroads," he replied immediately. "They could police the docks."

Gandhi is too wise not to understand that in time of war, the military authorities must penetrate into fields



that are normally civilian. He knows therefore that Indian independence, if granted today, would be only limited independence. Were the British to yield to nationalist pressure and transfer political power to a coalition of Indian parties, a great deal of power would still remain in the hands of the British or be shared by them with their fighting allies. In such circumstances, there could be no chaos. Gandhi is interested in obtaining the form of independence. Temporarily, he would be satisfied with a minimum of content.

The British government saw Gandhi openly whittle down his demands. It saw he was conciliatory. It made no move to conciliate him.

In many talks and walks with me, Gandhi elaborated on his plans for the civil disobedience campaign. Once I asked him whether he was dead set on launching this movement of passive resistance to the British or whether somebody might induce him to give it up. "You say," I probed, "that you do not wish to harm China and Russia. Suppose your friends in China and Russia appealed to you not to start the campaign?"

"Let them appeal to me," Gandhi exclaimed. "I might be dissuaded. If you have access to men in authority you should tell them this."

"Have I your sanction to say this to the Viceroy?" I asked.

"Yes," he replied, "you have my permission. Let them talk to me and I may be converted. I am a reasonable man."

Before my departure from Sevagram village, Mahadev Desai, paunchy, smiling, fifty-year old private secretary of the Mahatma, urged me to try and arrange an interview between Gandhi and the Viceroy of India, Lord Linlithgow.

Soon thereafter, I was received by the Viceroy in his great palace at New Delhi. He knew I had just come from a week's stay with Gandhi. I told him that Gandhi was in a conciliatory mood and not at all intransigent. I sketched the possible outlines of a settlement, basing my statements on Gandhi's own words. I intimated to the Viceroy that it might be helpful if he would discuss these matters with a Congress leader. The Viceroy, however, regarded such discussions as a question of high policy which would have to be decided on its merits. He did not invite Gandhi or any other Indian nationalist, and the preparations for the civil disobedience movement consequently took their course.

That was in June. Gandhi nevertheless procrastinated until August. He was waiting and hoping that some leader of the United Nations would mediate between India and England. He wrote a letter to President Roosevelt. He said to me: "Tell your President that I wish to be dissuaded." Gandhi was ready, and is ready, to bargain. He wrote to Chiang Kai-shek. His letter is most revealing. It has not yet been published, but I obtained

a copy from a Chinese source. "My appeal to the British power to withdraw from India," Gandhi informed the Chinese leader, "is not meant in any shape or form to weaken India's defense against the Japanese or embarrass you in your struggle. India must not submit to any aggressor or invader and must resist him. I would not be guilty of purchasing the freedom of my country at the cost of your country's freedom. That problem does not arise before me as I am clear that India cannot gain her freedom this way, and a Japanese domination of either India or China would be equally injurious to the other country and to world peace. That domination must therefore be prevented, and I should like India to play her natural and rightful role in this. I feel that India cannot do this while she is in bondage."

Gandhi's letter to Chiang not only shows that he is anti-Japanese. It shows that he deeply comprehends why he, as an Indian nationalist, *must* be anti-Japanese and pro-Chinese. But as an Indian nationalist, he is also anti-British. Remove the cause of his anti-British sentiment, and he and million of followers will become actively anti-Japanese and pro-Chinese. Parenthetically it should be stated that Gandhi, despite his pacifism, recruited soldiers for the British army in the last world war. (He thought the reward would be Indian independence.) He might again support a war.

That is the position. Instead of talking to Gandhi, the British arrest him. Now reports come from India that the riots and disorders are being quelled. This probably creates the impression that Gandhi's civil disobedience movement is abortive. But Gandhi never wanted riots and disorders. He warned against them. He asked for closing of stores, abstention from work, refusal to pay taxes, private manufacture of salt, and, in general, non-cooperation. On this, we have few reports.

It is too early to judge. One thing is certain: the imprisonment of Gandhi, Nehru, and the other Indian leaders, and the civil disobedience campaign will not make Indians more pro-British or more pro-war. But that is our problem. It is an urgent war problem for all the United Nations which are now faced with a catastrophic military situation throughout the Middle East. In the vast area between the Caucasus, Cairo, and Calcutta, disaster awaits us. India is the strategic and spiritual pivot of that region. Somebody must act informally, courageously, and quickly. The only such somebody is President Roosevelt. He must simply bring the British government to a point where it will talk to Gandhi. Gandhi could talk in prison. He doesn't mind. He has done it before. He is very religious and he forgives.

[In an early issue Louis Fischer will contribute an article on the Cripps mission to India and the reasons for its failure.]



# Shipyards and U-Boats

BY DONALD W. MITCHELL

THE Battle of the Atlantic has now reached a stage where sinkings offer a threat roughly equivalent to that of World War I when Jellicoe admitted to Admiral Sims, "They will win unless we can stop the sinkings and stop them quickly."

Fortunately the cases are not in all respects parallel. In 1917 England was facing starvation through loss of shipping. Replacements of new ships were a very small proportion of losses and no successful means of defense against U-boats had yet been devised. Today the greatest building program known to history is resulting in vast numbers of new launchings and methods of countering the submarine have been steadily developed. The real threat now is the continued heavy loss of shipping needed to carry supplies to the Allies and transport men and equipment for a second front in Europe. The vast production lines of our factories are useless unless their output reaches the scene of battle. Whereas in 1917 the problem was holding off German victory, the danger today is that the submarine may prevent the United Nations from seizing an opportunity of winning the war. We were able to weather successfully our first great crisis when active United States naval intervention in the Atlantic a year ago helped the British avoid starvation, but we are now in serious danger of failing to meet the second at a time, ironically, when the German submarine campaign is especially vulnerable.

From the relatively limited area west of the British Isles which Nazi submarines were harassing fifteen months ago, their field of operation has been extended until they are striking down victims in seas as far removed from each other as the South Atlantic and the mouth of the St. Lawrence. But by far the best hunting grounds have been our Atlantic coastal waters, the Caribbean and the last stretches of the northern supply line to Russia. Even the methods of the hunters have changed. Fast submarines are quite capable of running down and torpedoing the slower merchant ships. In most cases night rather than day is selected in order to obtain greater immunity from aerial patrol planes. Engineering improvements have made possible long stays in American waters without need of refueling. There are quite possibly secret bases maintained by Axis sympathizers in Gulf or Caribbean waters and these are doubly important in that they may both furnish a resting place for submarine crews and give information of ship sailings.

The comparative absence of criticism of our navy on the part of the public may be due to some realization of

the task it faces. A fleet adequate for one ocean has suddenly been given important duties in four. Even for essential tasks the ships have been spread far too thin. They have protected convoys to Australia, Great Britain, the Middle East, and Russia, losing heavily only along the last-named route. Elsewhere—and this has included the Atlantic coastal shipping lanes—naval policy has had to be one of frankly "taking it" while affording all protection possible. Unfortunately, "taking it" in the western Atlantic could be strategically sound only so long as the activity of U-boats remained a nuisance rather than a major threat to the winning of the war. But with losses actually getting out of control, Hitler's front along our coast can dominate possibilities everywhere else.

It is hardly necessary to say that our naval leaders have been extremely slow in perceiving the importance of the coastal shipping lanes and in recognizing the dynamic possibilities for Germany in this new front. The guarded but optimistic pronouncements made at intervals by Secretary Knox can only be likened in their complete inaccuracy and misinterpretation of the true situation to Mr. Hoover's assurances that prosperity was just around the corner.

Even the Associated Press toll of over 400 sinkings between January and August does not convey a complete picture of the situation. It does not take into account heavy losses on the convoy route to Russia, not officially revealed by our navy. Nor does it include ships damaged or even *all* of those destroyed. In every month but one during this period, the sinkings represented an increase over those of the preceding month.

The navy has been commendably frank in giving loss figures of merchant tonnage but few persons visualize what these losses mean. Instead of making material progress toward building up the 17 million tons of *additional* ships which the joint board a year ago viewed as being necessary to support a full-sized A. E. F., we are no further ahead in the ability to transport a large expeditionary force than we were a year ago. Losses, outweighing the shipbuilding miracles of our Kaisers, have prevented adequate maintenance of existing fronts. Several months ago Admiral Vickery stated that tonnage was less than 50 per cent adequate to fulfill existing commitments.

Losses alone do not furnish a fair basis for criticizing a naval administration facing unprecedented problems. Nor do we know all the facts concerning the measures for defense adopted by the services. But those facts



known are not comforting. Months passed before the navy "got tough" with merchant skippers and insisted on careful fulfillment of regulations. Convoys were not instituted until mid-May and are not in use now in many areas. Very recently the navy has appealed for small ships of all kinds but as late as mid-June it was rejecting many private boats as unsuitable. The perfectionism of the admirals, commendable under most circumstances, has delayed the turning out of anti-submarine vessels in sufficient quantities, and some service die-hards are still opposing the construction of blimps. Newspapermen traveling on patrol vessels have reported that the Pearl Harbor brand of cooperation is still prevalent among the diverse defense groups which play a part in the Battle of the Atlantic. While such indications as we have are necessarily incomplete, they suggest the need of a legislative check-up. One Washington columnist reported a private presidential investigation into this field. The House of Commons has even gone into secret session to consider the seriousness of shipping losses.

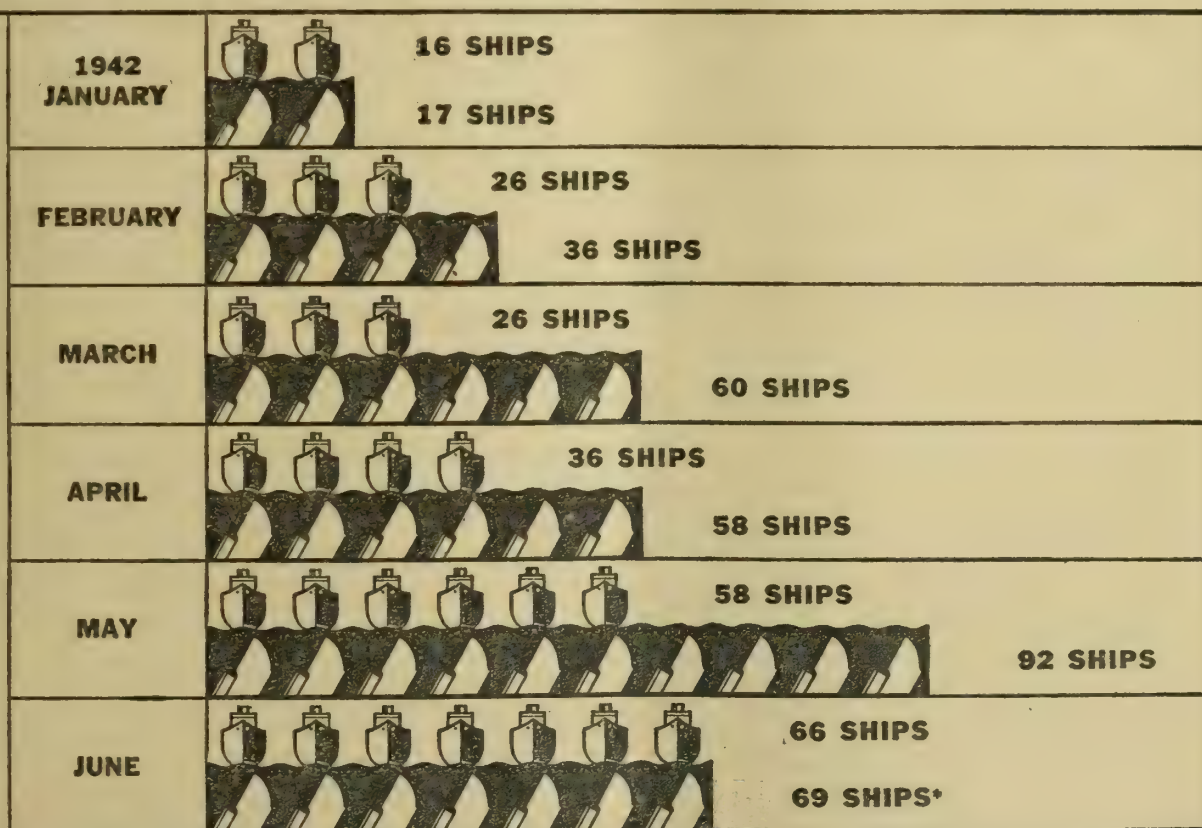
What is being done to meet the problem? The R. A. F. has been pecking continually at shipyards and submarine bases all through the war. So far these raids have been no more than a temporary nuisance to the enemy. The management of shipping has been greatly improved,

with non-essentials nearly eliminated, better use made of space, and radical reduction in delays. More planes, blimps, and surface patrol vessels are being put into service though progress here has been lamentably slow. The technical means of combating submarines have kept pace with the submarines' offensive development. Strongly escorted convoys are still hard to attack. Recently the British and Canadian navies have been lending ships formerly used in British waters, where sinkings have nearly ceased. But so far all this concentration of force has succeeded only in causing enemy submarines to shift to less defended locations to the north or south. The continued increase in sinkings in the face of greater resistance can indicate only steady augmentation of the number of enemy U-boats.

Since an effective answer to this problem is a prerequisite to victory elsewhere, it must be found—and quickly. Until the ratio between replacements and losses swings strongly in our favor, progress made in shipbuilding is quite meaningless. We must therefore either master the submarine or devise other means of getting materials to the battlefield. And we have no time to waste.

Most students of the American navy believe it will be able to put an end to German submarine warfare as soon as much greater defense forces of sea and air are

## U.S. PRODUCTION AND LOSSES OF MERCHANT VESSELS



\* JUNE LOSSES INCOMPLETE

GRAPHIC by PICK-S

▲ comparison of United States shipbuilding and losses of the United Nations in the West Atlantic waters. During the second week of July, losses off our eastern coast were the heaviest since the beginning of the war.



made available. Because reinforcements will require a fairly long time, we should not depend upon them as the sole answer. Commercial submarines have been urged by a few, notably Simon Lake, the inventor. The air freighter has many more friends. However, tremendous obstacles will impede our achievement of a commercial fleet of airplanes of sufficient radius to bridge the Atlantic in hops. The airplane has not yet reached a stage of development enabling it to carry 70-ton tanks and rolling stock. The three to five years regarded as necessary by many aviation men is also a stumbling block, though some industrialists believe this time could be

reduced 75 per cent. The availability of raw materials is only now being considered. Nevertheless, Germany has demonstrated conclusively the practicability of air transport of many kinds of military equipment. Airplanes are quicker, operate in a more widely distributed element than ships, and, at least for the moment, are far safer. In proportion to cost of materials they have a greater carrying capacity though a much briefer lifetime. We must be ready to take advantage of developments in this field. The recent "go ahead" sign flashed to Kaiser is encouraging but hardly sufficient to meet an extremely critical problem.

## Keep Them Out!

### VII. C. WAYLAND BROOKS OF ILLINOIS

BY DALE KRAMER AND SYDNEY JUSTIN HARRIS

WHEN Colonel Robert McCormick, publisher of the *Chicago Tribune*, sits down to eat he tries to calculate what effect the food will have on his energy and disposition. Then he tries to figure out what result the meal, through him, will have on the course of world events. No dinner has yet caused the earth to stop and revolve in the opposite direction, but it is certain that half a dozen bad oysters in the Colonel's stomach on Wednesday will cause Senator C. Wayland Brooks to gyrate rapidly in Washington on Thursday. For the conduct of the junior Senator from Illinois, who is now campaigning for his first full-term election, coincides remarkably with the Colonel's wishes. *The Tribune's* Washington staff prepares the Senator's speeches and *Tribune* reporters "covering" Brooks's downstate tours hand out campaign literature to the local papers. Illinois voters are familiar with the relationship and consequently McCormick and the *Tribune* will, in a sense, come before the electorate this fall.

Brooks as a campaigner has several important advantages. His disruptive efforts before Pearl Harbor and his perfunctory flag-waving ever since are bound to be offset in the public mind by the fact that he was a bona-fide hero in World War I. As a freshman at the University of Illinois he joined the Marines, and he returned, with a string of citations, on a stretcher. During the decade in which he has sought public office his campaign managers have not permitted voters to forget his war record. The one other major asset promoted by his campaign managers is his oratory. His style has always been rather affected and he has never quite risen to the advance notices, but he is not bad as rhetoricians go.

Against these qualifications is a certain over-smoothness. Brooks has the slick appearance of an oil operator or a political contractor, which the average voter does not like. He has a round, heavy, puckered face capped with tight curls which look as though they are held down with a patent hair concoction. Inevitably his campaign managers have presented him as "Curly" Brooks.

After World War I Brooks went back to college, emerged as a lawyer, and was appointed to the staff of State's Attorney Robert E. Crowe, who did not fail to see the advantage in obtaining the support of a young campaigner with a collection of war medals. Brooks soon found himself called on to fill hundreds of speaking engagements. At the same time he specialized in cases involving forgers, embezzlers, and bank robbers. The bankers were pleased with his work, and they interceded to save his job when Cook County elected a new state's attorney.

Brooks's public career almost ended before it was well under way when he was mysteriously suspended in 1927. The facts are not a matter of public record, but it is known that United States prohibition agents, delving into the Chicago liquor situation, held him for questioning at about that time. A year later he reappeared as a part-time member of the staff of the state's attorney.

Brooks's big opportunity came in 1930 when Colonel McCormick was tearing up and down the countryside in an effort to find the murderer of Jake Lingle, a *Tribune* reporter. McCormick tied in his manhunt with "the freedom of the press" and the *Tribune's* front page screamed that Lingle was killed because he "knew too much" about Chicago affairs. Chicagoans are certain that he did



know a great deal, perhaps more than he should have. Lingle, it seems, received a salary of \$60 a week from the *Tribune*, but when he met his death in the crowded tunnel of a suburban railroad station, he had to his credit a \$60,000 bank account. In addition, he had a joint stock account of \$100,000 with Chief of Police William Russell, who resigned shortly after the murder, and four other brokerage accounts as well. His scale of living was on the luxurious side. The common belief is that he served as Capone's payoff man in dealing with crooked city and police officials. Insiders knew him as the "un-official chief of police."

Six months after the murder a St. Louis hoodlum named Leo Brothers was picked up in Chicago by investigators for the state's attorney. He was held incommunicado for two weeks in the Congress Hotel, until a chambermaid saw him chained to a door and reported it. Brothers was finally charged with Lingle's murder, and Brooks served as prosecutor, assisted by Charles F. Rathbun, member of the firm of Kirkland, Fleming, Greene, and Martin, counsel for the *Tribune*. No effort was made to show motivation for the murder. Some witnesses said they saw Brothers at the scene of the crime; others declared that he was not the man.

Brothers was convicted of first degree murder and sentenced to 14 years in prison—the lightest sentence possible under the law. McCormick did not appear seriously disappointed by this easy treatment of the convicted killer of his crusading reporter. Nor did he object when Brothers was paroled after serving eight years. And McCormick is a famous objector. Brothers, who was in possession of a letter from Lingle's mother stating her belief that Brothers was not the murderer, charged that he had been framed by Brooks and the *Tribune*. The readiness with which Illinois, and particularly Chicago, voters accepted this view proved Brooks's greatest political handicap before his isolationist career in Congress.

A year after the Brothers conviction Brooks made his first essay in state politics as Republican candidate for state treasurer. Despite his promoters' delusion that he was a spellbinder, his stew of platitudes proved no more palatable to the voters than that of other Republicans in 1932, and he was overwhelmed. He tried again in 1934, this time for congressman-at-large, and the result was the same. Nevertheless, when the next election rolled around the *Tribune* pronounced Brooks the only man capable of turning the state against Roosevelt, and he was made the G. O. P. choice for governor. Again he lost. The electorate simply did not like Brooks.

Despite this dismal record, the party continued to back him, and in 1940 he tried for the Senate seat left vacant by the death of James Hamilton Lewis. It was to be his first victory but hardly one to give comfort. The Republican candidate for governor, Dwight Green, won with a majority of 200,000 votes, while Brooks, despite

a whirlwind campaign and the *Tribune's* fulsome support, crashed through with a bare margin of 15,000 out of a total of 4,000,000 votes. And political wisecracks explained that Green had carried him in.

Brooks's record in the Senate is what might have been expected of Colonel McCormick's man. He fought and voted against lend-lease, against seizure of foreign ships in our ports, and against arming merchant ships, and he dodged the vote on extending the draft. He was a major America First Committee speaker and a supporter of Charles A. Lindbergh. "I've said all along I wanted Britain to win," Brooks told an America First audience. "I wish I knew I was right in wanting that to happen, because she didn't do a very good job with her victory last time." "The draft," he said on another occasion, "only causes confusion. Roosevelt wants to throw us into fear of attack from abroad and lay the foundations for changing American government and drafting industry."

Other statements followed in kind: the Axis powers had no designs on the United States and Roosevelt wanted war for his own aggrandizement. Brooks's speech entitled "This Is Not Our War" was mailed from Washington the day before Pearl Harbor. Illinoisians opened the franked letters the day after the Japanese attack, the day Germany and Italy declared war on the United States, and the impression it left can hardly be helpful to the Brooks career.

On domestic issues Brooks presents the views of McCormick, though, with an eye on his constituents, he hedges wherever possible by avoiding direct votes. Since entering the Senate he has been present at little more than half the roll calls.

It is no credit to Brooks that he is admired by such notorious pro-fascists as Newton Jenkins, who in his news sheet, the *Prairie State Republican*, made public an exchange of letters in which Brooks had written: "I do want you to know that I appreciate your constructive suggestions and the many fine things you have done for me in the past and that you are now doing. At the very first opportunity I hope you and I will be able to sit down and discuss plans for the fall campaign." Jenkins has made no effort to conceal his admiration for Hitler and Mussolini. His propaganda is best illustrated by the plank of his program which reads: "I will take these Jewish refugees and their cheap noisy false mongering



C. Wayland Brooks



stooges and drive them back into the countries from whence they come, to face the music at the hands of those governments which now await them. Any who refuse to go back will face worse treatment here."

The Chicagoans recently indicted for sedition were fervid supporters of Brooks—and he never repudiated their support. Mrs. Grace O'Keefe, secretary of Elizabeth Dilling's organization, told a reporter for the *Chicago Daily News* that Brooks had sent regrets that he was unable to attend a recent peace conference of the group and asked her "to set a date for a later time."

The campaign is now getting into full swing, and it promises to be a rough one. McCormick is up against opponents of his own size. The *Sun*, while it hasn't the punch originally expected of it, reaches a wide audience. The *New Deal Daily Times* and the *Republican Daily News* are likewise working hard for Brooks's defeat.

Some of the manufactured stories for which the *Tribune* has long been notorious have done Colonel McCormick's man considerable harm. This spring the *Tribune* carried a headline, "Brooks Leads Entire Senate in Mail Volume." The *Daily News* put its Washington staff to work on the story. It developed that Brooks—a loud shouter for economy—had franked out 400,000 form circulars to Illinois farmers suggesting that they check farm bulletins they desired and mail the forms back to him. On another occasion a story headed "United Support Given Brooks by 16 Congressmen" appeared in the *Tribune*. The item stated that at a dinner of the Illinois delegation Brooks's colleagues had "indicated" their support of his campaign for reelection. A rival paper got in touch with twelve who had attended the dinner. They all denied supporting Brooks and added that the campaign had not been mentioned at the meeting.

Brooks's Democratic opponent is Representative Raymond S. McKeough, an amiable New Dealer who unfortunately lacks fire and color. It is widely believed that the Chicago Kelly-Nash machine has made a deal with McCormick, whereby it will pull its punches in the campaign in exchange for future *Tribune* support. McKeough, though not personally a Kelly-Nash man, was backed by the machine in the primaries and the connection will not help him downstate. His election will depend on the size of his majority in Chicago; and for that reason the failure of the Kelly-Nash forces to get out their top vote would be a serious blow.

Illinois political observers believe that at present Brooks may hold a slight edge. McKeough's chances to come through depend on the forcefulness with which he blasts Brooks—and McCormick. The *Tribune* is read out of habit and for its comics. Its editorial policy is not liked and never has been. If McKeough is able to show that the issue is McCormick versus the people, McCormick's man Brooks will be eased out of the Senate.

## In the Wind

ALABAMA has for several weeks been the scene of a dispute over the President's order against barring Negroes from jobs in war industries. The man fighting the government's case is John Beecher, grand nephew of the author of "Uncle Tom's Cabin." Opposing him is Frank M. Dixon, governor of the state and nephew of Thomas Dixon, author of the famous Rebel novel, "The Clansman."

THE GOVERNMENT has run into competition in its efforts to purchase guayule rubber in Mexico. An agent of a Chicago candy company is there buying guayule for the manufacture of bubble gum. He has recently signed two contracts calling for a total of 30,000 pounds a month.

HAMILTON FISH is complaining about interference in his campaign by people outside his district. The list of financial contributors to the Fish campaign reveals that of the sixteen persons who gave \$25 or more, only one is a member of the Fish constituency.

FIRST AID: The American Red Cross has been acting as an intermediary in the divorce proceedings of a soldier whose military duties prevent him from giving the matter the necessary attention.

ELIZABETH DILLING requests that people who are eager to "maintain our form of government" help to defray the expenses of the defense when she goes on trial for sedition in the fall.

THE LATEST CRITIC of the *Chicago Tribune* is the *Journal of the American Medical Association*. It has exposed as completely false the *Tribune* stories contending that hundreds of soldiers have been killed or made invalids by "faulty vaccines" administered by army doctors.

JOSEPH E. DAVIES, former ambassador to the Soviet Union, may become chairman of a government agency that will coordinate all war relief organizations.

THE DEPARTMENT OF LABOR has a section working on post-war planning, but it never uses the term because it is felt that the word "planning" is offensive to most Americans.

UPTON SINCLAIR has written an article for George Seldes's *In Fact* advocating a second front against Hitler. Tired of arguments about the lack of equipment and shipping facilities, Sinclair writes: "I am venturing what may at first seem a strange suggestion: that . . . we move just one division and see what happens to it."

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of \$5 will be awarded each month for the best item.—EDITORS THE NATION.]



# BOOKS *and the* ARTS

## Tacitus Now

BY LIONEL TRILLING

TACITUS has been put to strange uses; the princelings of Italy consulted his "Annals" on how to behave with the duplicity of Tiberius; the German racists, by ignoring all the disagreeable things he observed of their ancestors and by remembering only his praise of their chastity and independence, were able to make his "Germania" their anthropological primer. But these are the aberrations; his influence has mainly been in the service of liberty, as he intended it to be. Perhaps this influence has been most fully felt in France, where, under the dictatorships of the Jacobins and of Napoleon, Tacitus was regarded as a dangerously subversive writer. To America, however, he has never meant a great deal. Of course James Fenimore Cooper is an impressive exception, but Cooper was temperamentally attracted by one of the qualities of Tacitus which probably alienates most American liberals, the aristocratic color of his libertarian ideas. Another reason for our relative indifference to Tacitus is that, until recently, our political experience gave us no ground to understand what he was talking about. Dictatorship and repression, spies and political informers, blood purges and treacherous dissension have not been an accepted part of our political tradition as they have been of Europe's. But Europe has now come very close to us, and our political education of the last few years fits us to understand the historian of Rome.

It is the mark of a great history that sooner or later we become as much aware of the historian as of the events he relates. In reading Tacitus—he is now available in a Modern Library edition with an admirable introduction by Professor Hadas—we are aware of him from the first page: we are aware of him as one of the few great writers who are utterly hopeless. Of his own despair he is always conscious; it is nearly a fault in him, the attitude sometimes verges on attitudinizing. Yet the great fact about Tacitus is that he never communicates his despair to the reader. He must always be telling, he says, of "the merciless biddings of a tyrant, incessant prosecution, faithless friendships, the ruin of innocence, the same causes issuing in the same results," and he complains of "the wearisome monotony" of his subject matter. But the reader never feels the monotony; despite his statements to the contrary, Tacitus has far too much power of mind and too much acuteness of moral sensibility ever to become the victim of what he writes about.

His power of mind is not like that of Thucydides; it is not really political and certainly not military. It is, on a grand scale, psychological. We are irresistibly reminded of Proust when Tacitus sets about creating the wonderful figure of Tiberius and, using a hundred uncertainties and contradictions, tries to solve this great enigma of a man, yet always avoids the solution because the enigma is the character.

Tacitus's notion of history was avowedly personal and moral. "This I regard as history's highest function," he says,

"to let no worthy action be uncommemorated, and to hold out the reprobation of posterity to evil words and deeds." This moral preoccupation finds expression in a moral sensibility which is not ours and which in many respects we find it hard to understand. It has often been pointed out that slaves, Christians, Jews, and barbarians are outside the circle of his sympathies; the stoic humanitarianism of Seneca he rather despised. Yet, as he says, half his historical interest is in the discovery of good deeds, and perhaps nothing in literature has a greater impact of astonishment, a more sudden sense of illumination, than the occurrence of a good deed in the pages of his histories. He represents the fabric of society as so utterly loosened that we can scarcely credit the account of any simple human relationship, let alone a noble action—the soldier weeping at having killed his brother in the civil war, or the aristocrats opening their houses to the injured thousands when the great amphitheater fell down, or the fortitude of the freedwoman Epicharis, who, when Piso's enormous conspiracy against Nero was discovered, endured the torture and died implicating no one, "screening strangers and those whom she hardly knew, when freeborn men, Roman knights and senators, yet unscathed by the torture, betrayed, every one, his dearest kinsfolk." Actions like these take place in the midst of a depravity so great that we are always surprised before we are relieved. From these pages we learn really to understand those well-worn lines of Portia's about the beam of the candle, for we learn what Portia meant by a naughty world, literally a world of naught, a moral vacancy so great and black that in it the beam of a candle seems a flash of lightning.

The moral and psychological interests of Tacitus are developed at the cost of what nowadays is believed to be the true historical insight. The French scholar, Boissier, remarks that it is impossible to read the "History" and the "Annals" without wondering how the Roman Empire could possibly have held together through the eighty years of mutiny, infamy, intrigue, riot, expenditure, and irresponsibility they relate. Almost any modern account of the post-Augustan empire is an implicit criticism of Tacitus's methods. Breasted, for example, includes the period from Tiberius to Vespasian in a chapter which he calls *The First of Two Centuries of Peace*; and Rostovtsev in his well-known work gives us to understand that Rome, despite minor troubles, was a healthy, developing society. Yet Tacitus finds it worthy of comment that a certain man at this time died a natural death—"a rare incident in so high a rank," he says.

It is not, as I gather, that Tacitus lacks veracity; what he lacks is what a few years ago used to be called "the long view." But to minds of a certain kind and sensitivity "the long view" is the falsest historical view of all. It probably never occurred to Tacitus as one of the possible ways of understanding events, but if it had, he would have rejected it. He had no notions of historical development to comfort him; the knowledge that trade with the East was growing or that a more efficient bureaucracy was evolving could not



have consoled him for the degradation of his class and nation. He wrote out of his feelings of the present, not permitting himself the luxury of supposing that the pains of the present were to be justified by the peace of the distant future.

What for many modern scholars is the vice of history was for Tacitus its virtue; he thought that history should be "literary" and that it should move the minds of men through their feelings. And so he contrived his narrative with the most elaborate attention to its dramatic effects. Yet more than a scrupulous concern for literary form makes Tacitus so impressive in a literary way; some essential poise of his mind allowed him to see events with both passion and objectivity, and one cannot help wondering if the tragic division which his mind had to endure did not reinforce this quality. He hated the Rome of the emperors, and all his feelings were for the vanished republic; yet for the return of the republic he had no hope whatever: "It is easy to commend," he said, "but not to produce; or if it is produced, it cannot be lasting." And so he served the ideal of the republic as historian; the empire, an actuality, he served as praetor, consul, and proconsul and complied with the wishes of the detested Domitian. The more he saw of the actuality, the more he despaired of his ideal—and the more he loved it; it is a rare and hard thing for a man to do, and perhaps this tension of love and despair accounts for the poise and energy of his intellect.

We see this poise and energy in almost all his judgments. For example, he despised the Jews, but he would not repress a wry appreciation of their stubborn courage and an intense admiration for their conception of God. The one phrase of his that everyone knows—"they make a solitude and call it peace"—he put into the mouth of a British barbarian in revolt against Roman rule, and it will always be the hostile characterization of imperialism; yet Tacitus himself measured Roman virtue by imperialistic success. He makes no less than four successive judgments of Otho—scorns him as Nero's courtier and cuckold, admires him as a provincial governor, despises him as emperor, and praises him for choosing to die and end the civil war. Much as he loved the republican character, he knew that its day was past, and he ascribes Galba's fall to his old-fashioned inflexibility in virtue.

The poise and energy of Tacitus's mind manifests itself in his language, and Professor Hadas tells us how much we must lose in translation. Yet even a reader of the translation cannot help being aware of the power of the writing. When Tacitus remarks that Tiberius was "an emperor who feared freedom while he hated sycophancy," or that the name of Lucius Volusius was made glorious by his ninety-three years, his honorable wealth, "and his wise avoidance of the malignity of so many emperors," or that "perhaps a sense of weariness steals over princes when they have bestowed everything, or over favorites when there is nothing left to them to desire," we catch a glimpse of the force of the original because the thought itself is dramatic. Perhaps arrogantly, we wonder if we need the original when Sabinus is being led to his death through the streets and the people flee from his glance, fearing it will implicate them: "Wherever he turned, wherever his words fell, there was flight and

solitude"; or when the soldiers undertake to "absolve" themselves of a mutiny by the ferocity with which they slaughter their leaders; or when, in that greatest of street scenes, the debauchees look out of their brothel doors to observe with casual interest the armies fighting for possession of Rome. And it is out of a thousand details such as these that Tacitus compounds his long, subtle chronicles of the characters of the emperors and their relations with their mothers, wives, concubines, and senates. His power of mind and his desperate love of virtue make Tacitus one of the world's great tragic writers. In other hands, the story he tells would be almost insupportable; in his, it is grimly invigorating.

## Notes by the Way

IN "Writers in Crisis" (Houghton Mifflin Company, \$3) Maxwell Geismar examines the work of six American novelists against the background of social change from 1929 to 1939. In the first section, which to my mind is the best, he presents the gilded age of 1929 and analyzes the achievement and final predicament of Ring Lardner, Successful Author to the very society he satirized. Like so many talented American writers Lardner "just grew." Unlike most of them he achieved great popularity, thanks to his special gifts—his indigenous humor and his genius for appropriating the American language to the uses of literature. His satires also appealed no doubt to that tendency toward self-denigration which has gone hand in hand with our much more advertised and articulate boasting. But to Lardner this popularity was a source only of bitterness because he made the mistake of identifying himself with the society he wrote about and included himself in the contempt he felt for it. And his self-hatred, which Mr. Geismar thoroughly documents, his failure to achieve "the minimum and basic belief in his own significance" kept him from attaining the minimal serenity of detachment which would have mitigated his personal bitterness and given another dimension to his writing. Lardner, in other words, lacked the cultural perspective to recognize his own worth as an important writer who was popular not, as he assumed with masochistic intensity, because he was one more emanation of the crass and brutal world he had the insight to despise but because he worked in and extended a rich indigenous tradition of humor and story-telling.

In one sense Mr. Geismar's book is a study in the cultural perspective of all his subjects. I use the word cultural as it is employed by Constance Rourke, to denote the whole "configuration" of a society. Mr. Geismar's emphasis is on social attitudes but it is the merit of his book that it bears little resemblance to the "Marxist" criticism of a few years ago which was often revealing but in general provided the narrow distorting gleam of a flashlight rather than the clarity of over-all illumination.

Of Mr. Geismar's six authors—Hemingway, Dos Passos, Faulkner, Wolfe, and Steinbeck are the other five—Dos Passos is the only one who had at the outset any comprehension of the shape of the world he lived in. He has made a consistent advance in knowledge and understanding ever since, and he is today the only one of the six who is culturally adult



in the same sense as the Flaubert who wrote the "Sentimental Education." The others, including Faulkner, the romantic reactionary, might well be characters in a contemporary American version of that extraordinary book.

Mr. Geismar traces the tortuous snail's progress by which Hemingway and Wolfe arrived at social awareness—the first by way of Paris, the Spanish bull ring, and the African veldt; the second by tunneling with tremendous labor through the autobiographical mountain in his own back yard. Mr. Geismar seems less appalled than I am by the fact that the social awareness even in Hemingway's latest and Wolfe's last book is so elementary—still limited to the emotions and still devoid of any effective sense of history, our own or any other. Steinbeck's social conversion appears to have been relatively quick and painless, thanks no doubt to the fact that it coincided with the popular upsurge of interest in social questions during the thirties, but it is even more mindless, with sentimentality passing for emotion. In "The Grapes of Wrath" he luxuriated in sympathy for the underdog as in a warm bath. His handling of social subjects has remained naive; he has continued to exploit popular social emotions without offering any but the most puerile resolutions.

Yet, as Mr. Geismar says, what the record of Hemingway, Wolfe, and Steinbeck condemns is not so much the intellectual capacity of these individuals as the "deficiency of cultural thinking" which is characteristic of America as a whole. This deficiency shows itself not only in a lack of knowledge, except of the most superficial and often chauvinistic sort, of backgrounds and traditions, but in an almost defiant non-interest, a kind of snobbism in reverse, which denies their importance and their relevance to the present. The result has been to put upon each individual artist the whole burden of his personal and social integration, whereas his European counterpart is in a fair way to have absorbed, by the time he comes of age, a knowledge of his cultural history and setting and a sense of his own relation to it which provide him with confidence and a point of departure for his particular talents.

In the course of his analysis Mr. Geismar gives critical estimates of his subjects from the literary point of view. On this score I think he takes Steinbeck far too seriously. I feel like quarreling also with his judgment of Thomas Wolfe; I am inhibited because, after "Look Homeward, Angel," I was never able to read more than a few pages of anything else. I will say that I find Mr. Geismar persuasive—until the quotations begin. In general his comments are illuminating and mature. He fulfils one important function of the critic that is too often neglected, in providing a frame of social and cultural reference against which to measure the individual accomplishment. And he shows both sense and courage in recognizing and calling by its true name the cultural illiteracy from which the American writer has not been the only one to suffer. Finally, his style is lively, though he often commits sentences which are, to say the least, queer. Item: "The choice is neither limited nor the passages accidental." And sometimes much worse than that: "Under such auspices and surrounded by such companions, Lardner, so he wishes us to believe, and like John Donne having carried his bitterness beyond the grave, passes to his eternal reward."

MARGARET MARSHALL

## Democracy Begins at Home

*AMERICAN UNITY AND ASIA.* By Pearl Buck. The John Day Company. \$1.25.

THIS book is a collection of articles and speeches delivered over the last few months and relating to the issues of war and peace in America and Asia. Through them all runs the fundamental idea implied in the title. It is that there is an essential connection between the unity of Americans at home and their attitude toward their colored allies abroad. The argument follows from the premise that we cannot secure the cooperation of the Chinese and the subject peoples of Asia, a cooperation which is essential to the winning of the war, unless we start with democracy at home. So long as we treat the Negroes as a subject people, so long do our protestations of democracy in the Orient fall upon deaf ears, so long do we provide the Japanese propaganda machine with ready-made fuel. The thesis, illustrated by reference to the treatment of American citizens of Japanese ancestry in the United States, by a powerful plea for acceptance of the Negro as a full member of American democracy, goes with the warning that such peoples as the Chinese may not be interested in our war effort if they cannot trust our war aims. The note of warning is tempered by an appeal to the colored peoples in our midst to have further patience, to understand that American democracy admits the principle of democracy even if the practice leaves something to be desired, while the fascist countries deny even the principle.

Miss Buck is doing a very great service by insisting that the relation between white and colored peoples, between ruling races and ruled, is of enormous importance in the war. You cannot be democratic abroad if you are not democratic at home. She has the advantage, not shared by many of her countrymen, of seeing the West through Eastern eyes. One can agree passionately with her attitude without always following her in the reasons she gives for its support. One wonders if the argument is made stronger by the implication that white and ruling, colored and ruled, are synonymous terms. Asia has been as disunited as Europe, and still is. The Anglo-Saxons may be the race snobs of the world but there has been plenty of competition for the honor, and that not limited to Europe. In driving home her point that American democracy must be extended if it is to survive, the author sometimes gets herself into the position of denying to the Anglo-Saxon powers the long struggle for and experience of democracy that is theirs. The English lily may grow on an imperial dunghill, but no one can ignore the political maturity of the English people, whatever he may think of the stupidity of the English ruling class. It was the people which forced the government to take up arms against fascism. Surely it is a little extravagant to say England's history in democracy cannot compare with China's. If so, how do we explain Sun Yat-sen and the nationalist movement? And is it not possible that if freedom is our common war aim the categories of colored and white are not so clear as they are sometimes made out to be? The powerful movement toward democracy in some Asiatic countries might well have to clear away important obstacles within as well as without. Political independence is one thing, democracy is another.



Miss Buck has raised a banner which must never be furlled; she states her case with sincerity, ability, and courage. There is no disagreement with her general attitude, and the reviewer, for one, agrees strongly that when democracy is in danger the answer is not less, but more, democracy. But the issues are so fundamental that they will bear all the discussion of which we are capable. This book may well be the beginning of great changes in public opinion, part of which it already reflects.

GEORGE F. TAYLOR

## The Great House

*BOWEN'S COURT.* By Elizabeth Bowen. Alfred A. Knopf. \$3.50.

QUEEN ANNE and Georgian houses, from the middle to the end of the eighteenth century, began to go up all over Ireland: whole Palladian towns, projected by the greater landlords, streets and squares in Dublin, and "country seats" in the demesnes. This was the first architecture to take hold, since the Gothic castles and abbeys of the native lords. It has been romanticized (even by Yeats), and in a great measure in our own day, abandoned, neglected, and destroyed. Bowen's Court is one of these houses. Characteristically, it was planned on too large a scale. What these buildings signified was the successful, though destined to be brief in full success, working of the rent (and rack-rent) systems. They were the first signs of the alien ruling caste's getting their hand in, and their leg up. Bowen's Court, "high, bare and Italianate," is of limestone. It still has "the startling, meaning and abstract clearness of a house in a print." In spite of its builder's intention of impressive grandeur, it had isolation built into it, and seeming to look out of it. Such houses, set back on their lawns, still have a provisional look. They also look at bay.

Miss Bowen, writing the history of her family and its house in County Cork, has added a chapter to the not-fully recorded history of the Protestant Ascendancy in Ireland. Members of that Ascendancy have written Irish history (Swift, Grattan, and Berkeley through Parnell) and Irish literature (Congreve through Shaw and Yeats). Maria Edgeworth, who influenced both Turgenev and Scott, did acid observations of pre- and post-Union society. The Irish people themselves have recorded their side of the matter not only in print but in action (emigration and the burnings of 1921 and earlier). Miss Bowen's story is of a provincial family, rather "bleak" as she says, and almost pathologically "unhistoric." They did nothing, for or against the country they occupied. They reflected, in a parochial way, the periods they lived through. At the end, in Miss Bowen, they produced an artist of the most sensitive sort; and it is for her sake that we listen attentively to the record she gives of them.

It is perhaps a kind of poetic justice which produced in the "planter" families, from the earliest days, a desire to be Irish. The country worked on them in spite of themselves; in a generation English settlers took on some Irish virtues and were infected with Irish vices. Miss Bowen's ancestor, Colonel Bowen, a Welsh member of Cromwell's army, was granted land after the Cromwellian Irish campaigns. Within

a generation, his descendants had taken over enough of "the litigious and encroaching" kind of Irish nature to institute the first of a long series of inter- and extra-family lawsuits which seem to reflect acute nervousness and the suppressed rage of a conquered, not a conquering, class.

And Miss Bowen notes "the kind of Versailles fantasy which came to dominate too many Irish-English people, to cripple their bank accounts and endanger their private lives." The lack of feudal weight was marked. Arthur Young says (1777-1779):

The landlord of an Irish estate, inhabited by Roman Catholics, is a sort of despot who yields obedience, in whatever concerns the poor, to no law but his own will. A long series of oppressions, aided by very many ill-judged laws, have brought landlords into the habit of exerting a very lofty superiority. . . . Speaking a language that is despised, professing a religion that is abhorred, and being disarmed, the poor find themselves in many cases slaves even in the bosom of written liberty. . . .

But the Bowens could not have been the worst of the type. The house was attacked only once, and the family went on, faintly reflecting the world outside. A mild rake was succeeded by a mild absentee. The moral weight of the early nineteenth century, some education (Oxford and Trinity College, Dublin) and "good" marriages, brought in Bowens who led responsible lives. Genteel accomplishments (the harp and the piano) came in. Miss Bowen's grandfather, filled with Victorian mania for success, installed machinery and work-hours, as well as a revived system of rack-renting of his own. Her father reacted "in all ways against his father's success regime." A lawyer, a scholar, and a partial absentee, he lived for long periods in Dublin. Nervous, restless, often ill, Miss Bowen shows him walking the Dublin street, . . . sitting in a tearoom "always, from some inherited landlord instinct, with his back against a wall."

The interests, literary and political, of other Irish estates—Coole (Lady Gregory) and Lissadell (Eva Gore-Booth and Countess Markiewicz) during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries—passed Bowen's Court by. But when Miss Bowen inherited the house, she was already a writer. The house was now a shell and a luxury. Spared from burning, the conditions which had produced it had been defeated. Miss Bowen's description of its present state, bare and open to the Irish weather, can touch us with a pathos which is inherent in monuments of even the most cruel despotism, once it has passed. For these are signs that such rule cannot last. Bowen's Court, ironically enough, has become a symbol, to its present owner, of peace in war-time, and a kind of reconciliation.

Miss Bowen's straight historical sections are rather stiff. What she has accomplished is something more subtle: a sympathetic picture of a class often denigrated beyond its entire deserts, and the results, in human character, of their really tragic isolation. She is, occasionally, slightly blind to the implications of the story. To her, as to Yeats in his old age, power is better when linked up to the idea of property. Disaster, to her mind, comes when power operates "in a void." This is an attitude held over from the past of which Miss Bowen so sensitively speaks. The future will know that not to love power is the essential thing. LOUISE BOGAN



## Essays in Appreciation

ESSAYS IN CRITICISM AND RESEARCH. By Geoffrey Tillotson. The Macmillan Company. \$3.75.

**T**HOUGH the research in these essays is exact and extensive, the criticism is very disappointing. Mr. Tillotson is a man who has a great deal more to tell about literature than he has to say. He is a scholarly man with a delicate literary sense—he would once have been described as a bookish man—and with a minor turn for style. He is drawn to the past by a very strong pull of temperament, and perhaps by a very weak sense of life; in any case, it strikes me that he merely rationalizes when he makes the traditional plea that a knowledge of the past adds to one's understanding of the present. In any living sense, he doesn't think in terms of history at all; it is sources, echoes, allusions, affinities—of words, lines, poems, books—that really stir his blood and quicken his scent. These things he hunts down with a gusto that saves him from being a pedant and turns him into a kind of detective. He appreciates art, but he dotes on bric-a-brac. He admires design, but he treasures detail. The type is recurrent, if indeed in England it is not continuous: the tenuously witty, faintly mannered, highly literary, almost precious, not quite trivial academic. It keeps its own sense of proportion, just as a microscope does. But it ignores the values that go with real criticism.

Mr. Tillotson can write of Bacon, Pope, Shenstone, William Morris, Ernest Dowson and others—a heterogeneous enough crew—without managing to say anything memorable, or even new, or always pertinent. One agreeably suggestive idea is sometimes enough to keep a whole essay in motion. In the case of Dowson there is really no idea at all. In virtually every case, there is a sort of literary analysis which must not be confused with aesthetic criticism, even though Mr. Tillotson's responses are often of an aesthetic sort. The phenomenon is hardly unprecedented, and occurs whenever appreciation tries to do the work of appraisal. But the dominant quality in these essays is one of scholarship, and sometimes of mere scholarly tabulation. Thus we are told that Dryden's verbs "are habitually more energetic than those of any other poet." This is perfectly true, but is no more than an academic way of stating the obvious—that Dryden's poetry is habitually more energetic than almost any other poet's. Again, we are told that "Pope saw more in insects than any other poet except Gray." But we are not told why. The fact is merely noted as one of Pope's claims to be a "nature poet"; whereas what gives it point, and saves it from being the sort of discovery proclaimed in the usual Ph.D. thesis, is that it exactly satisfies an artistic need in Pope, suiting both the scale and the waspishness of his satire. Mr. Tillotson's whole approach to Pope (and Pope is probably the writer he is best equipped to write about) seems to me provincial, belated, almost naive: he assumes that, even today, people must violently take sides about Pope, that Pope still needs a kind of defiant defense, and that the special excellences of his verse need special pointing out. And Mr. Tillotson is certainly capable of some odd reactions. In contending that Pope's hatreds have been overemphasized

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as a source of his inspiration, he suggests that pity is often the mainspring, as in

"Who would not weep, if Atticus were he?"

Well, Pope himself certainly did not weep; on the contrary, he did his almighty best to prove that Atticus *was* he. Which is not to deny, however, that Pope could show pity on occasion.

LOUIS KRONENBERGER

## The Influence of the Quakers

*THE HISTORY OF QUAKERISM.* By Elbert Russell. The Macmillan Company. \$3.

*JOHN WOOLMAN: AMERICAN QUAKER.* By Janet Whitney. Little, Brown and Company. \$3.75.

THERE is an ironical though probably an unintended timeliness in the appearance of these two books, both concerned with the western world's foremost advocates of peace. One of them tells the intricate and fascinating story of the Society of Friends from the time when George Fox set forth on his youthful wanderings, just three hundred years ago, down to the outbreak of this our war. The other presents the worth and wisdom of Quakerism in their most perfect American example. Taken together, the two books make sad reading just now. They are a most poignant reminder of the gulf that yawns between our human ideals and our performance.

The gentle and wholly beneficent life of John Woolman has long been vaguely familiar to students of American literature. To the knowledge of the man that we have hitherto been able to deduce from his own writings Mrs. Whitney has now added a great wealth of detail, drawing upon

sources of information that are not easily accessible. Her account of Woolman is marred by occasional lapses into sentimentality and by a tendency to underestimate the intelligence of her probable readers, but these minor flaws do not seriously detract from her success in painting a solid and authentic portrait.

Professor Russell's book, a triumph in the art of literary condensation, lives up to its exacting title. In less than six hundred pages it presents a great range of persons and events while also outlining all the main ideas, philosophic and mystical and social, that have actuated Quakerism from its seventeenth-century beginnings. Now that it exists, one realizes that there has long been a need for such a book.

Perhaps because he is himself a Quaker, Professor Russell writes with a quietness that does not always indicate the full significance of the events he is narrating or that of the ideas with which he deals. Indeed one is sometimes left in doubt whether he himself quite comprehends their full significance and value. Thus, in an otherwise ample discussion of the "Hicksite Separation" of 1827-1828, he suggests that the growth of democratic ideals within the Society was due to external events such as the American Revolution and to the thought of outsiders such as Locke and Jefferson. And yet it is clear even from his own account that the basic notions of democracy had been implicit in the lives and doctrines of the Friends from the time of Fox himself. Indeed one may assert that Quakerism owes less to democracy than democracy owes to it. Again, although Professor Russell has spent much time upon the numerous private "journals" in which the Quakers of early days set down their religious experience, he does not suggest that these productions gave the cue to the more literary journal-writers of the nineteenth century. The many remarkable tangencies between Quaker thought and "Transcendentalism" never lead him to mention William Ellery Channing, Bronson Alcott, or Ralph Waldo Emerson, all of whom leaned more heavily upon the Friends than they ever acknowledged—or, it may be, realized.

But Professor Russell has not attempted to write a full discussion of Quaker influence upon the outer world. Such a discussion would make a book perhaps as interesting and valuable as the present one, but certainly much longer. It would deal with stages in the development of democratic theory that have been strangely neglected. It would take us back to the beginnings of the struggle for women's rights. It would show that the anti-slavery movement and our long and tragic effort toward international pacification are as old as Quakerism itself.

The fact is, as Professor Russell's history shows, that the influence of the Quakers has been amazingly more extensive during the last three centuries than their numbers would seem to warrant. This is the more remarkable in view of the fact that they have usually been somewhat withdrawn from the world's work, reluctant in speech and action, and anxious never to "out-run the Guide." Their organization has been loose, their theology has been vague, they have never had an official leadership, and seldom have they made a concerted effort to increase their numbers. When all this is considered it becomes clear that the work they have done must have been based upon something solidly true in their fundamental principles.

ODELL SHEPARD

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## IN BRIEF

**DESERT WAR.** By Russell Hill. Alfred A. Knopf. \$2.75.

Victory in the North African desert has proved elusive. Both sides have more than once seen it clearly on the horizon but it turned out to be a mirage. This book is an account of the second British advance in late 1941 when General Auchinleck's Eighth Army swept forward from the Egyptian border to the edge of Tripolitana and was then forced to retreat nearly back to where it came from—all in little over two months. Russell Hill of the *Herald Tribune*, the baby of the war correspondents corps—he is only twenty-three—kept close to the fighting through most of the campaign and his story is detailed and straightforward, although written without especial distinction. He makes very clear the peculiar difficulties of desert warfare in which decisive results can only be achieved by total destruction of the enemy force. But this feat is made next to impossible by the vast empty spaces of the battlefield which inhibit all attempts at envelopment. Some excellent maps and pictures greatly increase the value of this book.

**THE COMING OF THE CIVIL WAR.**

By Avery Craven. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$3.75.

This unbiased and well-written study carries a step farther the trend of recent historians to show that the Civil War was far from inevitable. Slavery is analyzed as a labor system, and the South is shown to have divided naturally into three regions until the triumph of the Republican Party in 1860 helped to fuse the Southwest and the Border States with the Old South in a struggle to preserve an institution by then seen as "peculiar." Emotions of various origins distorted the situation until the final breakup occurred.

## MUSIC

**BEETHOVEN'S** Eighth Symphony is a work for the Russians to think about and learn from. The thing to consider is the buoyancy, joyousness, and exuberant playfulness embodied in the work, and their complete lack of connection with the turmoil of Beethoven's daily life at the time he was writing it—the turmoil created by his attempts to break up the intimacy between his

brother Johann and Therese Obermayer. And the thing to learn is that the relation between Beethoven's artistic functioning and his experience was not immediate and direct: his articulateness in his medium related itself to an inner core of personal qualities, emotions, insights, which were in turn what were altered and developed by his experience—and not by every daily occurrence, but only by experiences that were relevant to what was developing deep inside him. When that inner development had produced the emotions and attitudes indicated by the Eighth Symphony they pressed for expression in the music of this symphony, unaffected by the external turmoil that was irrelevant to them. Earlier too it was such emotions and insights—concerned now with the heroism which Beethoven himself had developed and learned to know in the face of disaster—that operated through his articulateness in his medium to produce the "Eroica" Symphony, fortified this time by events and ideas outside which were relevant. If there had been no French Revolution and no Napoleon there would have been no torn-up dedication, but there would have been the same "Eroica" Symphony.

Ernest Newman once made much the same point about Mozart, citing the striking differences in the three symphonies which Mozart wrote in approximately two months of the summer of 1788—the last great symphonies in E flat, G minor, and C major—as evidence of the fact that "the creative imagination of a great artist functions too deep down within him to be greatly affected by anything that may happen on the surface of his life or his being. The subconscious is of much more importance in the artist than the conscious; and the subconscious proceeds by its own mysterious inner chemistry and obeys its own mysterious laws. . . . Mozart the man was uniformly wretched throughout the whole of this period; the changes in the moods of the three works were due simply to changes in his aesthetic chemistry with which the experiences of his conscious mind had the minimum of connection."

All this deserves the attention and thought of the Russians who have been over-excited about the relation of art to the conditions—the political and social order, the prevailing ideas and emotional atmosphere—of its time and place, and over-eager to exhibit to the world a music that would show its immediate and direct relation to these conditions in Russia today. By giving so

much importance to these external conditions they have created this difficulty for themselves—that it is a Hapsburg Austria from which we have got the music of Mozart, Haydn, Beethoven, Schubert, and a Soviet Russia from which we get only the music of Shostakovich. They can escape this difficulty only by recognizing the unimportance of those external conditions in relation to the greatness we are aware of in some music, the importance of the composer's personal and musical resources, the relation of the external conditions to what is quite unimportant in the music. Mozart's time and place are represented in his writing by certain characteristics of emotional content and musical language and style that are to be found in the writing of hundreds of his contemporaries; what is unique in his music represents what is uniquely his in resources of emotion and medium; and it is such resources in Beethoven that produced the music which a hundred others living in the same time and place did not produce. Recognizing all this the Russians may relax their pressure on their composers to write, for all to hear, as Artists of the Soviet Union—recognizing further that this freedom will not cause a facile-minded, pretentious Shostakovich to write anything better than he has been writing, but will permit a man of greater stature, when he does appear in Russia, to produce the music he is capable of.

What made me think of Beethoven's Eighth Symphony was the arrival of Victor's July recording of Toscanini's performance with the N. B. C. Symphony (Set 908, \$3.68). As a form in sound the performance has the characteristics that are distinctive and marvelous in every Toscanini performance. As an embodiment of the work's content it is no less marvelous; and I have heard the first three movements played with comparable effect by other conductors, but never the finale as it is played by Toscanini. On these records the sound of the performance is enveloped in the acoustical deadness that enveloped his recorded performance of the "Eroica"; but the sound itself is very good this time; and in addition the breaks in the apparently continuous performance are skilfully managed and there are no long waits at the beginnings of sides (a momentary sag in pitch on the second side must however be mentioned). Music, performance, and recording combine to make this one of the great sets of the year.

B. H. HAGGIN



# Letters to the Editors

## Shipley's York Plan

*Dear Sirs:* In your editorial, Nelson's Fourth Try, in the issue of July 25, you have inadvertently done an injustice to your readers and to at least one important member of the Smaller War Plants Corporation. You said: "Of the five men picked by Nelson for the job, four are nonentities."

What are the facts? One of these four men is Mr. William S. Shipley, chairman of the Board of the York Ice Machinery Corporation of York, Pennsylvania. Have you ever heard of the York plan of contract distribution and plant utilization? It was Mr. Shipley and his able associates who were instrumental in mobilizing the entire industrial community of York, of pressing into service every bit of machinery found within a radius of many miles of their town for the all-out war effort. And this has been going on ever since 1940, long before we entered the actual fight. From all over the country men have traveled to York to study the plan.

As a former Department of Labor investigator, I can testify to the spirit of good fellowship which has been the established tradition of the York Ice Machinery Corporation, the spirit which has moved Mr. Shipley to bring about complete mobilization of men and tools for the war effort.

Not content with his contribution within the York community, Mr. Shipley has tramped the length and breadth of the country, at his own expense and at great risk to his health, lecturing before eager listeners on the work in York. In a day when one needs only to announce a plan, sit home and see the press agents turn out reams of releases to herald the new great hero and patriot, this Mr. William S. Shipley has dared to go about his business without a press agent, without publicity. Maybe that is why even *The Nation* has overlooked his achievements.

To criticize Mr. Nelson for the manner in which he has launched the Smaller War Plants Corporation is unwarranted. It has come into existence without extravagant prophecies as to what it would accomplish. That is as it should be. Let the public learn of its usefulness through actual deeds and not through press agents. Neither can I see anything wrong with Mr. Nelson's choice of men for service on the Board

whose names have not yet appeared in headlines. We have had enough of those men. The real work of the nation is being done by men whose names might never appear in the news columns. That is no indication that they lack the qualifications to do their job well.

J. ANTHONY MARCUS  
Washington, D. C., August 2

## Twain and Whitman

*Dear Sirs:* Perhaps some of the readers of *The Nation* could help me determine whether Mark Twain and Walt Whitman ever met. In all Twain's published writings there is just one mention of the poet—the letter printed in Horace Traubel's "Camden's Compliment to Walt Whitman," Philadelphia, 1889. If they never met it is all the more surprising because they both spent the winter of 1868 in Washington, D. C., Clemens as private secretary to Senator William R. Stewart and Whitman as clerk in the Treasury Department. Exhaustively interviewed while visiting his brother Thomas Jefferson Whitman in St. Louis, October, 1879, Whitman gave his opinions of such contemporaries as J. G. Holland, Bret Harte, and "fops like Howells," but remained strangely silent about the great Missourian. In short, if the two men did meet, neither must have considered the encounter worthy of subsequent comment!

CYRIL CLEMENS  
Webster Groves, Mo., August 10

## Italian Behavior

*Dear Sirs:* Writing in *The Nation* of August 1 on the unfairness of those who expect the Italians to revolt against fascism without delay in order to regain the respect of the world, M. T. Maestro, Italian News Editor, Columbia Broadcasting System, says: "I think that the Italians already deserve the respect of the world because, in spite of having been poisoned for twenty years by a fascism which has been kept alive and prosperous by the reactionaries of the whole world, they have behaved in this war as a civilized people."

Mr. Maestro should be more explicit. What Italians have behaved in this war as a civilized people? Fourteen months ago the Italian army, jointly with the German Nazi hordes, brutally attacked and subjugated the Slovenes, together

with the rest of the Yugoslavs, and ever since this unhappy people has been subjected to mass-murder, pillage, and suppression of their language. Perhaps Mr. Maestro would think this Slovenia "incident" should be taken lightly because the Slovene people is one of the smallest in the world and matters little, and because those Slovenes who defend themselves, their wives and children, are called "bandits" and "communists" by their Italian exterminators. But the Slovenes want to live in the land which has been theirs for more than a thousand years, and no honest man who believes in democracy and justice can reproach their resistance.

I wish some honest, democratic Italian in America—and I know there are many such—would speak up and condemn these crimes; I wish some honest and courageous Italian, like Gaetano Salvemini, would tell openly in the American press that those Italians, who are guilty of the mass-terror in Slovenia and elsewhere, behave no better than the German Nazis do and that they merit the same punishment.

IVAN MOLEK, Editor,  
*Slovene Daily Prosveta*  
Chicago, Ill., August 3

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# THE *Nation*

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## *The Shape of Things*

WITH THE CONDUCT OF A WORLD WAR ON his hands, it is hard to condemn the President for having bungled the political campaign in New York State. But bungle it he certainly did. Had he gone into the campaign full-tilt from the start, there is no question that he could have had the nominee of his choice. Had he kept drastically aloof, he would have given the nomination to Bennett but he would not have lost a fight to Farley. Unfortunately the President tried to find a middle course and garnered only the usual penalty for being too late with too little. He endorsed Mead days after Farley's hand-picked delegates had pledged their all to Bennett. The result is that such I-hate-Roosevelt correspondents as John O'Donnell of the New York *Daily News* are able to report gleefully the "astounding fact" that the President "no longer can control or speak for the Democratic party in his own state." Should Bennett win the election, Mr. O'Donnell's wish will indeed have become a fact. Such an outcome is improbable, though we believe not quite as unthinkable as Mr. Chasan asserts in his report elsewhere in this issue. Bennett will have to contend with the hostility of Roosevelt, Governor Lehman, and large sections of Tammany Hall, and his candidacy has cost the Democratic anywhere from 250,000 to 400,000 American Labor Party votes which would have gone to a compromise Democratic nominee in preference to Mr. Dewey. On the other hand, Dewey himself has the opposition of the titular head of his party, and whole areas of the G. O. P., lukewarm to his presidential aspirations, may be expected to pull their punches in his behalf. ✕

AS FOR THE A. L. P., ITS ROLE IN THE campaign is almost as uninspired as the President's. Surely its leaders must have seen a Bennett victory in the offing. Yet when it came, they were caught wholly unprepared. They knew it would be suicide to capitulate and go along with Bennett, yet they had lined up no nominee of their own, and after desperate last-minute attempts to corral a big name they were forced to fall back on an obscure Tammany man who had once campaigned on a joint Democratic-Labor Party ticket for Congressman. What is worse, instead of making the

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Democrats pay through the nose for their shameful abuse of the A. L. P. by naming a completely fresh ticket, one that would cut into the Farley organization all the way down the line, the laborites gave four of the six state-wide nominations on their slate to Democrats chosen at the Bennett convention. Inept is the word for it, but there is nothing to do now but give Mr. Alfange the biggest vote possible in order to cut down the shadow which Jim Farley even now casts over the Democratic convention two years hence.

✱

**BRAZIL'S ENTRANCE INTO THE WAR WILL** encourage everyone who realizes how important it is, both now and for the future, to have all the Latin-American countries standing shoulder to shoulder with the United Nations. Brazil's first great task will be to deal rapidly and energetically with the large army of fifth columnists and saboteurs that has for so long infested its soil. In this the government can count upon the active assistance of the people who are fundamentally democratic. In fact, it was the effective expression of the masses against the latest outrages of the Nazis that left the Vargas administration no alternative but to declare war. Brazil's answer to repeated German attacks on its shipping will undoubtedly have healthy repercussions in the rest of South America where the complacent diplomacy of notes of protest and excuses is rapidly being discredited. Already Uruguay is displaying impatience and may not hesitate long before following the example of its great neighbor. Among the first to fight against the Axis, both in the political and diplomatic field, Uruguay would long ago have gone to war with Germany and Italy had it followed its own inclinations. According to our information it was on the advice of representatives of Great Britain and the United States, who were anxious that certain measures of defense be first established in the country, that the Baldomir government has refrained so far from declaring war.

✱

**THE GERMAN ADVANCE ON STALINGRAD** has reached a point where the possibility of holding the city is in grave question. For weeks the Soviet defenders along the Don, both to the northwest and southwest of Stalingrad, held firm against all Nazi attacks. But once the Germans succeeded in crossing the river in force at several points, there remained no natural obstacles to aid the defense. Although the city is reported to be strongly fortified, its dependence on the Volga as its chief supply route makes it vulnerable to the German pincer strategy. In the Caucasus the Nazi forces have advanced to within less than a hundred miles of the Grozny oil fields. Although there seems little danger that they will reach Baku before winter sets in, the British action in establishing an independent army com-

mand for Iran and Iraq suggests that preparations are being made for any eventuality. But whatever happens in the south, it seems certain that there will be a Russian front in the north again this winter and next spring. Despite the losses in the south, Moscow, Leningrad, and the Ural industrial areas are capable of provisioning the Red Army for another winter campaign. Thus, although Hitler has made great gains, he has failed in the primary objective of his 1942 campaign, which was to put Russia out of the war.

✱

**DONALD NELSON'S LATEST REPORT ON** production shows that the lag which first became apparent in June persisted in July. The fact that production as a whole fell short of announced goals by 7 per cent is not in itself serious. In a period of rapid advance some delays are almost inevitable. What is really important, as Mr. Nelson is well aware, is to keep the production program in balance and to make sure that its emphasis is where it should be. Mr. Nelson acknowledges that the program has gotten somewhat out of balance, but assures us that every effort is being made to correct the situation. The record is wholly satisfactory with respect to shipbuilding and the output of tanks—and these are crucial items. But it is highly disturbing that our June production of planes, according to Elmer Davis, was well below expectation while the July output reflected a gain of only 6 per cent over the June figures. In answer to the storm of criticism which has arisen against the WPB in recent weeks, Mr. Nelson announced that he was going to "get tough" with any one obstructing the program. It is ironic, to say the least, that his first move after his fighting statement was to dismiss not the dollar-a-year men who are responsible for the steel shortage but an employee, Frederick S. Libbey—because he had talked to a newspaper reporter before filing with his superiors a report on the shortage which contained severe criticism of big steel and the steel branch of the WPB. Perhaps the most significant statement in the Libbey report, as published by *PM*, is that "the principal criticism of the branch by operating personnel in the [steel] industry . . . is that the consultant staff is composed largely of sales executives whereas they feel that engineers are needed to plan production."

✱

**CHINA HAS BEEN MAKING RAPID PROGRESS** in the past week toward wiping out the last remaining gains of Japan's early summer offensive. The important South Chekiang port of Wenchow has been retaken for the second time within a month—this time, apparently, for keeps. Wenchow is peculiarly vital to the United Nations because it is only 200 miles from the strong Japanese naval base on Formosa and only 600 miles from the main Japanese islands. The Chinese have also suc-



ceeded in reoccupying 140 miles of the strategic Hangchow-Nanchang railways which the Japanese won at such cost in July. In this counter-drive the Chinese have managed to recapture several potential United Nations air bases from which raids may eventually be made against Japan and, at last report, were within 20 miles of Chushien, where one of the largest of Chinese air fields is located. This rather unexpected success may well change the whole strategy of our campaign against Japan. Instead of a long and costly drive from island to island, it may be possible for the United States to undertake a direct aerial offensive against Japan from Chinese bases.

✱

CHINA'S SUCCESSES HAPPEN TO COINCIDE with the anniversary of the Treaty of Nanking which inaugurated special rights for foreigners in the Middle Kingdom. It was signed August 29, 1842—just one hundred years ago. Within two years of the signing of the treaty both Britain and the United States obtained extra-territorial rights in China. In view of China's magnificent contribution to the cause of the United Nations, what could be more fitting than for the United States to mark the anniversary by formally relinquishing extra-territoriality and all other special privileges in China? Both the United States and Great Britain have indicated their intention to negotiate new treaties with China after the war. But why wait until the war is over? Action now would have a highly beneficial effect on morale not only in China but throughout the East, including India.

## *Inflation Is Here*

**B**EFORE many weeks have passed the country is going to wake up to the fact that our elaborate price-control mechanism has failed to achieve its purpose. Already serious cracks are appearing in the price ceilings. A fortnight ago the OPA removed all restrictions on the price charged for twenty-five services, including watch repairing, shoe shining, and shoe repairing, and eased the restrictions on the charges for a number of other services. A day or so earlier Henderson had announced that food wholesalers and retailers would be permitted to use an "alternative pricing method," a euphemism for higher prices. A week later the OPA warned that the ceiling prices for some canned vegetables would have to be lifted. The ceiling on canned fruit was raised some time ago so as not to discourage canning during the present season.

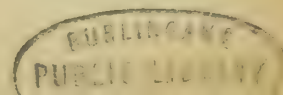
On many other items the price ceilings have not yet been tested for the very significant reason that quality has been permitted to deteriorate. In some instances, the OPA has been accused of writing its specifications in such a way as deliberately to force down quality. Such an accusation might be very difficult to prove, but every

woman knows this year's \$17.95 dress is inferior to last year's regardless of price ceilings. All of this, of course, is just a beginning. Despite controls, basic commodity prices have risen to the level of October, 1926. Farm products are 6 per cent higher than in 1926 and nearly 25 per cent higher than last year at this time. Food prices in the primary markets are 16 per cent higher than a year ago. Uncontrolled food prices rose 7.3 per cent between mid-May and mid-June. The recent price increase in basic commodities is bound to have its effect before long on wholesale and retail costs. Unless the upsurge is stopped, the present ceiling must collapse, leaving us without any effective check against inflation.

Washington dispatches indicate that the President will soon make another effort to stem the inflationary tide by setting up a seven-man Economic Stabilization Authority with broad powers to coordinate federal policies on prices, wages, taxes, and savings. Such an integration of federal policy is badly needed and may bring forth some significant recommendations. But the country must be made to recognize that there is little that any administrative agency can do at this late date. Mr. Henderson and his associates have gone as far as the law allows in carrying on a skilful rear-guard action against inflation. Congress, and Congress alone, is responsible for letting the situation become as serious as it is. Congress alone has the power to forge weapons to meet the peril, and most Congressmen appear to be too busy preparing for the elections to do their jobs.

As Mr. Henderson predicted, the provision in the Price Control Act prohibiting the establishing of farm price ceilings below 110 per cent of parity has greatly weakened the whole price-control mechanism. Since "parity" is not a fixed point but a ratio between farm and industrial prices, the provision probably precludes any ceiling on farm prices, regardless of how high prices may rise. Reversing his earlier position, Secretary Wickard has urged that the 110 per cent limitation be repealed, thus placing responsibility squarely on the doorstep of Congress.

Far more serious, however, than any weakness in the price-control mechanism is the failure of Congress to heed the Treasury's tax recommendations. For there is no way in which prices can be held down if the amount of money in people's pockets greatly exceeds the value of the goods on the shelves of the country's stores. The war bond campaign is draining away part, but only a small part, of the excess purchasing power created by the war. It is now recognized that the Treasury's original \$8,700,000,000 tax bill would have been inadequate even if it had been adopted and put in force several months ago. The House bill, now before the Senate, fell short of the Treasury's goal by approximately \$2,500,000,000. A sales tax is still being urged in some quarters as a means of filling the gap but it is sheer hypocrisy to de-





scribe this class measure as anti-inflationary. A sales tax would serve only to limit the buying of the poor; by its very nature it could not tap the surplus unused funds in the hands of the middle and upper income groups. If inflation is to be checked, these surpluses must be put to work. The Treasury has suggested several ways by which this can be done. But only Congress can levy taxes.

## Can Labor Unite?

THE new unity negotiations between the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. will not begin until late September. Delay in inaugurating the conferences reflects the mood in which they are being approached by most of labor's leaders. There have, of course, been pious statements from both sides voicing their eagerness for a united labor movement. But these notes of hope have invariably been overshadowed by gloomy admonitions not to "expect miracles" and doleful recitations of the obstacles that stand in the way. Some of labor's statesmen seem to feel that optimism would create an upsurge of rank-and-file sentiment, unduly embarrassing the negotiators as they go through the motions. Cynicism over the new peace talks is not universal, but it is unmistakably dominant. And it is bad news for the country as well as for labor.

We do not pretend that the problems cited are imaginary. There are innumerable jurisdictional quarrels to be settled. There are familiar personal incompatibilities that mar the vision of one happy labor family: Joseph P. Ryan, reactionary boss of East Coast longshoreman, and Harry Bridges, West Coast ruler, dramatize the gap. The peace committees include William L. Hutcheson, hard-boiled Tory czar of the A. F. of L. Carpenters, and Julius Emspak, shrewd party-line secretary of the C. I. O. Electrical Workers.

The case can be documented in even more lugubrious detail. It is no anti-labor myth to suggest that personal ambitions are at stake, that some officeholders will have to be pensioned, that redistributions of power must be painfully devised. The real difficulty is that key leaders in the A. F. of L. and C. I. O. are viewing these problems not merely as serious but as insoluble; they seem unable to weigh the sacrifices they must make for unity against the cost—to the war effort as well as to labor's private status—of continued civil war.

Meanwhile, labor continues to protest—justly—that the war effort is gravely hampered by the lack of adequate labor representation in high production councils. As this is written the handful of labor representatives in the War Production Board are heading for a showdown with Donald Nelson over the WPB "freeze-out" of labor men and labor's ideas. Labor has an urgent and compelling indictment. Yet the division in its ranks, the

incessant jockeying for position, the determination of both the A. F. of L. and C. I. O. to curb each other's power and prestige has immeasurably aggravated this situation. It was because the A. F. of L. and C. I. O. were unable to agree on a genuine labor spokesman that they finally agreed on Paul V. McNutt for Manpower Commissioner; how can labor raise its voice now over the current inadequacies of McNutt's performance? It is because of inter-labor rivalries that Walter P. Reuther, labor's foremost production expert, still occupies no effective post in the production setup. It is an open secret that appointments of all labor men in the government must be cleared with the A. F. of L. and C. I. O.; but almost inevitably the Administration must select two men—one from each camp—or find a spokesman from outside labor's house. This is no apology for Donald Nelson and others in high government posts who have shunned effective labor appointments. Labor is not the prime villain in the piece; but that does not make any less real its guilt in furnishing ammunition to every foe of labor participation in the war program.

A clear demonstration by labor's heads that they can see beyond the labyrinth of jurisdictional hocus-pocus could reinvigorate the whole mental climate of the war effort. It could—if carried through with full appreciation of its dramatic value—stimulate the spirits of men in Washington and outside who are dismayed by the politics, double-talk, and bureaucratic rivalry which still inhibit the war drive. Unity would be a way of serving notice that labor has terminated unionism-as-usual, and is prepared to assume a role of leadership in the war against fascism.

Only a handful of men in labor's camp have so far seen the affirmative meaning of unity. Sidney Hillman spoke out forcefully last week in a plea for successful prosecution of the unity talks. His statement was apparently inspired by fear of the pessimism and lethargy in high labor places. We hope that Hillman will soon return to an active place in C. I. O. councils. But more than anyone else Philip Murray can change the atmosphere of the unity meetings. Murray is widely respected in both the A. F. of L. and C. I. O.—and by labor's rank-and-file. He has never been accused of narrow personal ambition. He has fought—and licked—John L. Lewis for control of the C. I. O., achieving dignity and eloquence in the course of the struggle. He proved that he was alive to the nation's danger at a time when Lewis was leading the isolationist labor front. Will he recognize as plainly the course of statesmanship in uniting labor's ranks?

For there have been enough speeches about this being "labor's war." It is. And each day of labor's failure to emerge as a decisive factor in guiding that war—on the production front, in political warfare, and in many other areas—will be costly in men and materials and morale.



# War and Confidence

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

**W**HILE the general staffs study the military, naval, and air lessons of the attack on Dieppe, two conclusions can already be drawn in the political field: the immense desire for a second front was overwhelmingly demonstrated and the possibility that it may be established has inspired evident fear in the ranks of the enemy. Nothing more was needed to electrify the people on both shores of the Atlantic than a headline announcing that Allied soldiers, and especially American soldiers, had landed in France. No Gallup poll, no demonstration in Trafalgar Square, no press campaign ever proved so eloquently the will to take the offensive against the Nazis as the enthusiasm that swept through New York when the news of the raid broke.

I had just seen a striking single expression of this general state of mind. A couple of days before the Dieppe attack I had met casually in the street an old Spanish Republican resident of New York. With him was a man equally Spanish in appearance. He was the last Spaniard to have escaped from Spain who had succeeded in crossing the ocean—without papers, without a ticket or money, as a stowaway on one of the infrequent ships sailing from Portugal. Although visibly wasted from lack of food, he was one of those tough, big-framed men that northern Spain produces. "What's going on there?" I asked. "Much hunger?" This time the word hunger failed to provoke the reaction usual in people who come from Spain. He spoke scarcely a word about his own experience or the sufferings of his people. "There," he said, with an indescribable gesture showing faith and strength at the same time, "everyone is only waiting for these people to attack." "And if they attack, what?" "If the British, and especially if the Americans, land in Spain, along with them will go a million Spaniards—like that." And he thrust out his arms to show the advance of a solid mass. "Like that—along with them—all the way to Berlin." Gladly I would have handed him over to the State Department. The light in his eyes was worth a dozen embassy reports.

Fears that a second front might wipe out the advantages already won in the sweep through Russia have been evident in the way the Axis propaganda service has handled the raid on Dieppe. Its whole effort has been concentrated on creating the impression that the raid was a genuine and carefully prepared attempt to establish a Western front and that its failure had doomed the whole project of invasion. It is to be assumed that the Allied agencies in charge of war information will study the political aspect of the attack with the same zeal that the staffs are devoting to its military aspects. But a casual

examination of the handling of this latest incident suggests that, in spite of recent undoubted improvements in Allied propaganda, the Axis still holds the offensive on this crucial front.

This is a situation which will be difficult to change as long as the political position of the United Nations is impaired by so many internal contradictions. Among all the observations on India made by Louis Fischer, the most disquieting is his report of the lack of confidence among the Indians in the promises of the British. And similar doubt exists in other parts of the world as to the Allies as a whole. It is a distrust based not only on the memory of failure to fulfill the promises made during the last war, but also on the presence in the government apparatus of the United Nations of officials who have demonstrated their contempt for the democratic principles enunciated by their leaders.

This has been said a hundred times; it must be said a hundred times more. When the people consider Allied policy toward Vichy, toward Spain; when they see the appeasers and defeatists—who in case of a major military setback would hurry forward to revive the "realism" of Munich—continuing as ministers and ambassadors and advisers, the people ask themselves what kind of a war for democracy is this? To overcome this distrust is as important as to settle the problem of supremacy in the air or the problem of shipping. Even the worst defeats on the military front, even the most disappointing political decisions, would be accepted without protest if the people had full faith in the democratic integrity of their governors. Without such faith no Allied propaganda will be effective in laying the necessary political basis for the gigantic effort which will be required to assume the offensive against the Axis powers.

Most military experts today insist upon the urgency of achieving unity in the direction of the war. They show without difficulty the pressing need of a Supreme War Council supported by inter-Allied commands in the fields of military, economic, and political warfare. Such unity is essential. But it must be created not only in formal or bureaucratic terms; it must be the expression of a clear political purpose accepted by all the United Nations.

It is time to free the people of the world from the tragic conflict involved in fighting a war under colors not their own. If this is a war for democracy the most urgent thing to do is to restore confidence to the peoples of the earth. And this can be achieved only by placing the whole conduct of the war, political as well as military, in the hands of leaders whom the people trust—whether they sit in a cabinet discussing the problem of India, whether they sit with generals and admirals discussing a second front, or whether they sit in a committee of experts laying the foundations for the international society of tomorrow.



# Farley Picks a Loser

BY WILL CHASAN

JIM FARLEY scored a momentary victory over President Roosevelt at the New York State Democratic convention last week, but in doing so he deliberately scuttled his party's chances of electing a Democratic governor. For the politically astute ex-Postmaster General must know that John J. Bennett, the drab and undistinguished Attorney General whom he made the Democratic candidate, has not the slightest hope of defeating Republican Tom Dewey.

Farley obviously was less concerned with Democratic victory than with pushing his personal fight against the President. To the delight of the anti-New Deal press, which after years of denouncing him as an unscrupulous machine boss suddenly found him to be a person of shining integrity, Farley converted the convention into an anti-Roosevelt demonstration. In this he was aided by the Kings County and Queens delegations, in both of which there were strong isolationist and some Coughlinite elements.

Under the influence of these forces, the convention was one of the rowdiest in Democratic Party history. Bennett's supporters came to the nominating session Thursday morning quite certain of victory and rudely eager to get it over with. They listened with noisy indifference to the report on resolutions by Lieutenant-Governor Charles Poletti, following with shouts of "We want Bennett!" Thereafter every speaker for Mead, including Governor Lehman, was heckled and jeered. References to Roosevelt, which had been applauded perfunctorily in the preceding session, were booed. Special Federal Prosecutor Oscar Ewing, who declared that he was "fortified" in his support of Mead by the fact that Roosevelt had declared for him, was booed so insistently that he could not be heard.

The convention majority was unimpressed by the knowledge that Bennett would not have the support of the American Labor Party, which provided Lehman with his margin of victory in the last election. Many delegates were intensely bitter at the A.L.P.'s attempt to influence their choice of a candidate, and unprintable comments on the laborites were heard on all sides in the lobby. The convention received in silence several indirect references to labor support. Representative William Byrne of Albany, the one person who openly urged Mead's nomination on the ground that he would have Labor Party backing, was interrupted so frequently that he required a half-hour to complete a five-minute speech.

Bennett's victory by 623 votes to 393 caused wild enthusiasm among his delegates, but one Tammany leader caustically observed that they were "cheering their own funeral." "They've just thrown 400,000 labor votes out of the window," he said. Several delegates who had been bludgeoned into supporting Bennett by Boss Frank Kelly of Brooklyn were equally pessimistic. One of them said disgustedly, "Farley may be smart, but it doesn't take much brains to pick a loser."

Farley's insistence on Bennett was plainly bad political strategy, inexplicable except in terms of his desire to humiliate the President. The Mead forces, taking their lead from the White House, had offered to accept any "compromise" candidate suggested by Farley and approved by Kelly. They pointed out that both Roosevelt and Lehman had indicated they would not support Bennett. But Farley would not budge. Toward the end it seemed that Bennett's chief virtue, aside from the fact that he was born in Brooklyn, was that he was the one person whom the President had openly opposed.

Actually the Bennett nomination was the President's own fault. Farley was able to name the next Democratic gubernatorial candidate only because Roosevelt failed to commit himself to Senator Mead's candidacy until it was too late. The President, according to one Brooklyn leader, "could have nominated Jim Mead or Joe Doakes if he had spoken soon enough. But he sat on the fence until too many county leaders were sewed up."

As it was, Farley dominated the proceedings. He dictated the nomination, over the courageous but futile opposition of Lehman and Wagner, and in every way was the hero of the sweaty, boisterous convention at the Hotel St. George in Brooklyn. He sat on the platform, pink and smiling, while the crowd heckled New Deal speakers. That the most violent heckling came from questionable elements did not detract from his pleasure.

His triumph, however, is destined to be brief. The estrangement of the A.L.P., which has since named its own candidate, and the bitter disunity which the convention brought to the Democratic Party itself, appear to guarantee the election of a Republican governor in New York for the first time in twenty-two years. The only hopeful aspect of such an eventuality is that Bennett's defeat would probably break Farley's hold on the New York Democratic organization, thus thwarting his ambition to lead a solid New York bloc against the New Deal in the national Democratic convention of 1944.



# Germany's Waning Manpower

BY FRITZ STERNBERG

AS GERMANY stands on the threshold of the fourth year of war, its high command faces the urgent problem of a shortage in manpower. At the outbreak of World War II Germany had approximately 20 million men in the age classes between 18 and 48. Of this number 1.3 to 1.5 million were in the army and 18 to 19 million in industry. In the first two years of war, that is, until the German assault on the Soviet Union, the strength of the German army fluctuated between a low of 4 and a high of 6.5 million during the decisive weeks of the campaign in France. To maintain this average of 5 million, German industry had to yield to the army about 4 million men.

It was the task of the German economic general staff to replace these 4 million. More than 1 million women were absorbed by production during this period; foreign "volunteer" workers supplied more than 2 million. In addition, 1.5 million war prisoners were put to work. Thus the 4 million men who had gone into the army were more or less replaced. Furthermore, in the course of the second year the industries of the conquered and occupied regions were more and more drawn into the German war economy, and Germany's production expanded.

The war against the Soviet Union fundamentally changed this state of affairs. In the first place, the army sent against the Soviet Union had to be much stronger than that dispatched to France, Belgium, and Holland. The power of the Soviet armies, the tremendously extended fronts, the far-flung supply system necessitated, according to a conservative estimate, a German army of 7 to 8 million. In addition the Third Reich has been forced to maintain occupation armies, numbering between 1 and 2 million. Casualties, including the wounded, are placed by German sources at about 150,000 a month, or 1.8 million a year, a figure probably below the actual losses.

These figures reveal that the German economic general staff was forced to draw another 5 million men from industry in the second and third years of war and to place them at the disposal of the army. In other words, of the 20 million German men in the most productive age classes, between 18 and 48, only half, at best, are still in industry. The others are either in the army or among the dead, wounded, and missing. Since the war in Russia is exacting such a tremendous sacrifice in blood, the 10 million Germans between 18 and 48 who were left to operate the industrial machine must be

constantly diminishing. This is the background against which all German reorganization measures must be viewed.

Germany has done everything to raise the number of foreign "volunteer" workers, but its efforts have not been crowned with any impressive success. The majority of Germany's foreign workers were in the Reich before the Russian drive began, and since then their number has risen by less than 750,000. The large number of Russian prisoners taken, especially in the first few months of the campaign, must be used with caution for fear of their "bad influence" on German workers. Aside from agricultural purposes, they have been of limited use. According to all reports, the performance of foreigners and war prisoners lags far behind that of German workers, and the implication is that they fill hardly 20 per cent of the gap created by the loss of 5 million men to the army.

Tremendous efforts have been made to find substitutes at home and to raise the workers' productive capacity. More and more married women are used in industry, if not by the entire day, then at least by the hour. The age limit too has been relaxed: old-age pension recipients have been put to work again; children from ten to fourteen are employed, not only in agriculture, but in industry as well. For men working hours have been substantially increased, to nine, ten, and even twelve hours.

The German economic general staff realizes clearly that the substance of human productive capacity is being drained, and that such extended working hours can be imposed only for a few months, but it starts out from the assumption that if this drain can bring about great military successes in the decisive summer and fall months of 1942, then the health of industrial workers must be risked, just as the lives of soldiers are risked on the battlefield. A sharp decline in production during the winter of 1942 due to the strain of the past spring and summer must likewise be risked.

This increased pressure on the industrial front has become necessary for still another reason. Since the Polish and French campaigns lasted only a few weeks, the German military general staff could grant millions of soldiers furloughs for extended periods of time to work in industry. Afterwards these men were again placed in active service, together with the younger age classes. The Russian campaign has put an end to this procedure. During the summer and fall offensives of 1941, and in the period of last winter's defensive fight-



ing, the situation was so precarious that there was no thought of extended furloughs.

Thus, quite aside from the problems caused by the use of foreign workers, war prisoners, and many newly-employed women, old men, and children, a complete change in the economic structure of the Reich is imperative. The German economic general staff is trying to accomplish just such a transformation through further rationalization and centralization of production.

Here again the situation has changed since the early days of the war. In the first two years the process of concentration of plants had been slowed down in Germany because the economic general staff was then bent on incorporating the industries in the conquered and occupied regions into the German war economy and it knew that any steps toward further concentration at home were bound to be strongly resisted by German private business. It felt able to do without such concentration in any case because in the first phase of the war the procession of military victories was resulting in a steady absorption of Europe into Germany's war economy and thus in a growing production of war material. In the beginning of the Russian war there was little change, for a rapid victory was still taken for granted. It was not until the winter campaign against the Soviet Union, and America's entry into the war, that the Germans realized they would have to reckon with a long-drawn-out war. To avoid a sudden decline in arms production and, on the other hand, to turn over additional troops to the army, the economic general staff has been forced to take further measures toward the rationalization of German industry. Despite resistance, smaller plants have been closed down in large numbers and steps taken to assure greater efficiency of operation.

In a recent article in the *Economist*, entitled *The Latest Gamble*, a London writer analyzes the situation:

The chief bottleneck is labor. The labor force of Europe is working beyond capacity. A further intake of women is impossible without greatly extending day nurseries and kindergartens—which themselves swallow up more labor; the temporary demobilization of soldiers to work in war factories has not been possible this winter because of the strongly sustained Russian pressure; to bring in more foreign workers would strain factory discipline to the breaking point—its unsatisfactory state can be inferred from the greatly increased severity of the penalties imposed for absenteeism and slacking. There is only one possibility—to increase the efficiency of the war-industries; but the slack that can be taken in here is probably small, and there is a point at which extra planning from the center and extra directives to industry defeat their objective by destroying flexibility and local initiative. . . .

To rationalize industry further and to introduce a new nationwide drive to root out marginal inefficiency would arouse resentment and opposition in the mana-

gerial grades and probably frustrate its own purpose. All these and a host of other dilemmas spring from the fact that the Nazis are trying to make an instrument—in this case the productive capacity of Europe—do more than it can do.

One of the methods designed to concentrate production in plants with the greatest capacity is the new method of regulating prices. Until recently a system of cost-plus-profit prices, by which the German state conceded a level of prices within an elaborate set-up of price controls, guaranteed individual enterprises a market for their products at normal profits. Within that system there was room for the smaller enterprises. But now there has been a marked and growing tendency toward a system of "fixed prices," especially in the field of arms production, a system which works independently of individual costs. It is evident that a system of this kind is bound to lead to the throttling of numerous medium-sized and smaller enterprises.

Reorganization of the German economic structure is being carried out by a group of new appointees. Today a former *Gauleiter* of Thuringia named Sauckel is responsible for labor supply. A Professor Speer has been made minister for armaments and munition, and one Herr Werlin, the new head of the transport system. Werlin is now personally responsible to Hitler, since along with manpower, transportation is one of the greatest bottlenecks in the German economy.

In the field of railroad transportation the Third Reich was far less prepared for war than Hohenzollern Germany had been on the eve of the first World War. In 1939 the rolling stock was 80,000 pieces less than in 1929, and the bulk of the railroad cars was more than twenty years old. To meet the acute difficulties, a large-scale building program was adopted, calling for the construction of 6,000 locomotives, 10,000 passenger cars, and 112,000 freight cars during the years 1939 to 1942. The work began in June, 1939, but when the war broke out everything stopped. Nazi Germany won in the West, and the booty in rolling stock yielded approximately as much as the four-year building program had provided for. The relief lasted until the war against the Soviet Union began to drag along at ever-increasing distances from German industrial centers.

Internal difficulties in Germany have clearly multiplied during the second and third years of war. The manpower problem cannot be completely solved; per capita labor output can be increased only up to a point without producing grave consequences. Nevertheless, any analysis of Germany's economic problems which ignores comparable difficulties facing other belligerents can lead to fatal and false conclusions. There is evidence that Soviet Russia has suffered far more severely than Germany; that proportionately, therefore, Germany's position in Europe has not deteriorated. On the con-



trary, the danger exists that it has grown even stronger. Russia has suffered losses in manpower much greater than those of the Germans and has probably given up close to half of its industries. Regardless of whether, or to what extent, Germany can utilize the industrial regions it has captured, the fact remains that Soviet Russia no longer has them.

In World War I Germany was able to concentrate about 80 per cent of its armies on the Western Front and required only 20 per cent on the Eastern Front. This distribution was possible because German industry out-produced the Russian many times over. Since then the picture has basically changed. Soviet Russia gradually caught up with Germany's industrial production, and also with its arms production. This is why, after its victories in the West, Germany had to throw 80 instead of 20 per cent of its armies against the Soviet Union and yet was unable to win a complete victory. If Germany manages, however, to seize the oil of the

Caucasus, to cut the Russian forces in the Northern and Central Fronts from those in the South, then even though the Red Army may still remain in the field, the Nazis could withdraw millions from the Eastern Front and concentrate them at the various potential invasion spots of Europe.

Any discussion of the second front must take into account this possibility. We have been asking too many questions and talking too much about the tonnage, troops, planes, and tanks available for opening a second front. True, month by month, our resources increase. But the main point is this: Nazi Germany is no static enemy. With a major military success on the Russian front it may find 50 per cent of its forces, or even 30 per cent, adequate for Eastern operations, instead of the 80 now required. Millions of German soldiers would then be released for other theaters of war.

To be sure, a second front is a risk, but failure to create it may be by far the greater risk.

## France's Turncoat Artists

BY MINNA LEDERMAN

SOME weeks ago the New York *Times* ran a picture of Mistinguette, Parisian music-hall star of lo these many years, taken arm-in-arm with Georges Carpentier and Max Schmeling. Giving her Nazi companion the glad eye and a toothy smile, she was valiantly making publicity for Franco-German *Kultur*. As a scene in conquered territory it was brutally effective. As a symbol of the new cultural tie it was an understatement, since that front now extends far beyond the level of the night club and the sports arena. When distinguished men of arts and letters lend their prestige to the New Order, "collaboration" assumes a more profound dimension, and Paris, to whose great traditions all the Western world is in debt, takes on the aspect of a city captive not only in body but in heart and mind as well.

The recent visit to Germany of several well-known French painters and sculptors has by its very irony been an extraordinary tribute to Hitler. During the furious years of the war on *Kulturbolshevismus*, the School of Paris was one of his favorite whipping boys. Cubism, surrealism, even impressionism were branded as "excrescences of lunatics or degenerates." In 1938, after the Munich show of "decadent art," the canvasses of Picasso, Van Gogh, Matisse, Laurencin, Gris, Braque, Derain, Vlaminck, even Pissarro, Gauguin, and Cézanne were stripped from the German museums. But when Hitler beckoned, only a few months ago, five painters—André Derain, Maurice de Vlaminck, Dunoyer de Segonzac, Kees van Dongen (Dutch by birth but French

by long residence), and Othon Friesz—and the famous sculptor Charles Despiau, left Paris to make a specially conducted *Studienreise* through the Third Reich. Unmentioned of course was the expulsion of works by Vlaminck and Derain (Derain's *Valley of the Lot at Vers* was salvaged in 1939 by New York's Museum of Modern Art). After visiting a number of cities, the group wound up in Berlin and posed for pictures to be distributed all over Europe with captions about Franco-German cultural ties.

Not more than six weeks old is a letter from Banyuls, in southern France, which reports the departure for Paris by the sculptor Aristide Maillol, on the first leg of a similar journey to Berlin. Maillol is of course no modern; his serene "healthy" nudes have long been popular in the Reich. But since he is now over eighty and has been living and working peacefully in his own home in the comparative security of the unoccupied region, news of his decision comes as a shock.

Shortly before the tour of the French artists, the Germans staged a traveling musical show. Composer Florent Schmitt, his seventy-two years giving him the prestige of a dean, and two Swiss musicians whose careers are closely associated with France—Arthur Honegger, composer of the Group of Six, and Robert Bernard, editor of the new, German-authorized, Parisian review *L'Information Musicale*—led a body of respectable publishers and academy chiefs to a Mozart festival in Vienna, where they were welcomed as guests of Richard Strauss



at a grand reception in honor, again, of Franco-German cultural relations.

Collaboration, however, is not all parties and junkets. Long before the war, France had its own fascist intellectuals: Abel Bonnard, the essayist, Alphonse de Chateaubriant, whose *La Gerbe des Forces* saluted Hitler at the time of Munich, Jacques Chardonne, novelist and publisher, and Alfred Fabre-Luce. (For such figures there is no counterpart either in the United States, where the openly fascist press is demagogic and illiterate, or in Britain where, if more aristocratic, it has been exclusively political.) Convinced, didactic, learned, elegant, these Frenchmen now dominate the Parisian world of letters. Around them and Drieu la Rochelle, who has transformed the once great *Nouvelle Revue Française* into a medium for every dubious and reactionary opinion, revolve all the lesser writers whose sympathies have long been suspect, and many an aspiring new careerist who sees a future where none was offered before. As leaders, they supply the spinal column to a policy that might otherwise be purely opportunist and fluid. They give the New Order its Parisian accent.

The Germans, too, make a major contribution to this front. They have rigged up a stage-set of "Paris-as-usual" in the midst of a France despoiled by war which is a triumph of Nazi advertising techniques. Forty houses of the *haute couture* are now subsidized so that they may operate freely, unrestrained by the drastic textile rations imposed elsewhere. This supplies the necessary "tone" for visiting Nazi big-wigs, and for the local bankers and big motor and steel men, collaborationists from way back. Hostesses for the Franco-German set are easily flushed from cover. The Marquise de Polignac (of the champagne family that once employed Ribbentrop) and the Comtesse de Noailles have reopened their salons. Heavy culture jobs are awarded to discreet scholars and artists. The distinguished painter, Georges Braque, becomes director of Les Gobelins. The opera, going full blast, enjoys the enthusiastic services of the French Wagnerian star, Germaine Lubin, whose Mercedes limousines are conspicuous on the not very crowded boulevards. Serge Lifar, Diaghilev's famous legacy to the ballet, is once more packing them in. The pianist Henri Février plays for the troops of occupation. Government-regulated bookshops display the novels of Louis Ferdinand Céline in gaudy covers. Glamor girls and glamor boys are all over the place, when they are not in Berlin: Corinne Luchaire, daughter of the newly-made publisher and already the past *amie* of the Nazi ambassador, Otto Abetz; Danielle Darrieux (once of Hollywood), Yvonne Printemps, Sascha Guitry, Pierre Fresnay, Raimu (of "The Baker's Wife"). Harry Bauer who accepted an invitation to Berlin was imprisoned there on discovery of his non-Aryan ancestry; Maurice Chevalier, not a collaborationist but ardent for Pétain,

at last report, refused to go and now confines his tours to unoccupied France. And with a poetic sense of timing, Jean Cocteau, perennial Ward McAllister of Paris social-artistic life, bobs up again, a piece for Chateaubriant's new magazine *La Gerbe* in one hand and in the other the key to his old night club, Le Boeuf sur le Toit.

Paris even has Picasso, which is perhaps Hitler's shrewdest touch. By every expectation Picasso should have been turned over to Franco with other Spanish anti-fascists caught in France after the Civil War. His political sympathies are irrevocably on record in the mural, "Guernica," which is a piece of surrealism to boot. But as a prisoner of war Picasso would be an international embarrassment both to Spain and Germany. Living unmolested in the French capital, on the other hand, he is a demonstration to all the world of the new Nazi tolerance and sophistication. Thus he visits his old cafés, is courted by Abetz himself, and sees his pictures going, at prices fabulously beyond their pre-war level, to the new German "tourists" who buy French paintings as an investment against possible inflation at home.

"The season is excellent," wrote Georges Auric, a composer of Cocteau's circle, in last year's *Nouvelle Revue Française*. His only regret was the monotony of musical programs, the absence of new works. But, as the emigré composer, Arthur Lourié, pointed out, since that complaint has been fashionable for many a year, "one gets the impression that 'nothing' has happened except that the Germans are there!"

This noisy parody of yesterday's world is of course no faithful mirror of contemporary French culture. It does not even reflect Vichy's contribution to the New Order. Grouped around Pétain, whose "official" magazine is appropriately the ancient *Revue des Deux Mondes*, are Academicians like André Chaumeix and Henri Bordeaux, the famous pianist Alfred Cortot, now attached to the Department of Education—not one of them a day under sixty-five—and Henri Massis, of the *Revue Universelle*. Vichy is more "correct" than Paris (unlike Février, for instance, Cortot will not play for the German army) and on the whole far duller; the volatile novelist Paul Morand and some of the younger men attached to Radio Vichy—Hugues Panassié (of *Le Jazz Hot*) and a few members of *La Jeune France* are rare exceptions.

Many of the most impressive of France's intellectual leaders live outside the orbit of the capital and have drawn away from Vichy. André Gide on the Riviera conducts a subtle rear-guard action against Paris. Paul Valéry is philosophically remote at Montpellier. Paul Claudel, no lover of the pre-war order, after paying his respects to Pétain, has publicly protested some of Vichy's more fascist decrees and retired to live at Brangués (Isère). André Malraux, at work on a new novel, remains obscurely in the south, and so too does Louis



Aragon, whose poetry is now being translated and published in the United States. Francis Poulenc, another composer of *Les Six*, lives and works in Marseilles. Henri Matisse, Pierre Bonnard, and Raoul Dufy continue to paint in the unoccupied zone, despite the prevailing shortage of pigment and canvas. Under the conditions of military conquest, most of these men have been rendered politically inarticulate. Even more effectively silenced are two brilliant writers in the occupied region—Georges Duhamel and Francis Mauriac.

In America the number of famous personages coming from France grows steadily larger. Musicians here now include the composers Igor Stravinsky and Darius Milhaud and the great harpsichordist Wanda Landowska. Among the writers are the Catholic leader Jacques Maritain, the surrealist poet André Breton, the novelists Jules Romains, Antoine de Saint-Exupéry, André Maurois, and the playwright Henri Bernstein. The artists include Fernand Léger, Yves Tanguy, Ossip Zadkine, André Masson, Marc Chagall, Pavel Tchelichew, Eugène Berman, Marcel Duchamps, and the sculptor Jacques Lipchitz. Among the cinema lights are the directors René Clair, Jean Renoir, Jean Benoit-Lévy, and Henry Diamant-Berger, and the actors Michèle Morgan and Jean Gabin. There is also the emigré press, notably Geneviève Tabouis's paper *Pour La Victoire*, for which the ex-deputy, Henri de Kerillis writes his weekly political essay, and *La Voix de France*, of which Henri Torres, the famous lawyer, has just been made editor. In Buenos Aires, Roger Caillois has founded a magazine-in-exile, *Lettres Françaises*. (Jean Paulhan, former editor of the *N. R. F.*, was imprisoned by Abetz after the armistice and is now marooned in Paris.)

This is an impressive assembly of the great, the near great, the talented, the skilful. But it is in no sense a fighting front coordinated in opposition to the Franco-German line. For almost ten years artists and intellectuals in exile have borne witness against fascist doctrine, their very presence being in itself a powerful indictment. But the enormous prestige of distinguished Frenchmen living beyond their own borders has not yet been fully exploited against the order that excludes them.

America and, to some extent, Britain have greatly underestimated the influence of such figures in the strategy of psychological warfare. The Germans, on the contrary, have shown complete mastery in manipulating this power. All up and down Europe, in conquered and even in enemy territory, they have felt out the soft spots. Though the Netherlands government is in exile, Willem Mengelberg makes regular visits to Germany, conducts orchestras in Berlin and Munich, takes part in political conferences. Kirsten Flagstad, leaving America after many years to rejoin her husband, now a member of Quisling's government in Oslo, is routed through Germany by the helpful Nazis, and stops off in Berlin to

make a widely broadcast speech of appreciation. P. G. Wodehouse, a prisoner of war, finds himself at the Adlon and obligingly goes on the air to tell millions in Britain and America how comfortable is life in a German hotel.

To these artistic-political maneuvers American reaction has been curiously antipathetic. Stories about European artists who play the Nazi game, even those with a large popular following here, are inadequately treated in the press. There is a tendency to write off the political activities of celebrities as casual and irresponsible, something it is more sporting to forget than to remember. Public opinion, however, can be aroused in this field as in any other. It can be made articulate and conveyed as a warning, by radio, underground press, or any other of our elaborate propaganda mechanisms. A campaign to enlighten France, traditionally sensitive to American reaction—and to the American market—would have its own realism. Even in Paris today, among men of arts and letters, there must be many not yet completely indifferent to their prestige beyond the German sphere of Europe, and not without some concern for their "historical position." To reach the mind of France is an effort worth making for more than immediate reasons. The obliteration of Paris as a focal center of culture and humane civilization would be an irreparable loss, not only to France but to the whole post-war world.



"Reports trickling through from neutral sources say it was quite a raid."



# A British View on India

BY NORMAN ANGELL

[The two past issues of The Nation carried articles by Louis Fischer strongly supporting the position of the Congress Party in the tragic political struggle now proceeding in India. The following statement is a dissent written from a British point of view by a distinguished liberal who, like Mr. Fischer, is a contributing editor of The Nation.]

WHEN, somewhat over two years ago, the government of France surrendered, retired to Vichy, and abandoned the cause of the Allies, it is very doubtful whether the elderly and religious Pétain or the less elderly but even more religious Weygand, or, in fact, most of the Vichy men, felt, or would have admitted for a moment that they were, guilty of treachery, either to their country or to mankind. They were, by all accounts, honestly convinced—as were so many in other countries, including the United States—that Britain would fall within a matter of weeks, or at most months, and that for France to make a stand in Africa, using that territory and the French navy for further resistance, would be merely to expose the French people to fruitless torments, and to aggravate the terms they would finally have to accept.

The more nationalist of the men about Pétain doubtless argued that their first duty was to France; that they had no obligation, indeed no right, to consider what might be the effect of surrender upon the fate of Britain or of other nations, much as another high-minded nationalist, Mr. De Valera, has consistently argued since the war started that however perilous to the allied cause the battle of the Atlantic may become, Eire should do nothing to help win it by the lease of bases unless and until it is allowed to incorporate the recalcitrant Protestant North into the Catholic South. Such is the normal nationalist scale of values, such is Mr. De Valera's. No one has ever doubted the moral rectitude, the saintliness, of this champion of Irish rights.

When Pétain opened negotiations with Hitler, the French people may have wanted to continue resistance. But it made no difference. For, despite their long tradition of self-government, freedom, republicanism, and revolutionary action, the people were at that moment helpless in the hands of a tiny clique at the center, a few politicians who held the powers of government. It was this political collapse, the political impotence of the French people, which brought about military surrender—the refusal to continue the war from Africa—a fact which, just previous to surrender, Churchill realized. To forestall what he saw coming, he offered France a solemn

Act of Union with Britain, feeling that if the two governments could be merged, the influence of the British policy of continued resistance might carry the French section of the common government along.

That offer of course came too late. Suppose it had come earlier, at the beginning of the war, and had been accepted. We can say with unqualified certainty that many Frenchmen would have bitterly resented it. Anglophobia has always been a weapon of certain political groups in France. Even if the Union had been achieved we should have had strong demands, as soon as things went badly, for its dissolution, as necessary for the strengthening of French morale; so that the French could "once more fight for their own country."

Britain would then have been presented with a very pretty political and moral problem, an exceedingly difficult choice of military risks. It would have been compelled either to insist upon retention of existing ties, even against the weight of (possibly) majority opinion in France; or to dissolve the new Union with the risk of there occurring precisely what has occurred.

It is the kind of dilemma which will present itself under very varying forms, but embodying the same fundamental choice, again and again as the war goes on over the world; particularly perhaps in the Near and Middle East. Indeed it has already presented itself in a relatively mild form in Iran, Iraq, Syria, and Egypt. It is the kind of situation now confronting us in a tragic and perilous form in India.

The main dispute there is on the matter of timing. When should political changes affecting every function of government be instituted? During war, or after? That the British will in any case leave India at no distant date, continuing there the process of de-imperialization already carried out in the Dominions, no informed Indian or Briton really doubts; and if there were doubts, complete guarantees on that score by the governments of the United Nations could be given. Is the increased tempo of agitation due precisely to the fact that both of the main Indian communities are now fully convinced that Britain will most certainly leave India, and that each side desires to use the special powers of war to crystallize the particular form of constitution it desires; or to prevent the other side from doing the same?

It serves no purpose to discuss this problem in terms simply of Mr. Gandhi's sincerity. His sincerity, his saintliness are not in question. Indeed, it is precisely his sincerity and his saintliness, his fanaticism, if you will, that is so big a part of the problem.



Here is a leader who sways millions, and who for most of his long life has urged passionately the effectiveness of pacifism, of non-violence as the best means of defense; who, as late as the beginning of this month, defended the proposal (which, he said, would be one of the first acts of a free Indian government) to send a mission to Japan and Germany to reason with the government of those states. To recall this is not to "smear" Gandhi; it is, on the contrary, to assume the deep sincerity of the convictions he has professed throughout his life, convictions which must, precisely because of their depth, affect—even though it be unconsciously—the course of his policy, and consequently the policy of the party he dominates.

Gandhi is ready, we are told, to give the military a free hand. But war is primarily a political act, in the sense that the decision to begin it or end it, is made, not by the soldiers but by governments, by politicians, who control the means of war—the voting of the necessary funds, their collection, the passing, or extension, of selective service acts, the mobilization of material, the whole complexity of civil functions.

The Congress demand is that in the midst of a world war in which the fate of some two score nations and all hope of democracy anywhere is at stake, all powers of government in the vast Indian sub-continent be handed over to a single party, dominated by a mystic, hypnotic, and incalculable personality, subject to changing moods.

No one with any knowledge of Indians can doubt the genuineness (however one may question the reasonableness) of Moslem fears of any form of constitution or government which threatens to crystallize Hindu domination. It no more meets the Moslem case to offer the Moslems guarantees within a state predominantly Hindu, than it met the Irish case to offer guarantees within a state predominantly British. The Irish could have complete equality with Englishmen within a British state. They did not ask for equality; they asked for separateness, independence, on the ground that they made a separate corporate body, a nation. Moslems and others, far more distant from Hindus than Irish are from English, or Catholic from Protestant, make similar claims with respect to Hindus. Jinnah has just declared that Moslem India would regard it as a gross betrayal of Moslem rights and a breach of faith with Moslem India for Britain to accede to the Congress demands. A Holy War against Britain in India, even though it be for having yielded to Hindu demands, would help the Axis to light fires throughout the Moslem world.

The question is not whether the misgivings are one hundred per cent justified, but whether we shall get anywhere by ignoring them, either with the British or the Moslems. Efforts now should be directed toward (1) full negotiation between the Moslem League and the Congress Party; (2) between the British and both Indian

groups; (3) release of Gandhi and other Congress leaders on their undertaking to cease sabotage of the war effort through deliberate paralysis of industry and transport (*not* to exact this would be militarily a crime); (4) securing American and United Nations guarantees for the promise of post-war independence; with, possibly, but more cautiously, (5) the setting up of a United Nations Political Council or Commission whose functions would be conciliatory, or arbitral, to facilitate the largest measure of wartime independence compatible with the effective prosecution of the struggle; this last condition to be the *sine qua non* of any change to be made during the war.

## In the Wind

SAMUEL PETTENGILL, the ex-Congressman from Indiana who was recently appointed chairman of the Republican Finance Committee, is not only a former member of America First but is today chairman of the League for Constitutional Government, which is as reactionary in domestic affairs as America First was in foreign affairs. Pettengill's appointment was the second of its kind made by Joseph W. Martin; last year Martin appointed Clarence Buddington Kelland, another America Firster, as publicity director of the Republican National Committee.

DESPITE ALL THE TALK of impending labor unity, the C.I.O. moved into its new Washington headquarters on August 22.

SINCE THE NAZIS have adopted and neutralized the V-for-Victory campaign in occupied Europe, anti-fascists have been using the letter F, which stands for *Frieden*—peace. According to current reports, the campaign has met with some success, particularly in Germany.

IN AN INTERVIEW with a Hearst reporter, Senator Taft of Ohio listed three phases of recent government activity which he views with alarm. They are, 1) the indictment of twenty-eight individuals on sedition charges; 2) the investigation of the *Chicago Tribune*; 3) the speeches of Archibald MacLeish.

AT THE CONVENTION of the United Auto Workers, the communists argued in committee against the union's ban on Nazis, fascists, and communists, which was inserted in the Constitution last year. However, the constitutional committee held its ground, and the communists quickly retreated. The issue never came to the floor.

A GOOD MANY Russian actors who left the country in 1917 are now fighting for the role of Stalin in the movie version of *Mission to Moscow*. But, according to *Variety*, the part will probably go to an American.

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*. A prize of \$5 will be awarded each month for the best item.  
—EDITORS THE NATION.]



# BOOKS *and the* ARTS

## Silone's Catacombs

*THE SEED BENEATH THE SNOW.* By Ignazio Silone.  
Harper and Brothers. \$2.75.

**B**READ AND WINE" was the Exile's return. Pietro Spina had fled back to Italy, in escape from the nightmare of émigré-life, from the hallucinations of the theorizers with their paradigmatic revolutions. Back in his country, he discovered that party lines, underground networks below, and slogans from above, had very little to do with the day-by-day calvary of an Abruzzan village; but he also found that his hunger for truth and his kinship for "the insulted and the injured" converged to the same point as the libertarian instincts of an old parish-priest, and the chaste boldness of an intensely religious girl. The puzzling last chapter of that book described a flight into the mountains, a blind man's buff between fascist police, the girl, and Pietro, almost dying but still undefeated.

Silone's new novel resumes the tale where it left off, but is more than a sequel. It is an attempt to deepen the meaning of Pietro's road to Damascus and point toward a solution. The plot is deliberately thin. As in the other book, Silone's dual approach combines felicitously the grotesque and the pathetic. On one side is a mural of the villagers, some of whom, like Zia Eufemia, are more bitterly picturesque than even their crudest prototypes in Fontamara's gallery. Silone's chief target is the eloquent, pushing village-lawyer—a type that has plagued Italy immemorially. Man of petty affairs, fixer, and self-appointed spokesman of whatever ideology happens to be in power, now Spanish Jesuitism, now the "immortal principles of 1789," now the dictatorship of the proletariat—Silone shows him in his latest incarnation, fornicating with the gospel of Rosenberg and Goebbels.

On the other side, there are the positive characters. Donna Maria Vincenza, Pietro's grandmother, tries to secure him an official permit to "live"; but vigorous Christian that she is, she is soon convinced that the whitewashing would not be worth the degradation of begging for it. The Catholic Signora in her eighties and her prodigal grandson join together in a calm refusal to compromise with Mammon or Caesar. Pietro leaves his grandmother's home for a Tolstoyan refuge in a stable, with Simone-the-Polecat, a fellow-rebel, and Infante, a deaf-mute peasant and the village idiot. They find a new life in friendship and simplicity. They don't fight fascism any more, they ignore it. Here is the first of the new and joyous catacombs of Italy. Patiently and cheerfully, Pietro teaches Infante a few words: *pane*, *compagno*, *letizia*. They stammer and respell together the small dictionary of man's brotherhood. They call on forgotten acquaintances throughout the region, not to discuss politics but to reaffirm human ties. Pietro feels more responsible for Infante than for a child of his flesh. Infante has a father, who, having abandoned him decades before to look for work in America, now reappears, almost penniless but repentant.

Infante dislikes him and fears that he may separate him from Pietro and Simone. One morning, on entering a shelter, Pietro discovers that Infante has killed his father—nobody could say exactly why. But when the police come, Pietro declares: "I killed him." He is led to jail.

What is the seed then that lies beneath the snow? What is ripening under the frozen fascist earth? Toward the end, partially against the author's will, the novel turns symbolic. The stable with its ass is indeed a symbol, and a quite evangelic one. Liberation from fascism, Silone seems to imply, has very little to do with politics, and even less with resounding words. It is a deaf-mute covenant between simple friends, against a society more unreal even than oppressive. And against the church too, but in a very Christian way. It is indeed a revolutionary Christianity, hiding itself again in catacombs.

Why does Pietro go to jail in the place of Infante? Because salvation is not in new laws, but in a new pact of friendship; and in friendship the stronger is *always* responsible for the weaker, the articulate for the inarticulate, the intellectual for the proletarian, whatever the latter may do. And the only way to root out people's crimes is to share—or even take entirely upon oneself—their consequences.

"All right," said a friend to whom I had been giving my interpretation of "The Seed Beneath the Snow," "but what about its art? Is it a great novel?" I really wouldn't know. To me it is so appalling a document of what Italy's nondescript "underground" is slowly and mysteriously aiming at, that I am unable to judge it as a novel from a purely formal point of view. I wouldn't be surprised if some good critic called it dull, or naive, or incoherent. To me it reads like a letter from friends in distress and hope.

Strange things are happening to Europe. Our movie-goers are already familiar with streamlined commandos and their auxiliaries on the Continent; our official blue-printers for day after tomorrow are dreaming of antediluvian laissez faire, or neatly interlocking new Leagues; but meanwhile Europe, disregarding these versions of herself, is going her own way. The new wind is stirring in Italy, more, I guess, than anywhere else. There fascism will be twenty years old this fall; which made Borgese remind us the other day that a dog, at twenty, has exceeded his proper term of life. It is literally a new seed that is ripening abroad. To define it hurriedly is to betray it. The only thing one can say is that of the three holy words, neither Anglo-Saxon liberty nor Soviet equality is first: the accent is on fraternity.

Like Italy's future, Silone's novel is an unknown quantity. Perhaps it will take on more shape and weight with the coming events. Today's day-dream may be hailed tomorrow as a prophecy or a masterpiece.

PAOLO MILANO

P. S. I cannot help adding a few words about the book's jacket, which is touchingly true to the title in a triumph of bad taste. There is a tree, green on the top, in spite of a Hollywoodian snowfall, and there *is* the seed, botanically



August 29, 1942

faithful to the point of looking like an acorn—or a capsule of explosive. Silone, however, is more likely to get angry at the sensational statement in the biographical notice that he was born "of an aristocratic Italian family."

## Victory by Air

**THE COMING BATTLE OF GERMANY.** By William B. Ziff. Duell, Sloan and Pearce. \$2.50.

**GLOBAL WAR: AN ATLAS OF WORLD STRATEGY.** By Edgar Ansel Mowrer and Marthe Rajchman. William Morrow and Company. \$1.

EVER since the first World War theorists in all countries have insisted that the latent striking force of the air arm is so great that it ought to become the principal weapon. The Italian Douhet, for example, came to regard the land army as a mere protective garrison for the air ports. As in Douhet's case, the idea was not always well adapted to the capacities of the theorist's country. But since the fall of France there has risen in Britain a small but competent school of thought which urges that whatever may be the truth about the revolutionary potential of air power in general, the systematic demolition of Germany by air bombardment is the only form of warfare left available to Britain. It is noteworthy that Lieutenant Colonel Garsia, the most persistent advocate of this idea in Britain, did not change his opinion when Russia's entry into the war readjusted the balance of land forces. The American Mr. Ziff who, unlike Garsia, is an aviation expert, does not consider that his country's belligerence has in the least altered the case. Mr. Ziff, one feels, would make out a powerful and persuasive brief for considering all other arms as adjuncts whatever the strategic and tactical problems confronting the United Nations. As it is, however, he follows both lines of argument. The airplane has revolutionized war, he says; in any case, he adds, in our present predicament what else can we do but put our trust in planes? We cannot expect to land so large and good a force on the continent that victory might appear certain. Only when industrial Germany has been destroyed and her army and her people partially demoralized can we hope to do that. Let us make up our minds once and for all then, Mr. Ziff demands, and concentrate upon the air force, for not even the United States can build so vast a fleet of planes and at the same time equip a land army of the magnitude apparently contemplated.

Whatever one may decide, "The Coming Battle of Germany" is a virtuoso performance in advocacy. Its propositions are fundamental and clearly stated, they are embodied in brilliantly worded and lucid trains of thought and the conclusions reached are positive and final for the author's thinking. The result is a book one can stand up to and reckon with, in which there is no trace of querulousness, humbug, or vagueness.

Caution is sometimes absent, too. It is, one may remark, the Air Enthusiast rather than the Strategist in Mr. Ziff who provides the pungency of style and the fervor of conviction. It is the Air Enthusiast who, noting that a four-month turn-round is required by a ten-knot freighter in

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*The Saturday Review*

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servicing a depot in the Red Sea, adds that a modern cargo plane, which can carry 20 tons, "could easily make seventy trips a year . . . delivering 140,000 tons of cargo." The Air Enthusiast can lick ten, it would seem, or ten times ten. The Strategist, on the other hand, is a level-headed fellow with a powerful conception. Sometimes he opens a really big window on the theater of war.

As long as the Soviet giant existed he [Hitler] did not dare expand all his energies in the construction of an unfettered air fleet which could attack Britain frontally. . . . By wrecking the potential menace of the Soviet Army the Nazi leader hoped he could free himself from the tyranny of voracious land establishments . . . so as to be able to concentrate his efforts on the creation of that unlimited [air] power he needs to bring the British to their knees. . . . If and when the Nazis beat their Muscovite adversaries down, we may prepare to be shocked by the sudden springing of a gigantic air fleet which will sweep all before it and will allow us no further time for recuperation.

German reconnaissance flights, one may note, have been far more numerous this year than last while bombing operations have not been heavy. This at least suggests that the German Air Intelligence is preparing its own scheme of destruction for Britain. Therefore, on any theoretical basis, we must rush every available plane into the British base and step up the air offensive now. At this point, the reviewer would point out that if the reader belongs to the orthodox Second Front Now School he may find a powerful argument in Mr. Ziff's conception. He might argue that if the Soviet collapses the new Luftwaffe will be able to blast every factory and every man-Jack off the British deck. Only a land invasion, he might continue, can prevent Hitler from building that air power. Mr. Ziff, of course, would meet the danger by stepping up the rate of bombing at once. As for production he would have Britain concentrate on fighters and America on heavy bombers which do not need surface portage to the Isles. That, one may remark, is an idea that the two countries have yet to agree about. The British, with a strategical problem quite different from that which dictated the type of American planes, are not prepared to accept American models exclusively.

If Mr. Ziff had his way our other fronts would be held defensively until Germany collapsed. Strategy and tactics as hitherto understood would be reduced to a comparatively unimportant study. In that case Mr. Mowrer's and Miss Rajchman's excellent book would not need to be written. As it is, however, rarely has the amateur war student been offered such honest-to-God value. What the authors set out to do is first to describe exactly what moves are dictated to or made possible for each country by its fundamental geographical features and then to show the relation between the various fields of battle. The simplicity of the ways of war rather than their complexity is what emerges.

Short as the book is, it really does explain the logic behind about nine-tenths of the past and present action of the war. You will not remain indifferent to the Japanese occupation of islands in the Aleutian Archipelago if you will look at Miss Rajchman's map. You will not consider the occupation of Iceland and Greenland as mere political devices, as the isolationists once told us they were, if you

will forget maps drawn upon plane projections and study the Arctic as here represented. "Global War" is a brief introduction to a subject that can only be studied *in extenso* in the history of all previous wars. But the layman who is prepared to straighten out a few confessed contradictions will find in this book all the geo-strategical knowledge he will need. It is all the more a pleasure to recommend "Global Strategy" because the basic simplicity of its maps makes it impossible that the book should date.

RALPH BATES

## Postscript

AMONG his other laudable activities, Carey McWilliams finds time to read articles on poetry, including my own series of remarks in these columns several weeks ago. I am thankful to him for calling my attention to the work done by Alan Swallow in Albuquerque, New Mexico. The Swallow pamphlets are issued in limited editions of 200 copies, priced at 25 cents each, attractively made, with excellent typography and paper. They include "Verse, 1931-38" by Clayton Stafford, "The Well" by Barbara Gibbs, and "Morning Rise, and Other Poems" by Lincoln Fitzell. Except for the title poem in Mr. Fitzell's collection, a certain sameness about this verse suggests a school guided and formed by an impressive master of apprentices. Perhaps the clue is to be found in the verses which Mr. Stafford entitled *A Word to Critics*. Firm metrics and formal precision are good things, but one would like to find, in younger writers especially, a little more passionate assertion of individuality. Miss Gibbs includes, in addition to her own work, three translations from Valéry; the second of these, *The Spinner*, is particularly fine.

Mr. Fitzell is also represented by a longer collection, "In Plato's Garden." This book, 97 pages, is priced at \$1; one would like to see more books of poetry as good-looking as this available for the same price. Mr. Fitzell has the indorsement of Yvor Winters, to whom he seems "surely one of the memorable poets of our time"; and in turn Mr. Fitzell considers "the Fugitive group of poets and critics, and the group headed by Yvor Winters as most fruitful of good work in this country." This reviewer's enthusiasm is somewhat less, but he is willing enough to accept the statement as a definition of limitations—his own or somebody else's. Mr. Fitzell's poetry seems to me frail, cold, and elegant, with such emphasis on elegance that in time one comes to suspect even the apparent inelegancies—the split infinitives, the false rhymes, the wrenched accents, the excessive declarations—of being manifestations, probably, of super-finesse. Perhaps one can dwell too long in Plato's garden, admire too much the flawless marble, the face without storm or "sign of beauty, terror, or of pain."

Bound in paper, for the same price as Mr. Fitzell's book, is a pamphlet by Richard Lake called "Fool's Fable"; a similarly bound collection, "Score for This Watch," by James Franklin Lewis, costs 50 cents. As between the two, Mr. Lake is the better buy.

Mr. Swallow has also published a 72-page, 50-cent pamphlet edition of three Spanish-American poets. These are Carlos Pellicer (Mexico), Pablo Neruda (Chile), and Jorge



Carrera Andrade (Venezuela). The translators are Mary and C. V. Wicker, Joseph Leonard Grucci, and Lloyd Mallan. A brief account of each poet's life and work is given, and the translations do not sound too much like something you have to read when you are correcting homework. Neruda's political phase might have been more fully presented, but Hispanophiles and good neighbors in general should not overlook this collection.

James A. Decker of Prairie City, Illinois, takes exception to some of my earlier remarks. He seems to think it was ungracious to his firm to wish Clark Mills a book all to himself, not merely a selection in the Laughlin series of "Five Younger Poets"; Mr. Decker points out that his firm has already published three books by Mr. Mills, and that more than half the material in the Laughlin edition was taken verbatim from the Decker series. This reviewer pleads to some negligence in not noting these facts, but there seems to be some difference of opinion between Messrs. Laughlin and Decker as to what constitutes a book. A translation of Mallarmé is hardly a book "all to himself," and my main point, anyway, was that Mr. Mills should not be in too much of a hurry. When I said that the appearance of the book by Winfield Townley Scott was inferior to the quality of its content, Mr. Decker thinks that I thereby "destroyed quite a few sales which might have developed into a growing audience for the poet in question." I do not see how Mr. Decker can prove this, and I would be sorry if it were true. He makes a sound point when he urges that books of poetry should be judged rather for content than for pretty get-up. The lot of the independent, unsupported, operating-on-a-shoestring publisher of poetry is indeed hard and full of disappointments and frustrations. The literary world, like the rest of the universe, is unjust, and its arrangements are one-sided; but before he can convict editors and reviewers of a conspiracy of silence against him, the poor "poetry publisher" (again the quotes to which Mr. Decker objects) must assume the burden of proof that beyond any shadow of doubt he is not, even partially, an entrepreneur of verse.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

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WILL CHASAN is associated with the publicity department of a national labor organization.

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PAOLO MILANO, an Italian writer and dramatic critic, is now teaching romance languages at Queens College.

RALPH BATES, distinguished English novelist, served in the Spanish Republican army and has written extensively on political subjects.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES has recently published a book of verse entitled "Out of the Jewel."

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## IN BRIEF

**FOLLOW THE LEADER.** By Clyde Brion Davis. Farrar and Rinehart. \$2.75.

Like so many novelists Mr. Davis seems to exhaust his creativity on the childhood of his central character. The section of his book that deals with Charles Martel as a puny, sniveling youngster in a small city in Missouri is so superior to what follows as almost to be different in kind; once Charley returns from the war (the First World War) and becomes a power in the community he begins to read like a smooth-paper success story.

**THE DRUMS OF MORNING.** By Philip Van Doran Stern. Doubleday, Doran and Company. \$3.00.

Another battle in the War between the States as fought on the literary front, this time the North getting in its licks. Although Mr. Stern's story about the Abolitionist movement is carefully documented, told with loving detail, and laudable in its passionate stand for freedom, literarily it isn't up to its purpose. Jonathan Bradford is the hero and a pretty bloodless sort, and the three women in his life are as stock, each in her own way, as the usual Civil War heroine; even the historical figures seem to have had the juice squeezed out of them. But a Civil War novel written in seriousness, whatever its lack of inspiration, is at least a relief from Miss Scarlett and the old plantation.

**YOUNG PANDORA.** By Ann Chidester. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.50.

This is an inflated novel, surely autobiographical, about a little girl in a Western town who grows up to write a novel. Miss Chidester is young; her talent is precocious rather than distinguished. Most importantly, she needs, like many older writers, to learn that words are not designed chiefly to glorify their author.

**THE SUNDOWNERS.** By Ward Dorrance. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.50.

With some editing, Mr. Dorrance's novel about a boy who grows up on an upper-class Missouri farm and his grandfather who is his chief mentor could be a progressive school textbook in nature study. Written *con amore*, its prime interest is its lore of the outdoors: dogs, horses, coon and fox hunts are a few of the items on which the old man instructs his grandson—and

the reader. A well-written book but insufficient diet for adult readers.

**A PLACE IN THE SUN.** By Frank Fenton. Random House. \$2.50.

This is the meager and pretty dull story of a crippled young man who is twenty-five and sounds like seventeen; he reads, fishes, wants the right girl, and is full of meaningless sensitivity to the arts. One of those inside-the-mind novels that hasn't enough mind.

## RECORDS

THE great finale of Beethoven's "Eroica" Symphony is astounding in many ways, not least of which is the fact that the structure—tremendous in size, emotional implications, impact—is built up out of two initially insignificant bits of thematic material. This material was used by Beethoven in a work dated a year earlier than the symphony—a work written not for orchestra but for piano, and not as a triumphant conclusion for the earlier movements of a dramatic four-movement progression but as a set of variations structurally and emotionally complete in itself. The style, the emotional connotation of this earlier piece are different; though it is longer its implications, its impact are not tremendous; but in it the variation process is already, for Beethoven, the expressive medium that will eventually produce the "Diabelli" Variations (to say nothing of the sets of variations that conclude the Sonatas Op. 109 and 111); and even in this early example the emotion that operates through his technical resourcefulness and daring produces not only individual variations of exquisite lyric beauty or impressive dramatic force, but in the end a work that is large-scale in structure and content.

This work, the Variations Op. 35 for piano (sometimes called the "Eroica" Variations, and sometimes the "Prometheus" because Beethoven used the material also in his "Prometheus" music) is at hand on five sides of a Victor set (DM-892, \$4.73), played by Claudio Arrau with easy, unobtrusive technical mastery, with impeccable plastic sense governing a somewhat rhetorically expansive style, and with admirable insight into the meaning of the music. On the remaining three sides is a work composed at the same time and yet astonishingly different—the Variations Op. 34, which are early Beethoven in their feeling, their style, their small-

ness of scale, but as such ingenious, melodious, and mildly charming. They too are excellently played; and the performances are recorded with amazingly lifelike fidelity to timbre, spaciousness, and cleanness of definition.

Recorded in the same amazing way are E. Robert Schmitz's performances of two of Debussy's most popular piano pieces—"La Cathédrale engloutie" and "Claire de lune" (11-8240, \$1.05). The second is early and sugary Debussy; the performances are over-deliberate but otherwise good.

But it is the recording of an orchestral work—Milhaud's sonorous arrangement of an Overture and Allegro from Couperin's "La Sultane," well performed by the St. Louis Symphony under Golschmann (11-8238)—that is most impressive. Arrau, Schmitz, the Chicago Symphony, the St. Louis Symphony have been newly added to the Victor list; their recordings, made during the past season, and in the case of the St. Louis Symphony as recently as April, are evidence of a great advance in Victor's recording technique; and this St. Louis recording, like the Chicago ones, shows that without Stokowski to gum things up the Victor engineers are able to produce not only the fidelity and beauty of the sounds of individual instruments and choirs, not only the cleanness of definition, the balance of these sounds in the rich, warm, spacious over-all sound, but the amazingly lifelike placing of the individual sounds in relation to one another in the orchestral space. So far we have had their skill only in recordings of this moderately interesting work of Couperin and the even less consequential pieces recorded by the Chicago Symphony; and these cause one to look forward impatiently to the recordings that Toscanini has made recently of some of the greatest works of the orchestral literature.

Khatchaturian's Symphony, performed at the Stadium, is a patchwork of themes in the idiom of Soviet-Armenian folk music which are placed in the unsuitable harmonic contexts, subjected to the unsuitable manipulation, carried to the unsuitable climaxes of European symphonic music. As for Khrenikov's Symphony, also performed at the Stadium, its fast sections are in the nose-thumbing style of Shostakovich, but its slow ones, which are melodious and melancholy in the old Russian way, are more impressive.

B. H. HAGGIN



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# Letters to the Editors

## India: Danger and Duty

*Dear Sirs:* A year ago Franklin D. Roosevelt and Winston Churchill signed the Atlantic Charter, pledging their countries to "respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live." Today all the peoples of all the United Nations are menaced by the tragic conflict between an alien government and an unfree people which has been allowed to break out in India.

The British decision to outlaw the Indian National Congress at a time when no overt act of disobedience had taken place and Gandhi was preparing an appeal to the Viceroy and to the United Nations for further negotiations is regarded by many as justified. Leopold Amery defends the decision as necessary to "save India and the Allied cause from a grave disaster," threatened by the "wicked folly" of the Mahatma and his colleagues. Yet even those who accept this view know in their hearts that there could be no graver disaster than what has happened in India and no folly more wicked than the folly which seeks to save India from her enemies through a policy of terrorization indorsed by her friends.

All Americans have a solemn duty to themselves, to demand that this road to ruin be abandoned at once, regardless of responsibility for past mistakes. To "wait and see" will be to commit once more the crime of "too little and too late" in an arena of battle which is the home of one-sixth of the human race. An India ruled by force and torn by rebellion is an India mortgaged to the common enemy.

A sullen and beaten India will never be saved by British or American troops. To lose India tomorrow by American default today will be to doom China to subjugation, to deliver all the Middle East to the Axis, and to force the armies of Russia behind the Urals, regardless of any second front. The sequel for Britain can only be invasion. The sequel for America can only be an all but hopeless war against opponents who will rule the world.

These strategic consequences will flow inexorably from the moral blindness of those who believe that the armed coercion of subject peoples, however misled they may be, is compatible with a world-wide fight for freedom.

The Tory mind which once courted catastrophe by meeting Nazi violence with non-violence is now courting an incalculably greater catastrophe by meeting Indian non-violence with violence. Every Indian who languishes in a British jail, who screams under a British lash, who dies before a British gun, will become a symbol of despair for millions of the colored peoples of the earth. These silent and waiting multitudes will conclude, wrongly no doubt but nonetheless irrevocably, that Western white men offer them only fair words and foul deeds, that the darker peoples have no stake in a war between rival oppressors, and that Axis arrogance may be more tolerable than democratic hypocrisy.

The time to act is now. A year ago a group of Americans privately urged upon Lord Halifax and the Department of State American mediation between Britain and the principal Indian political groups. Events have confirmed the impossibility of successful negotiations limited to Britishers and Indians. "We have tried our best to agree," said Sir Stafford Cripps last April. "We have failed. Never mind whose fault it is." Agreement through outside action has now been rendered much more difficult and infinitely more imperative by the obstructive policies of the Congress leaders and, in even greater measure, by the rash action of London in imprisoning those leaders and shedding Indian blood in the name of India's defense. These difficulties cannot conceivably be resolved either by the forcible suppression of the Congress nor by the forcible overthrow of British rule. They can only be resolved by all the United Nations insisting upon an immediate settlement under United Nations auspices. "Our allies," writes the *Manchester Guardian*, "—the United States, China, and Russia—should help us to compose a quarrel which injures every one of them."

This is America's opportunity, for only America enjoys the confidence of all. Let Americans everywhere ask their President to join with the leaders of China and Russia in proposing arbitration of the Indian conflict. Let the proposal expressly contemplate the preparation by a United Nations tribunal of a plan for the establishment within the next three months, of a provisional government of an independent India,

linked in war and peace alike to the British Commonwealth and the United Nations as a free and equal partner. This will be no more than the British Government has promised for the future and no less than the Indian leaders have asked for the present. Let the tribunal include an American, a Britisher, a Russian, and a Chinese, plus representatives of the Moslem League and the Congress. Let all pledge themselves in advance to accept whatever plan may be proposed by the tribunal. A settlement acceptable to all can be realized only by pooling the wisdom and good will of all. As a pledge of good faith, let the present government of India cease all repression and release all political prisoners, and let the Congress leaders suspend their campaign of non-cooperation. No leader anywhere will dare to reject a proposal for such a tribunal. No leader anywhere will dare to reject its conclusions. In no other way can India be saved.

India has become the acid test of our fitness to survive.

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN  
Williamstown, Mass., August 12

## Shostakovitch and Haggin

*Dear Sirs:* Bravo for Mr. Haggin! Obviously he must realize that he has joined the band of a most unpopular minority, commenting as he did on the Shostakovitch Seventh Symphony. My own hesitant opinions—it is difficult to resist herd emotion—made to a radiant Shostakovitch Seventh enthusiast, were entirely echoed in Haggin's statements, in which he pointed out the eclecticism, the sterility of inventiveness, the repetitious rhythmic and distorted harmonic patterns of the work.

Would it not have been more salutary for Shostakovitch if his symphony, written though it was under the most extraordinary circumstances, had been presented without all the advance ballyhoo attendant on its arrival? Some listeners, lured by the extravagant praise to expectancy of "a work surpassing Beethoven's Ninth," were sadly discouraged. How much better it would have been for the work to be heard and judged for its musical merit alone, giving evidence as it does of a great talent still in its formative period.

ETHEL S. COHEN  
New York, August 18



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## *The Shape of Things*

IT IS NOT PLEASANT TO QUESTION THE President's good faith; it is equally painful to question his good sense. But we are not surprised that some of the news men at his press conference last week betrayed doubt of one or the other when he told them about the plan he and Ambassador Hayes had concocted to restore the damaged art treasures and historical monuments of Spain in order to preserve a noble culture and, incidentally, to encourage Spanish tourist trade after the war. Was this move intended to brace the tottering stage-set of Spanish neutrality? The President waved the question aside as unworthy. Might not some people feel reluctant to give aid of any sort to the Franco dictatorship? Matters of culture, the President responded, transcended political differences. If this kind of talk were genuine it would reveal an innocence we would never impute to Mr. Roosevelt. And so we are driven to the conclusion that our appeasers in Washington have something up their sleeve which the President is helping them to conceal. But we hate to see our Chief Executive supporting a new scheme for buttering up the unspeakable Franco under cover of an obvious pretense.

✱

AND EVEN THE PRETENSE IS DISGUSTING. Spain's culture will be restored when Spain is free. Not before. Spain will be free when the Spanish people have been given an opportunity to smash the fascist regime now held in power by hunger and the arms of Hitler. To restore the material substance of the nation's culture while leaving intact the tyranny that chokes its very life is an affront to the people of Spain, in and out of Franco's jails. The scheme fits neatly—too neatly—with the rumor printed in these columns four weeks ago of the planned restoration of another historical relic—Don Juan, heir to the Spanish throne. And both harmonize with the happy dream that bemuses both Whitehall and the State Department—the dream of a safe, sober, clerical fascism, which, if nurtured during the war with dollars and oil, may serve to dispel the nightmare of revolution in post-Nazi Europe. Meanwhile Franco's Blue Division crusades for Christian culture on the eastern front.



BUT POLITICAL MANEUVERS CAN BE AS intricate as the design on an archbishop's robe. The appeasement of Franco has always had its practical aspects. Not only have we built up a nice little trade with Spain but we are attempting, as in France and formerly in Italy, to hold in power those elements which might possibly favor the Allied cause in the war. That the German command keeps several divisions on the Spanish border and an army of some 150,000 technicians and officials inside Spain is not enough to discourage our appeasers. They hope against hope—and against the crude rebuffs of the Spanish government—that Spain may be friendly or at least neutral in the great approaching showdown. It is likely that the imminence of major action in North Africa is playing a part in Washington's latest overtures to Franco. Whether our government really believes that in return for some restored monuments and the expectation of future profits Spain—and Hitler—will allow Allied troops to sweep through Morocco and Tangier to attack Rommel in the rear, or whether it merely hopes that Spain will remain immobilized, one can only guess. But it is safe to say that North Africa is at least one of the loops in the intricate pattern that lies behind Mr. Roosevelt's too innocent proposal.

★

NO SPECULATION IN FUTURE FAVORS, however, can counteract the immediate effect of that proposal in Latin America. There the friends of the United States and the United Nations will receive the news with a mixture of confusion and discouragement. It will take more subtlety than young Mr. Rockefeller has ever demonstrated to explain to Latin American democrats why the United States should promote the cause of Franco's Spanish culture, which already has its many spokesmen, members of Franco's phalanx, working more directly: they expound Spain's cultural mission to oust North American influence and spread the blessings of the New Order in Latin America. As for *turismo*, it is already well established between Latin America and Spain, but the flow of travel is the other way and it is monopolized by the agents of our enemies.

★

THE BATTLE OF STALINGRAD IS TAKING A grave turn after several days in which the Russians succeeded in holding their line. Not only had they roused the city itself to the pitch of popular heroism which proved so effective at Leningrad, but General Zhukov's timely attack in the north had created an important diversion. It looks now as if the Russians were throwing into the battle both around Moscow and in the Caucasus all their reserve forces. Whether or not this supreme decision is the result of a combined plan drawn up during Prime Minister Churchill's visit to Stalin nobody

knows. It may be that the Russians are coming to the conclusion that the talk about a second front in the west is likely to remain talk and that as a consequence they had better open a second front in Russia itself. But if it seems dangerous, from a military point of view, to rely exclusively on the relief that such emergency operations as that of Rzhev may bring to the main Russian armies, from a political point of view it is even more risky. Already comment in Russia on the chances of an early western front is becoming more bitter every day. Reliable American reporters agree that even if help is given them this fall, the Russians will not easily forget the price in strength and millions of lives they paid for the privilege of fighting Hitler alone in Europe. We understand that bitterness and we share it. As we watch the Russians fighting with the admirable élan and ability they have shown all this last week, we ask ourselves where we would be today if since May, when the Germans renewed their attack in the east, a British-American expeditionary force had been attacking in the west. Three valuable months have been lost. But there is still time for a major drive on the part of the United Nations that will save the Russian armies and restore confidence in the unity of action of the Allies.

★

DONALD NELSON HAS AN EXCELLENT opportunity to exhibit his much-publicized "toughness" by undertaking a wholesale reorganization of the iron and steel division of the WPB. Frederick S. Libbey wrote a report to show what was wrong with this vital department and was fired for mentioning the matter first to the press. He may well feel vindicated, however, by the subsequent resignations of Reese H. Taylor, head of the division, and his deputy, R. C. Allen. It is now up to Mr. Nelson to appoint successors who can be relied upon to clear out the high-powered steel sales executives who at a dollar a year have proved an expensive bargain for the people of the United States. There is no need to search for ulterior motives; the present shortage of steel is itself proof that these gentlemen have failed in their job. And in war time we cannot be tender of the feelings of those who fail. Mr. Nelson has rightly said of the WPB, "It takes too damn long to get things done around here"—a theme on which *The Nation* and other liberal critics have been harping for many months. It has taken too long to shut down unessential industries which were absorbing precious raw materials, and it has taken too long to correct the maldistribution of steel which is now so serious a bottleneck in war production. By depriving army and navy procurement and contract officers of the power to assign preference ratings to individual contracts Mr. Nelson has taken a step toward obtaining a smoother flow of materials. But more heads will have to roll if excess inventories are to be jimmied out of favored



firms and materials allocated to the places where they are most needed, without regard to the wishes of the suppliers.

★

WITH THE THREAT OF INFLATION GROWING despite the comparative stability in the cost-of-living index over the past five months, the President has promised to announce on Labor Day new steps to keep prices within bounds. At a press conference last week he made it clear that wages as well as farm prices would have to be controlled, since it was impossible to restrict one without the other. We are in entire agreement with this general proposition but eagerly await details. Mr. Roosevelt hinted that the matter was too urgent to allow for new legislation, and it is believed that he contemplates taking measures under his general war powers as commander-in-chief. The inability of Congress to grasp the problems of war economics in their larger aspects and its spinal weakness when subjected to group pressures certainly do not encourage the hope of speedy action on Capitol Hill. Nevertheless, the by-passing of Congress on such a question cannot be regarded as a desirable precedent. In order to effect a genuine stabilization of farm prices the President must abrogate specific provisions written into the Price Control Act—a challenge to Congress which might well provoke a prolonged constitutional struggle. The only apparent alternative would be the wholesale use of subsidies in order to bridge the gap between "ceiled" food prices to the consumer and actual farm prices as permitted by the present law. This obviously would not mean genuine stabilization and would pave the way to a demand for subsidies by all sorts of other interests.

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TO HEAR ARTHUR KROCK TELL THE STORY, the Germans had little to do with Brazil's entering the war. They only torpedoed six Brazilian ships within nine days, with a loss of more than 600 lives. According to Mr. Krock and "a Washington official" whom he cites without quoting in a special dispatch to the *New York Times*, what really made Brazil a belligerent was the faith of Getulio Vargas that the Axis was doomed and the far-seeing eye of our State Department, which "refused to oppose the totalitarian forms of government he introduced" despite the foolish clamor of "American opponents of any kind of dictatorship anywhere." Of course, Krock concedes, "the economic dependence of Brazil on the United States and the loans and other concessions that we have made belong in the outline" and "finally, the provocations to war furnished Brazil by Germany." But by and large it was "the strength and convictions of Vargas" and the sympathetic attitude of Hull and Welles toward his regime that produced such happy results. Aside from mild surprise that Mr. Krock should frown on "American opponents of any

kind of dictatorship anywhere" (remember the Four Freedoms?), our feeling about this curious dispatch is that someone is trying pathetically to pull a diplomatic victory out of a hat. Of course the Good Neighbor policy helped to carry Vargas along, but before getting too maudlin about Sumner Welles's "sympathetic public discussion" of the Brazilian dictatorship, to which Mr. Krock attributes so many good results, let's remember that not long afterward Vargas reciprocated in a speech studded with references to "the sterile demagoguery of political democracy."

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THE OPERATIONS AT MILNE BAY AND THE Solomon Islands during the past week have been overplayed in the press, but they are definite and important successes. The Milne Bay action seems to have resulted in a clear-cut victory for the United Nations forces. For the first time since the beginning of the war, nearly nine months ago, a carefully planned Japanese attack has been frustrated by land troops. The success of the United States aerial and naval forces in sinking or badly damaging three destroyers and beating off two more air raids on the Solomons is perhaps less impressive. But even these limited triumphs may be taken as evidence that the Japanese are not so irresistible as they appeared three or four months ago. They also indicate rather clearly that Japan is not massing for an all-out attack on Australia. But it would be folly to conclude from these minor skirmishes that Japan is weakening or has given up its traditional strategy of attack. On the contrary, the apparent withdrawal of Japanese troops in China and the failure of the Japanese to regain the initiative in the Southwest Pacific can only mean that Japan is planning a new offensive elsewhere.

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THIRTY THOUSAND HUMAN BEINGS WHO also happen to be Jews have been seized in France in the past two months on orders from Hitler. They include all non-French Jews who have entered France since 1936. The men have been sent in cattle cars to Eastern Europe to perform forced labor for the Germans; the women and children have been put in concentration camps. Once more Vichy has "yielded to German pressure," and the good Catholic, Pétain, rather than give up the pretense of being head of the French state, has "collaborated" in the latest Nazi man-hunt—despite protests from the Pope himself, from emissaries whom he sent to Vichy, and from the archbishops of Paris and Lyons. Moreover, Vichy has refused permission to Catholic, Protestant, and Quaker organizations to feed the victims. According to one dispatch, if this forced migration does not meet the need for farm and mine labor, the Germans intend to "ask" that Vichy gather up all expatriates who arrived in France after 1933. Hitler not only wants a fresh labor supply; he is determined to take into Nazi



custody all Germans, Jews and non-Jews, who emigrated after his rise to power. This fresh and terrible evidence that Pétain and Laval are merely the French agents of Hitler demonstrates anew the folly of the State Department in acquiescing in Vichy's pretense of neutrality and independence; but since it persists in that policy it should at least enter a vigorous protest.

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NOT QUITE A YEAR AGO NEWSPAPERS ALL over the country were pleased to give hundreds of columns to a story about 1,121 government employees who had been branded as Communists by the Dies committee. The Department of Justice has spent ten months and \$100,000 checking on the accuracy of the charges. It has just completed its researches, but this time only *PM* has given the story the attention it deserves. For the investigation shows that the Dies committee was right in exactly 2 cases and wrong in 1,119. In other words, on the basis of this survey the Dies committee is accurate .0017 per cent of the time. J. Edgar Hoover, himself an experienced red-baiter, says that he has had better luck in ferreting out subversives when he has relied on the random letters and telephone calls of persons, generally cranks, who carry on their own private investigations. Out of 3,000 unofficial tips from such individuals, 40 were substantiated. Attorney General Biddle will soon submit his department's full report to Congress. We hope it will lead to the end of the Dies committee.

## *China Comes Back*

THE unexpected success of the Chinese army in Chekiang and Kiangsi provinces during the past five weeks must be regarded as one of the most significant triumphs achieved by a United Nations force since the United States entered the war. It is unquestionably the most important victory achieved by Chinese arms in more than five years of fighting. In late June and early July the situation on the Chinese front was desperate. Ignoring heavy casualties, the Japanese had succeeded in pushing westward through the rich province of Chekiang, occupying all the seaports not already in their hands and taking over the whole of the Hangchow-Nanchang railway. This force effected a junction with another pushing southeastward through Kiangsi from the city of Nanchang. Japanese propagandists spoke exultantly of the prospect of opening up through railway service from Shanghai to Singapore, utilizing the newly captured rail link. The Japanese also gloated over the capture of the modern airports at Chuhsien, Lishui, and Yushan—the only airports from which raids on Tokyo were believed possible.

Then, in the latter part of July, the Chinese counter-

attacked and gained a foothold on the strategic railway line. They made slow progress at first, but in mid-August they reoccupied Shanjao and Kweiki. By the end of the month all the air bases had been retaken, and Nanchang itself was under attack. Nearly 250 miles of what had once been an important railway were again in Chinese hands, and the Japanese were still retreating. The speed of their retirement and their ruthless destruction of all towns and villages along their route suggest that it was a planned withdrawal and that the Chinese attacks only hastened it. This is quite possible; the Japanese have made strategic withdrawals before, although none on this scale. But while they may have decided to withdraw part of their troops in this area for use elsewhere, and in the process evacuated some of their outlying posts, they can hardly have surrendered voluntarily such cities as Lishui and Chuhsien, which could be used as bases for bombing Japan, or the important port of Wenchow, a bare 200 miles from Formosa.

If we have made proper preparations, the recapture of these cities permits a fundamental reorientation of United Nations strategy in the war against Japan. The attack on the Solomons suggests that in the absence of a more direct way of striking at Japan the United States had decided in favor of a costly island-to-island approach. It is now possible to strike at the concentrated industrial centers and "paper cities" of Japan from the air. This will not be easy. Planes, fliers, and technicians will have to be diverted from other zones. Getting the necessary planes and supplies into China from India over the Himalayas will be a formidable task. Fighter planes for protection as well as bombers will be needed. The planes now in China are but a fraction of the number that must be sent if we plan a serious aerial blow against Japan.

The technical obstacles to an all-out aerial offensive against Tokyo, Osaka, and the other Japanese industrial centers are tremendous, but they are not likely to prove as difficult to overcome as the political obstacles. Despite its heroic achievements China has been a stepchild among the United Nations. We deliberately chose to concentrate our forces for the defense of Australia instead of protecting Burma and the route to China. Although China has been seeking planes for years, our Army Air Force planes and pilots did not actually reach China and go into action until July. Reports indicate that many of the transport planes originally intended for service between India and China have been diverted for use within India. The Chinese have suffered from our failure to provide aid, but we too have paid a heavy price for our neglect. There was a period of seven months during which we could have used Chinese bases to bomb Tokyo, but we did it only once. Quite unexpectedly and undeservedly, another opportunity has been given us. This time we must make full use of it.



# India Means It

BY LOUIS FISCHER

ON FRIDAY, August 21, 50,000 Indian workingmen demanded the release of Gandhi and went on strike at the Tata munitions works, which embrace the biggest steel mill in the British Empire. This has not been reported by the press anywhere. The strike wave in India is spreading. The most disturbed areas are the vital mining and factory region of Behar, Madras, the United Provinces, the Central Province, and the Bombay Presidency. In many places the tearing up of rails has completely disrupted railroad traffic. Telegraph service is frequently discontinued and always quite unreliable. Riots and sabotage throughout India are on a much larger scale than the British government in India had anticipated, the semi-official daily *Statesman* of New Delhi admits.

The civil-disobedience movement, Indian nationalist circles in India believe, is only starting. They expect that soon many Indian officials of the British government in India will quit the service. It is reported, but not officially confirmed, that two Indian members of the Viceroy's Executive Council have resigned.

Mohammed Ali Jinnah, president of the Moslem League, told me recently in Bombay that if the Indian National Congress launched a civil-disobedience movement, there would be violent clashes between Hindus and Moslems. No such events have been reported. The fact is that almost all Indians desire their country's independence, and no Indian party or leader dares to interfere with an attempt to bring it about. Congress leaders in India declare that many Sikhs, Communists, and Moslems are supporting the civil-disobedience movement. It is difficult for an Indian not to.

The British inside and outside India are adamant in their refusal to negotiate with the Indian national movement. They want to crush the civil-disobedience campaign. They say any readiness on their part to conciliate India would undermine still farther British prestige, already so seriously weakened by the military reverses in Hongkong, Malaya, Singapore, and Burma. But will it not be much worse for the British to have to climb down a month or six weeks from now in case the disorders grow? The British close their minds to this gloomy eventuality and plead for time to suppress the Indian trouble. The difficulty is that even if the British succeed they fail. Suppose shootings and whippings cow the Indian people for another interval of uneasy quiet? What the United Nations need is the active support of India's population.

They could get it. Throughout India the word I heard most often used to describe Indian sentiment at the present juncture was "frustration." I heard it from Congress

leaders, from Indian industrialists, from teachers, students, and soldiers. Frustration results from a difference between one's desire to act and one's ability to act. The Indians would like to defend their country. But they cannot do so as partners of their British masters. The Cripps negotiations are revealed by official statements to have been a struggle between Indians demanding greater participation in India's defense and Cripps who opposed it. If Indians were free to fight this war, there would be an end to frustration and an upsurge of joy and an outburst of energy which would be assets to the United Nations.

The Chinese are supremely worried by England's attitude. India is the only channel through which Anglo-American supplies can reach China. Moreover, knowing the East, the Chinese understand how disastrous the suppression of a great Asiatic independence movement would be to the morale of anti-Axis Asia. China is therefore pressing for mediation by the United Nations.

It is interesting to observe how various nations react to the Indian crisis. The Chinese, as Asiatics who have themselves fought to throw off foreign yokes, can easily put themselves in the skin of Indians; their sympathy with Indian independence and with Indians in their present predicament is complete.

Americans intuitively respond in favor of the freedom of colonial nations. But the fear that Indian behavior may prejudice the conduct of the war has somewhat adulterated the natural reaction of Americans to India's struggle for release from imperial domination. At present our instincts are gaining the upper hand again, especially since many persons in this country feel that the British should not have rejected Gandhi's conciliatory request for talks. The mail of Senators and Representatives in Washington is heavy with complaints about British intransigence in India. The danger is that the Indian issue will be exploited by professional Anglophobes, appeasers in pro-war clothes and American friends of the Axis. This must be prevented. I criticize England's attitude in India because I am a friend of England and hope it will be saved from its own stupidity. There can be no objection to private expressions of American opinion about India, but any resolution in the Senate or House of Representatives would probably irritate the British government without advancing the cause of India. If there is to be American official intervention, it must be discreet and informal. For the moment, however, the United States government is deferring to British obstinacy and refraining from extending its good offices to adjust the Indian quarrel. Such delicate handling of a delicate situation is diplomatic and polite. It may prolong the war for several years and lead us into disaster. It should be possible to give a friend a strong scolding without endangering the friendship.

The British know that Washington would like to do something but is not sure that Anglo-American relations



could bear the strain. India is, in fact, our business, and the Administration is worried about India. But we hold our hand out of consideration for Britain's imperial sensibilities. This is an unhealthy state of affairs which should cause concern to London.

The British think of India in terms of the maintenance of their "face" and authority. They contend, of course, that to maintain their authority in India by crushing the current civil-disobedience movement is to consolidate the defense of India. I think the reverse is the case.

## The Facts About a Second Front

BY DONALD W. MITCHELL

THE urgent need of creating a new battleground in Europe has become the most-discussed aspect of the war, and agitation for a second front both here and in England has wide popular support. Hitler's recent transfer of eleven divisions from Western Europe to the Russian front is not so much a gesture of bravado as an attempt to settle the Russian affair before an invasion of the Continent can become a reality. In this he is assuming that the slowness of an Allied reaction will permit his success, an assumption which the facts in the Norwegian campaign and elsewhere justify him in making. Far more clearly than many of their leaders the British and American peoples recognize that a vigorous attack in the west while Russian resistance is still strong may offer the only remaining opportunity of winning the war. It certainly presents the only chance of achieving a *speedy* victory. Not only must the obvious military advantages of attacking now be considered, but also the attitude of mind of our Russian allies and of the conquered millions of Europe whose long-cherished hopes of a Continental invasion have alone saved them from despair.

Unfortunately, the opening of a second front is not a question of desirability. Even Churchill, haunted by the tragedies of Gallipoli, Norway, Greece, and Crete, has been quite willing to concede, *in principle*, the need of launching new campaigns while the Wehrmacht is deeply entangled in Russia. The United States, before Pearl Harbor, had worked out plans for an invasion of Europe in the event of its involvement in the war, and it has reaffirmed the principles of offensive action many times since. But the United Nations High Command, in making its decisions, must be guided primarily by practical considerations; any military move must have a reasonable chance of success. We must take the offensive in the present war if we are to win, but it must not be a quixotic offensive based on nothing more substantial than wishful thinking or despair. While waiting may well mean the difference between facing a million German troops today and six million a year from today, action now will not necessarily be wise unless we have sufficient forces available to meet those million troops

and the necessary transportation to supply them as well.

In all likelihood the time has already passed when a diversionary attack in the west could prevent Germany from getting the Caucasus. Russia is badly weakened, though it has not been knocked out of the war and Hitler will not be able immediately to exploit his gains. The opening of a new front in Europe has not lost any of its importance, but as Soviet resistance weakens, the scale of any Anglo-American offensive must be proportionately increased to be effective.

### WHAT IT TAKES

The first problem, then, in connection with a second front is to determine what is needed and how it can be transported. In the last war a minimum of from six to eight tons of shipping was considered necessary for the transportation and supply of each doughboy in France. Today, although a certain amount of aviation material and personnel travels by air, thus reducing the burden on shipping, mechanization has so increased supply needs that from ten to fifteen tons per soldier—some authorities say twenty—is a closer approximation of our transport needs. Since the opening of a real second front in Western Europe would relieve Russia to a greater extent than the limited amounts of supplies we are now able to send it by way of the White Sea and the Persian Gulf, we could probably divert vessels from these routes. Some additional ships now serving other needs might also be drafted for second-front purposes, but the total number of these diverted ships would not be great. The transportation to Europe of a million men and their supplies—and a million men is a very small army—would probably require eight to ten million tons of *new* shipping. That only in the last month have we held our own in the race of ship construction versus sinkings is common knowledge. The limited American and somewhat larger British forces available at present for an invasion of the Continent might be adequate to effect a diversion. But it will be a long time—a year under the best conditions and much longer if sinkings cannot soon be reduced—before significantly larger bodies of men can be transported and supplied from America.

Nor is shipping the only limiting factor. Until our



army training program was recently speeded up, it was designed to produce four and one-half million troops by the end of 1942. Many of these will necessarily be green. Garrisons are now maintained in Alaska, Hawaii, Australia, the Canal Zone, Newfoundland, Iceland, Bermuda, Eritrea, India, British and Dutch Guiana, West Africa, Egypt, the West Indies, continental United States, and half a hundred other points, essential and non-essential. In a mistaken effort to produce strength by multiplying weakness perhaps a million troops have been drained off in this fashion. In addition there are the cadres of veterans who must be reserved for the training of new units. When these exemptions are made, the striking force available by early 1943 will not be more than two and one-half to three million men. Our early war plans did not contemplate a full-scale offensive much before the latter part of 1943, and it seems evident that the five-million-man army in Europe—the absolute minimum with which we should undertake a full-scale offensive—will not be ready before that time.

Of the greatest importance, then, is the army now stationed in the British Isles—probably two million Britishers, plus Free French, Poland, Canadian, and American contingents. This army must be the vanguard for any Continental invasion. Its quality is not easy to gauge. The courage of the men and their eagerness to fight can be taken for granted. But their training—until recent months that of protecting against invasion—their military experience, and their leadership are also vital factors. The British, who make up the main body of these troops, have had consistently poor leadership and suffer from the psychological handicap of having experienced repeated military defeats. All told, therefore, the troops in Britain are not an ideally constituted expeditionary force. Nevertheless, some of the units are of high quality, and altogether the army is perhaps considerably larger than the German army that would oppose it. The Russians, however, may soon be defeated to an extent that will permit the main body of the German army to be sent west for Continental defense. If time were permitted, the quality as well as the quantity of the United Nations forces in England could be raised by American additions. The American army has increased enormously in both size and striking power in the past year, and it is the only one belonging to the United Nations which has been formed mainly for offensive action.

#### WHERE?

The locale of an invasion attempt has long been a matter of debate. Our democratic ethics probably bar striking through Turkey or Spain, though the latter area has been studied by our war planners. The three main fields suggested to date are Italy, the Channel coast of France and the Low Countries, and Norway.

An Italian campaign is urged by Lieutenant Colonel Kernan in his popular "Defense Will Not Win the

War." Unfortunately, in detailing Italy's weaknesses he does not mention the bases from which an attack could be made. No such bases are in the hands of the United Nations. Until North Africa or the Balkans are cleared of Axis troops, any campaign against Italy will necessarily have to be waged by air and from distant bases.

The Channel coast is very different. Here the British have thoroughly familiarized themselves with the terrain through hundreds of reconnaissance and bombing flights. They have air superiority over the Channel and northern France and, unless their bombings have been singularly ineffective, have considerably softened the German coast fortifications. The native population here is probably as well prepared to aid invaders actively as in any section of Europe. Furthermore, the quartermaster's problem should be simpler here than anywhere else, and no vastly increased number of ships would be needed. Allied control of both sides of the Channel would also complicate the problem of German submarines in getting to sea. Balancing these advantages are the known strength of German coast defenses and the fact that reinforcements can be rapidly poured in.

Norway is another likely battlefield. Here the Germans have the advantage of land-based air power, as opposed to the ship-based air power which we should have to use in the early stages of an invasion. A rugged and inhospitable coast favors defense. On the other hand, northern Norway in particular is vital to the Germans in that it provides a passageway for the Kiruna iron and also a base from which our northern supply lines to Russia can be harassed. Since the Germans would find it extremely hard to bring up reinforcements from southern Norway, a determined attack here might lead them to invade Sweden and result in that country's joining the Allied cause. A Norwegian attack, unless made on a country-wide scale, should start in the north in order to permit close cooperation with the Soviets. It is safe to say that if a diversionary attack on a limited scale occurs soon, northern Norway will be the sector chosen.

#### WHEN?

The second-front problem uppermost in most minds is, When? While many of the factors upon which an answer can be based are known only to the High Command, certain generalizations can be made from the information we have. In the first place it is evident that the United States is not now able, and will not be able for at least a year, to transport and supply an army large enough to fight single-handed against Germany. Secondly, large enough forces of United Nations troops are available to undertake a limited campaign for the purpose of affording a diversion, but neither their quality nor the provisions for supplying them are first class. Thirdly, on the basis of available information the Channel coast seems to offer the best promise of reward for a fairly large-scale attack, though northern Norway, despite



certain drawbacks, is the logical place for launching a limited offensive.

There is another way of trying to discover the answer. According to the war plans which were allowed to leak out through the *Chicago Tribune* just before Pearl Harbor, the Joint Board a year ago believed that the following conditions would have to prevail prior to the undertaking of a Continental offensive.

1. The surface and sub-surface vessels of the Axis must be swept from the seas, particularly in the Atlantic waters contingent to Europe.
2. Overwhelming air superiority must be accomplished.
3. The economic and industrial life of Germany must be rendered ineffective.
4. The combat effectiveness of the German air and ground units must be weakened by dispersion and the shortage of materials, including fuel.
5. Popular support of the war effort by the peoples of the Axis powers must be weakened and their confidence shattered by subversive activities, propaganda, deprivation, and the destruction wrought.

It is obvious that this preparatory softening up will be accomplished, if at all, mainly by our anti-submarine and aerial campaigns. The first has so far failed. The second is making some, but insufficient, progress. To be sure, the R. A. F. is doing a thorough job of blasting the industrial centers of western Germany, but it has scarcely touched other vital areas. Our own Army Air Force,

eight months after Pearl Harbor, has just begun to fight, mainly because of its insistence on operating separately from the R. A. F. Nevertheless, the United Nations now have air superiority. The margin may be increased, but not if a lessening of Soviet resistance permits the Luftwaffe to return to Western Europe.

The large-scale commando raid on Dieppe is cheering but does not necessarily indicate any immediate attempt to establish a second front. In fact, it was hardly a large-scale dress rehearsal. Yet both psychologically and militarily such raids are valuable. They give badly needed combat experience to green troops, afford an opportunity for testing enemy resistance, and inflict large losses. One result of the Dieppe raid was the knowledge that the German defenses are not invulnerable but that their demolition would prove costly. Raids also serve to keep hope alive among the conquered and to create a feeling of insecurity among the conquerors. Not least in importance is the development of cooperation between land, sea, and air units which their execution necessitates.

The facts regarding the second front are not cheering, for they suggest that Hitler has already won the battle of time. Every month from now on will probably see him able to devote more force to repelling a possible invasion attempt in the west. The United States and Great Britain are becoming stronger, but their forces, largely inactive, are unavailable at a time when active Russian resistance is being worn down.

## War and Cheap Money

BY HAROLD MAGER

THE Treasury has exhausted its bag of tricks, and this fall, probably in October, will inaugurate a major change in its war-financing program with the flotation of a huge long-term bond issue of between \$5 billion and \$10 billion of fully negotiable securities, eligible for purchase in unlimited amounts by everyone—individuals, banks, corporations, and all types of institutions. Similar major securities offerings, according to the plans of the fiscal authorities, will take place three or four times a year, the amount of each flotation to depend upon the requirements of the government at the time.

This can only mean that the Treasury's anti-inflationary program is in grave danger of foundering, that it has been brought to the brink of disaster by Secretary Morgenthau's buoyant but wholly unjustified optimism, as expressed in his testimony before the Senate Committee on Finance concerning the Public Debt Act of 1942, and by Congressional fears—in spite of the re-

assuring Gallup polls—of reprisals in the November elections. Since March the House Ways and Means Committee and the Senate Finance Committee have been at loggerheads with the Treasury over an estimated \$2 billion in taxes—a tempest in a teapot that has kept the headline writers busy and put the public to sleep. If the contemplated change in Treasury borrowing takes place, the rumpus over the \$2 billion will be a case of straining at a gnat only to swallow a camel.

In the fiscal year ending June 30, 1942, the federal deficit in round numbers was \$20 billion. This year the deficit will be \$50 billion. "The logic of the situation," declared Marriner S. Eccles, chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, "calls for government policy designed to draw back into the Treasury out of . . . expanding national income an amount equal to what the government is spending." Unfortunately, it is politics, not logic, which is apparently determining the course of events. Instead of drawing back



into the Treasury either in taxes or in borrowings from current income the \$75 billion the government will require this year—thus obtaining from the pockets of the people an amount equal to what the government will spend—the Treasury is contenting itself with a haul of barely half that amount, relying on the banks to manufacture the rest and praying, no doubt, that this net addition to the purchasing power of the country will not increase to the point of collapse the already terrific pressure on the OPA's price structure, the NWLB's wage structure, and, last but not least, the nation's moral structure.

The Treasury's problem is not simply to raise enough money to finance the war. Any government that has a mind to can eschew taxes and borrowing altogether and adopt the simple expedient of meeting its obligations with neat, crisp bills right off the printing press. The Treasury's problem is to get the money by methods that will not set off a ruinous inflation. And to prevent this the Treasury must concern itself with the sources from which its revenues come. If inflationary financing is to be avoided, the funds required to finance the war must be drawn from the current income stream, and any funds injected to swell that stream, either by increasing the income-velocity of idle money or by manufacturing new money (bank-credit and printing-press money), must be kept to an absolute minimum. To date the established pattern of war financing leaves little hope that these principles will be adhered to. For the current fiscal year estimated tax receipts will provide less than one-third of the \$75 billion of estimated expenditures. The prospective deficit of \$50 billion can be met by borrowings from the following sources only: (1) current income, (2) idle hoard, (3) commercial banks. Borrowing from the last two is unquestionably inflationary.

In its non-inflationary borrowing the Treasury has relied mainly on its various war-savings issues, of which it hopes to sell \$12 billion this year, an increase of 100 per cent over the previous year. It is highly improbable, however, that the \$12 billion will represent a corresponding absorption of current income, much less a measure of reduced consumption. The statistics of sales for last year are illuminating on this point. Of the \$6 billion sold, half was bought by investors with idle cash—individuals, fiduciaries, corporations—in denominations of \$1,000 to \$10,000; the other half was sold in denominations, for the most part, of \$500 and \$1,000—the so-called "people's bond." What proportion of total sales represented honest-to-goodness reduction in consumption, the *sine qua non* of an anti-inflation program, the reader can imagine. If Mr. Morgenthau could be persuaded to abandon his program of voluntary savings in favor of a system of compulsory savings, the government would obtain sources of non-inflationary revenue which have hardly begun to be exploited.

In addition to the non-inflationary war savings the Treasury has access to the institutional savings of insurance companies, savings banks, corporations, and fiduciaries. Its recent "tap" offerings have been designed to attract funds from these sources. Such borrowings are for the most part of a non-inflationary character; unfortunately, they can never provide more than a minor share of government requirements.

The bulk of federal borrowings, perhaps as much as \$35 billion in the current fiscal year, will therefore be of an admittedly inflationary character. The funds will originate in the vast money-creating potentialities of the commercial banks, a source not to be distinguished in present circumstances from the government printing press itself, though its use is less generally understood and therefore psychologically less disastrous. The banks create new money by the simple expedient of writing up on their books a deposit to the account of the government, a process that can be repeated until a bank has reached the legal minimum of its fractional cash reserve, and that can be repeated even then if reserve requirements are lowered by legal action. Other methods, somewhat more complicated, are also used by the banks, but the effect is the same: the government comes into possession of *new* money, a net addition to the supply already in existence.

That the Treasury intends to dispose of the larger share of its new \$5 billion to \$10 billion issues to the banks can be deduced not only from the size of the deficit and the government's inability to tap on a voluntary basis the vast, still unexploited sources of non-inflationary funds but from actual developments in monetary policy. The passage in July of Public Act 656, amending the Federal Reserve Act, has enabled the commercial banks to strip their decks for action. It gives the Federal Reserve Board express authority to change the reserve requirements of the New York City and Chicago member banks without altering the requirements in the other districts, and relieves directors of liability for approving loans made while their banks are temporarily deficient in reserves. To some extent the amendment is designed to afford relief to the New York and Chicago districts for the drain on their funds caused by the flow of money to outlying centers of war production, but it is also intended to enable the banks in these important financial centers to continue to absorb large quantities of government securities. The lowering of reserve requirements—the first reduction was made on August 18—represents a complete reversal of the policy announced only last year for combating inflation.

The problem with which we are confronted can be put in a nutshell. By December of this year the government will be spending \$6 billion a month—an estimated maximum which will go on for the duration of the war. It will be collecting \$2 billion a month in taxes and



\$1 billion from the sale of war-savings bonds. Each month after December, therefore, it will have to rely primarily on the banks to provide the remaining \$3 billion. Mr. Morgenthau made this painfully clear in his testimony before the Senate Finance Committee last March: "Not to leave any possible misunderstanding from my testimony, what we cannot get from the people's savings, after we have used every legitimate means to attract the savings and earnings of people to invest in government securities, when we have exhausted all of that, then we have to go to the banks." Is it reasonable to suppose that the American economy can withstand the terrific inflationary pressure that will be exerted by such a net addition to total purchasing power every month?

It is difficult to believe that the Administration is unaware of the explosive possibilities of its war-financing program. Yet Mr. Morgenthau gave that impression in his testimony. When he was asked point-blank whether he was satisfied that existing arrangements would provide the government with the necessary funds,

he answered, "Senator Vandenberg, as far as I can see of today, I can do the job." And when Senator Taft suggested that a compulsory-savings plan would keep the government out of the toils of the banks, he contented himself with the remark, "That would be an alternative." It may be that the Secretary did not wish to reveal the Administration's fears to Senators who were obviously on a fishing expedition, ready to exploit any slip he might make. But with the situation what it is in Congress, I am inclined to believe that the Administration has decided that an adventurous and opportunist policy in public finance, while it may court economic disaster, is still preferable to an attempt to impose a program of compulsory savings, which might bring political disaster.

If all that matters is the military defeat of the Axis, that can probably be brought about just as well by inflationary as by non-inflationary financing. But it will make a great difference in the new world we hope to build whether the national debt is owned by the people or by the banks.

## A Gallery of Quislings

BY JOACHIM JOESTEN

THE unhappiest people in Europe today are Hitler's friends, not his victims. No browbeaten Jew in Warsaw's ghetto, no tortured prisoner in Dachau, no innocent hostage awaiting death in a Paris jail could be quite so wretched as the Quislings. They are doomed men and they know it. No power on earth will be able to protect them from the fury of the people once their master is beaten, and every day of the year they die a hundred deaths. Most of them suffer doubly because, like their Führer and idol, they are psychopathic cases, neurotic, plagued with inferiority complexes, victims of early frustrations.

Most pathetic of all is the man who has given his name to the whole breed of puppet rulers, Major Vidkun Quisling, who last February reached the goal of his ambition and by grace of Adolf Hitler became Premier of Norway. Yet even now Quisling is not triumphant. He has the looks, the posture, the behavior of a doomed man. His face is haggard, with bulging eyes, baggy jowls, and deep furrows. The Hitler lock hangs limp. The blond hair has turned gray. The ruddy complexion is blanched.

Foreign observers who have seen a great deal of Quisling in recent months say that the man is mad. Showing paranoiac tendencies early in life, he is said to have become completely deranged as the result of a

malarial disease contracted during his twelve years of diplomatic service in Russia. Even casual observers describe him as a nervous wreck, moody and irritable. After the attempt on Laval's life last year, Quisling nearly committed suicide by taking a heavy dose of veronal. Only with great difficulty was his life saved by an eminent specialist of Oslo University, Professor Klaus Hansen. When Quisling wanted to reward the professor by making him dean of the university, Hansen declined the honor, refusing to take the place of Rector Didrik Akup Seip, whom the Nazis had sent to a concentration camp.

It is reliably reported that at least two or three attempts have been made on Quisling's life, but details are not available. A few months ago his personal bodyguard—made up of picked hoodlums under twenty-six years old and at least five feet seven and a half inches tall—was first doubled and then tripled. Quisling's car is preceded and followed by police cars, each carrying four heavily armed *birdmen*, or storm troopers. Shortly before last Christmas Quisling moved into new headquarters on the island of Bygdö near Oslo. His new home, Grande Villa, was built during the last war by a man who made millions through profiteering. When Quisling moved into his fortress, eight private homes nearby were forcibly evacuated and a permanent cordon



of twenty-four armed guards was strung around the turreted, bomb-proof building.

There are good reasons for Quisling's assassination complex and his shattered nerves. He is well aware that he has 98 per cent of the Norwegian nation against him, and the repeated successful commando raids have given him stern warning that his country has a priority for the coming second front. To this prospect Quisling recently replied with the threat of a "most horrible civil war."

Perhaps even more than he fears his enemies, Quisling fears his friends. He knows that the commander of the German forces in Norway, Colonel General Nikolaus von Falkenhorst, hates and despises him; that the arch-schemer, Josef Terboven, Hitler's governor, is jealously watching his every step; and that one of his own sub-leaders, Victor Mogens, who tried to snatch the premiership for himself, is again intriguing against his *Führer*.

More than anything else, however, it is the world-wide degradation of his name that torments Quisling. It is his special misfortune that his name, instead of being the ordinary Continental jaw-breaker, fitted perfectly into the English language. The *London Times*, on April 19, 1940, dealt interestingly with this linguistic phenomenon: "... to writers the word Quisling is a gift from the gods. If they had been ordered to invent a new word for traitor . . . they could hardly have hit upon a more brilliant combination of letters. Actually, it contrives to suggest something at once slippery and tortuous."

A fine example of the abnormal lack of scruples that characterizes the Quisling's way of getting ahead is afforded by the early career of Anton Adrian Mussert, the little Führer of Holland. The undersized son of a poor village schoolmaster (he is only four feet ten), Mussert was born May 11, 1894, at Werkendam, South Holland. At school and in college little Anton was an unsociable, hard-working boy with an overweening ambition. He had few friends, but there was one person who liked him, shunning neither effort nor cost to help him get on in the world—the sister of his mother.

When young Mussert was eighteen, his aunt put up the money that enabled him to enter the Technical University at Delft. Having got his degree as civil engineer in June, 1918, he entered the government service and in nine years worked himself up to the position of chief engineer of the province of Utrecht. In 1922, when it had become fairly clear that Mussert was on his way to a solid state position, the generous aunt claimed her reward. At the age of forty-six she asked her twenty-eight-year-old nephew to marry her. Young Anton, whose only hope was that Queen Wilhelmina would refuse the required consent to legalize this union, was forced to accept.

The couple was among the first in Europe to sense the

wind of Nazism as it began to blow over the Continent. As early as December 14, 1931, Mussert founded his *National Socialistische Beweging*, the Dutch Nazi party through which he hoped to play first fiddle in the country. From the beginning, Mussert's N. S. B. made close contacts with its more powerful and financially better equipped counterpart in Germany. Soon the Dutch would-be dictator no longer needed the money of his aunt-wife. He got enough in Berlin and Rome. Dismissed from the government pay roll in 1935, he found the time to build up his party and to organize a band of storm troopers. He went about surrounded by huskies bent on street fighting and always carried a riding whip. While Mussert's program on most points followed the Hitler line, he at first disapproved of anti-Semitism and even invited Jews to join his party. But after a few years he fell in line, and when the German invasion came in May, 1940, he was a full-fledged Quisling who welcomed the invaders.



Vidkun Quisling

Though Hitler hesitated long to put in charge of the Netherlands a man whom he knew all Dutchmen loathed, Mussert, according to latest reports, is now slated for early elevation to the puppet premiership, under the supervision of that other famous traitor, Arthur Seyss-Inquart, German High Commissioner for the Netherlands. But if Mussert is ever to enjoy a few days of glory in the *Ridderzaal* at The Hague, he should ask his boss to speed the inauguration, for the time is growing short.

"If the English invade Holland," he publicly admitted last year, "the Dutch rabble would exterminate all N. S. B. men." More recently Mussert whined in an address to young storm troopers: "The arch-enemy may attempt to strike at the heart of Germany across this country, situated at the mouth of the Rhine—and I wish I could tell the German people, 'Don't worry, we Netherlanders are ready to beat them off.'"

The story of the Belgian Fascist leader, Léon Marie Joseph Ignace Degrelle, is no less distasteful. This handsome, boyish-looking adventurer used religion, women, and the money of his country's enemies to build up his so-called Rexist Party.

Born in 1907 at Bouillon in southern Belgium, Degrelle began his career as a Catholic stump orator and



a fomentor of bigotry by way of popular stories. He made hundreds of thousands of francs through the commercial exploitation of alleged "miraculous apparitions" of the Blessed Virgin at Beauraing. Later in Spain, in search of fresh religious wonders, he produced sensational reports about miracles at Esquioga, in the Basque country. Again he did a brisk business until the local bishop publicly branded the "apparitions" a vulgar deception.



Pierre Laval

In the end, Degrelle's religio-commercial ventures led to bankruptcy, in which his printers lost over a million francs. Degrelle tearfully declared himself to be so utterly destitute that he even had

to sell the belongings of his daughter Chantal, but his insolvency was fraudulent, for he had shrewdly transferred all his property to his wife in ample time.

At any rate, Degrelle soon had enough money again to found and build up his Rexist Party. In 1936 the party had a boom year, winning 21 seats in parliament out of a total of 202, but at the next general election, in 1939, it was to lose all but four of them. In September, 1936, Degrelle made a secret trip to Berlin, and a month later he attempted the abortive "march on Brussels" which sank the remnants of his prestige. That the dashing, boisterous Degrelle was really an inflated nonentity was eloquently attested by the French deputy Philippe Henriot, himself a Fascist, who said of him in 1937: "For fifteen minutes I thought he was a great man. Then I knew he was crazy and Rexistism a joke." The full extent of Degrelle's venality was bared last December by the underground paper *La Belgique Loyale*, whose editor is a former Rexist deputy. According to this report, Degrelle in 1936-37 received 19,000,000 francs (about \$600,000) from Mussolini alone, not to mention heavy subsidies from Nazi sources.

After the invasion of Belgium Hitler refused to honor his earlier promises to Degrelle. Politically bankrupt and desperate, the Rexist chieftain last August joined the anti-Soviet "crusade" at the head of a "Walloon Legion" which he had recruited. In March Radio Berlin announced that Degrelle had been wounded in Russia "while warding off an enemy air attack." Shortly before, a reporter of Goebbels's *Angriff* had written a graphic story of how he found the handsome Léon in an inn, "busy dancing the tango with some Ukrainian girls who could hardly be described as shy."

A few weeks ago the Nazi authorities in Belgium

made their first serious attempt to foist a Degrelle Cabinet on the captive King Leopold III. The King, who once had described Degrelle as a "scoundrel," spurned the suggestion.

Pierre Laval is the most notorious of all Quislings. Born poor, the son of an Auvergne butcher, he started his political career as a Socialist agitator but soon became France's most crooked public figure, a politician whose views and influence were always for sale to the highest bidder. With the proverbial tenacity of the Auvergnat, Laval always combined an utter disregard for moral concepts with a marked gusto for horse-trading. A lawyer in private life, he managed to milk millions out of Nick Zographos, a professional gambler, and out of Citroën, prominent as a tax evader as well as an industrialist. As a lucrative side line Laval for years owned and operated a chain of *maisons de rendezvous*. It is characteristic of the man that although he was closely associated with two Jewish lawyers right up to the fall of France, he abruptly turned anti-Semitic, and now, as Premier, has appointed the rabid Jew-baiter Darquier de Pellepoix as Commissar of Jewish Affairs.

At the height of power, Laval today is, in the words of his friend and fellow-Quisling Marcel Déat, "terribly alone." He has publicly proclaimed his desire to see Hitler win the war. But in the streets of Paris even the children chant "*Laval à la lanterne*," and no one familiar with the history of France will be surprised if a lamp-post is indeed the next milestone in Pierre Laval's career.

In Hitler's ample collection of Balkan henchmen two men deserve special mention: the stocky regicide Ante Pavelich, who despotically rules the puppet kingdom of Croatia, and the white-haired Professor Bela Tuka, Prime Minister of Slovakia.

*Poglavar* (leader) Pavelich, fifty-two years old, a lawyer by profession and a devout Catholic, first made headlines in 1929 when he was condemned to death for plotting against the national unity of Yugoslavia. Five years later, as head of the secret revolutionary society *Hrvatska Ustasha*, he planned and directed the assassination at Marseilles of King Alexander I and of Louis Barthou. Both before and after this crime Pavelich and his chief aid, Eugen Kvaternik, enjoyed Mussolini's hospitality in a sumptuous villa near Turin, Italy. In April, 1941, they repaid Il Duce's generosity by heading the Croat rebellion against invaded Yugoslavia. Now one as Premier and one as Chief of Police, they are trying vainly to suppress the open guerrilla warfare of the *Zeleni Kadre* (Green Army), the Croat allies of Draja Mihailovich.

Bela Tuka, the "strong man" of Slovakia, is not much better off. He has to defend himself both against the constant intrigues of his fellow-Quislings, State Presi-



dent Josef Tiso and Propaganda Minister Sano Mach, and against the rising tide of popular disaffection caused by the country's participation in the war against Russia.

As a young man, Tuka followed the tide of Magyarization in what was then a province of Hungary. He even forgot his Slovak mother tongue and changed his original first name of Vojtech to the Hungarian Bela. After the war, however, Tuka became intensely conscious of his Slovak nationality and bitterly opposed the union with the Czechs. In 1921 he lost his position as professor of international law at the University of Bratislava, and seven years later he was arrested on a charge of high treason. He served ten years of a fifteen-year sentence in the penitentiary. Tuka has worked hand-in-glove with the Nazis since the days of the Munich beer-hall putsch. In March, 1939, he saw his dream of an "independent" Slovakia come true by the grace of Hitler. After the invasion of Russia he brought his country into the war and signed the Anti-Comintern Pact in Berlin on November 25.

Perhaps the greatest curiosities in Hitler's gallery of Quislings are two men who are playing the role of Germany's puppets for the second time, serving the Führer today as they served the Kaiser twenty-five years ago. They are the burly Cossack Hetman (leader) Paul Skoropadsky, sixty-eight, and Denmark's cynical sixty-four-year-old Foreign Minister, Eric Scavenius.

Ever since his puppet government in Kiev collapsed, after six months, in November, 1918, Skoropadsky has lived at a villa near Wannsee, on the outskirts of Berlin, where he became a good friend of Göring. After the partition of Czecho-Slovakia, in 1938, he attempted to lay the foundations of a new "independent" Ukraine at Chust, Ruthenia, but Hungarian troops seized the town and sent him scurrying back to Berlin. He then helped to work out plans for the German invasion of the Ukraine, but failed to reap his promised reward when the conquest was completed. Skoropadsky's present whereabouts are unknown, and it may well be that he has been liquidated.

Eric Scavenius, who in August, 1914, violated Denmark's neutrality by closing the Belts and the Sound at Germany's behest, returned to the Foreign Ministry in July, 1940, following the Nazi invasion. He is, with Gunnar Larsen, Minister of Transportation, the chief exponent of active collaboration with Germany in the present Danish Cabinet. Scavenius signed the Anti-Comintern Pact, against the will of most of his colleagues, and took the initiative in the formation of a Danish Volunteer Legion (*Frikorps Danmark*) to fight with the Germans in Russia.

The amazing thing about Scavenius is that he has all his life professed to be a liberal. He is chairman of the board of directors of the influential Copenhagen daily *Politiken*, organ of the Radical Party. An unscrupulous

opportunist, he prides himself on his understanding of *Realpolitik*. In his eyes the Danish patriots who prefer silent resistance to abject collaboration "live in the moon." To Eric Scavenius anyone who doubts an ultimate German victory must be a fool. That was his opinion during the last war, and it is his opinion today. History probably will record him as the man who twice in a lifetime bet on the same wrong horse.

## In the Wind

THE INQUIRING FOTOGRAPHER, a column in the New York *Daily News*, has acquired a reputation among the paper's readers as a casual but fair sampler of public opinion. On August 22 it asked, "What do you think of this paradox—Every nation in the world seems to be fighting except the fighting Irish?" Five of the six Irish Americans to whom the question was put sympathized with Eire's position, and no one could read the column without concluding that they believed neutrality to be a blessing not only to Ireland but to any nation. Sample phrases follows: ". . . they [the Irish] are doing their best to maintain their sanity . . . have sanely decided to stay neutral . . . too sportsmanlike and too fair to become involved in a war that is no concern of theirs . . . the Irish are not too easily led . . . the Lord help any leader who tries to plunge them into a war that is not of their choosing."

A NEW YORK PUBLISHER'S house organ points out that in building Camp Joyce Kilmer in New Jersey the army is showing no mercy to the trees on the site.

JOSEPH P. KENNEDY, the former isolationist and ambassador to Great Britain, is negotiating for the purchase of the Boston *Post*.

THE STRICTEST PRONOUNCEMENT on secular education ever made by a member of the Catholic hierarchy in this country came recently from Bishop Karl J. Alter, of the Toledo diocese. He said that parents or guardians who enrol children in public schools or colleges without consulting the church will be refused the Sacrament as recalcitrants. Bishop Alter, incidentally, has been a vigorous supporter of the Pétain and Franco regimes.

THE *DAILY WORKER* has started a campaign against General Mihailovich, the Yugoslav guerrilla leader. A recent story was headlined: "Rome Radio Admits Mihailovich Is Ally." Another *Daily Worker* story said that, according to reports from Istanbul, the guerrillas were fighting on, but their leader had deserted them. Short-wave monitors tried to check both stories but found no verification.

[The \$5 prize for the best item received in August goes to Clarence Senior of Washington, D. C., for his story about a "bubble gum" company that bought up large stocks of guayule rubber in Mexico.]



# BOOKS *and the* ARTS

## Unhyphenated American

BY JACQUES BARZUN

MY HEADING refers not to nationality but to speech. We owe it to the greatest lexicographer since Dr. Johnson, to wit, H. L. Mencken, that the language spoken in the United States is known as American—an offshoot of English developing freely according to the genius of the American people. Today, with the vast number of visitors to our shores, both English and Continental, the influence of American takes on new strength and, as I see it, suggests a new responsibility. We cannot of course undertake to change our pronunciation or diction on a national scale for the sake of union now or hereafter; nor can some of us be persuaded to utter pure vowels, long disused, for the sake of making ourselves understood by educated foreigners who have learned to say "carry" and not "cairey," "moral" and not "mawrl." But there is one thing we can do. We can do something about the habit, quite recent among us, of dropping our h . . . hyphens.

You must have noticed, rather lately, the close clinch of our compound words in print and the shameful birth of single words out of double adjectives. Formerly the legal union was signified by that modest little dash which the French rightly call *trait d'union*. But now the hyphen is hunted to death like the last heath hen on Martha's Vineyard—or perhaps I should write "heathen." In a recent book by Max Eastman, for example, the eye running smoothly over the author's lucid prose crashes into "ultraaustere." In Mr. Dos Passos's "The Ground We Stand On" every opportunity is taken to turn English into a sort of elegant Eskimo by such compounds as "picturegallery," "hardshelled," and "fifteenyearold." In its latest style sheet a famous university press furthers the drive to agglutination. It calls not only for "cooperate" and "reestablish" without hyphen or helpful two dots over the second vowel, but for the writing of compounds with "non" as one word, so that we read "nonessential" and "nonaggressive."

Or rather, we read no such thing: we read "none-ssential" and "nona-ggressive," then on a second try we go back and take apart what the Printing Interests have decreed shall be joined. I charge the Printing Interests—which include editors, publishers' readers, and other sticklers for form—because it has long been one of their tenets that hyphens are ugly and spoil the page. They also boggle at italics, parentheses, dashes, and sometimes at double quotation marks. Of all these there mustn't be "too many" on a single page or else they cannot lift their heads at the annual prize day of their guild. It is the middleman again; it is boss rule. Why not exterminate semicolons? They are dreadfully asymmetrical, and so are letters that stick out above and below the line. Given world enough and time, those who print will make prose into one long 0000000 of beauty.

The underlying cause of all this regimentation is the desire for consistency. Apparently it is impossible for the

ordinary secretarial mind to distinguish between the consistency that makes him walk straighter to his goal and the consistency that pinches his toes like an undersized boot. Consistency of spelling and punctuation is of the latter sort. Hand in a manuscript to a publisher, and an expensive damsel with a ferret eye will point out that whereas on page 12 you spell "western" with a small "w," on page 138 you capitalize it. The notion that apart from clerical error there might be a reason in usage or rhetoric for the two spellings neither occurs to the censor nor stays her hand. Indeed, the firm probably has a policy about capital letters and a list of words that must begin big or little. The firm is sure to have a rule about commas and seeks to instil grammatical logic at the expense of the reader's comfort and the author's rhythm; the foolish assumption being that a good sentence will always scan without commas. It is this presumptuous folly that Baudelaire quietly exposed in the famous instruction to his publisher, "Remove the paragraph if you must, but not the comma in the middle of it."

Among other things, the rule of consistency applied to hyphens deprives the reader of one valuable aid. Suppose an author discussing economics uses the phrase "socially necessary labor time." It usually needs no hyphen. Hence, says the editor, it must never take one. But among the repetitions of the phrase one occurs in which the end of the line comes after the word "labor." On reading proof the author, cherishing consecutive thought, will stick in a hyphen so that the reader will follow through to "labor time" and not halt at the incomplete and misleading "socially necessary labor." But no. The hobgoblin eats up the hyphen, and the orphaned word "time" dangles by itself at the head of the next line.

To be sure, Donne writes—and spells—"interanimates," but this looks suggestively like what it means. In ordinary print nothing makes up for the gear shifting required to make out the author's meaning. Already with "cooperate" so spelled we shorten cooperative store into "Coop," pronounced as if it were a chicken house, and we find more and more educated people speaking of "zu-ology," as if the origin of the word were to be found in Bronx Park.

Abstractly considered, this typographical change may seem trivial and my complaint merely that of conservative habit. But this is not so. The combining of words in English follows very subtle rules which people who work by style sheet will never grasp. Richness of expression, and clarity as well, depends on unforeseen yet natural uniting of words. We may indeed get used to "reestablish" and "nonaggressive" if these two words recur often enough in their welded form, but what will prepare us for even such simple collocations as "premedical student" and "harddrinking lot"?

In German itself, where movable prefixes accustom the eye to word splitting, the longer compounds are neither slightly nor convenient. In English, of which one great virtue is the speed of its unit-meanings, the merging of movable parts is an offense to the underlying spirit of the language besides being a hindrance to rapid reading. Now it is a



well-known fact that rapid reading is best from the point of view of both understanding and reflection. The less the actual letters stand out as things in themselves the more the mind can concentrate on what they stand for. But concentration is impossible when at every turn a puzzle or a false start trips you up. If you see the letters "premed" your mind at once leaps to "premeditate" or "premeditation": "premedical" is a hybrid that wrecks rhythm and sense, since in it "medical" is the main idea and "pre" secondary. It is a false parallel to say that "meditate" is the main idea and "pre" secondary, because usage makes "premeditate" a single notion very different from simple "meditate," while "pre-medicate" has no meaning at all. The very reason why "pre-medical" is, and of right ought to be, written with a hyphen is that it is an artificial combination for a special purpose—the classification of college students—and the same reason should prevent it from becoming a single word in common use.

The opposite reason shows why "nevertheless" has rightly been made into one word. So have "churchgoing" and "railroad": they are single notions in current use and are unmistakable at sight. As for "picturegallery" and "midsummermadness," which are also single notions, they are so much more comfortable with a little breather in between that nothing short of "typographical science" could think of denying it to them and to us. The descendants of Gutenberg are presuming on their control of the means of production to turn his movable type into immovable words, forgetting that books are to be read, not solved. With their present logic, enforced through that very dictatorial form of legislation known as the style sheet, we may expect any day the spaghettiparagraph: "Fourscoreandsevenyearsago our fathers broughtforth onthiscontinent anewnation conceived-inLiberty anddedicated totheproposition that allmenare-createdequal."

## The Diplomacy of Nemesis

*THE RIDDLE OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT.* By Robert Bendiner. Farrar and Rinehart. \$2.

ALL alert citizens have long suspected that their Department of State leaves much to be desired as an arsenal of democracy and as an instrument for the realistic conduct of foreign policy. They have perceived from the tragic course of events through the wasted years that among all the agencies of the Roosevelt Administration no group of bureaucrats yields priority to the State Department in lack of imagination, imperviousness to the forces of liberalism, preoccupation with obsolete formulas, and positive genius for being wrong time after time without suffering any of the consequences of wrongness. They know, albeit vaguely, that all the other war services in Washington are constantly engaged in dubious battle against the blind conservatism of the men under Hull. Of late more and more voices have cried from the housetops that total war cannot be waged successfully unless it is also waged on the diplomatic front and that the Department of State is not only incapable of waging diplomatic warfare but is the chief obstacle to effective operations in all other spheres of combat.

Under these circumstances an adequate analysis of what is wrong with State is an important weapon of victory. No book on the department has appeared since the pedestrian apologia of Bertram Hulén, issued in the spring of 1939. This new volume by the managing editor of *The Nation* comes very close to filling the bill. Robert Bendiner has performed a difficult task with distinction. To him and to the Union for Democratic Action, which inspired this study, are due the thanks of all who work and fight for freedom.

The book, let it be said at once, is not a denunciation but an explanation. Its strength and its weakness lie in its dispassionate moderation. At all points the author tempers justice with mercy and studiously avoids any quest for scapegoats.

He does not record, for example, that in the spring of 1938 Mr. Hull publicly justified arms exports to Germany on the ground that the peace treaty with the Reich merely forbade German imports of arms from America but did not forbid American exports of arms to Germany. He refrains from quoting the President (July 24, 1941) on the policy of selling war supplies to Japan: "It was very essential from our selfish point of view of defense to prevent a war from starting in the South Pacific. The policy has worked for two years." He says nothing of the decision to preserve full diplomatic relations with Hitler's puppet rulers of Finland, nor of the vacuity of the Atlantic Charter, nor of the disastrous policy of "hands off" with regard to India, nor of some other ways in which the department is helping to lose the war.

Instead of an indictment Bendiner presents first a brief résumé of the diplomacy of appeasement, with ample facts and figures. He gives considerable attention to the department's policies toward Franco and Pétain, noting in passing how the department last summer broke the British blockade of Vichy North Africa. Since the book has come off the press Elmer Davis—*horribile dictu!*—has announced that shipments to North Africa have again been resumed, and the President has outlined his new plan to appease El Caudillo by varnishing paintings and sending tourists to the Spanish fascist paradise. Ambassador Hayes is obviously a worthy successor to Ambassador Weddell, whose wife gave the Falange a new clubhouse—not out of sympathy for fascism, says Bendiner, but out of "political innocence."

These pages show how and why the department has consistently discouraged the defenders of democracy everywhere and given repeated aid and comfort to the fascist Caesars. The larger and more valuable part of the book is devoted to a detailed treatment of the department at work—its traditions, its atmosphere, its leading figures, its methods of recruiting and promotion, its smug irresponsibility, its peculiar relations with the White House, and its relative immunity to criticism.

Although it is safe to guess that the higher-ups in the department will be unappreciative, Bendiner treats most of them with sympathetic insight. He carries very far the old French proverb: "Who understands all forgives all." He recognizes that the tangled dilemmas of America's diplomats are in part a product of the incapacity of the American public to emancipate itself from past illusions and in part a product of the inevitable limitations of social climbers and



clubmen. Despite his revealing comments regarding the Georgetown Foreign Service School, he plays down the growing influence of clericalism among the higher personnel. He likewise minimizes the new role of the "old school tie" and the old role of inherited wealth. Hull he sees as a well-meaning old man, at worst addicted to "compromise, procrastination, and wishful thinking" and prone to "perilous caution, evasion, and paralyzing contradictions." Welles he shrewdly evaluates and rightly praises for his Arlington address. The lesser figures are judiciously weighed. The President's relations with the department are brilliantly analyzed.

As for "What Can Be Done?" Bendiner is not optimistic. "There is no quick and easy way." The disease is not treachery nor yet stupidity but the dry decay of mid-Victorian minds in a world in which—alas!—Queen Victoria is dead. A Congressional investigation might help to remove the moth balls and sweep away the cobwebs, but Bendiner doubts its feasibility. Short of this, he urges increased appropriations, a public foreign-service training school, a better liaison with Congress, and, above all, an awakening of the citizenry to the need of a new diplomacy of democracy.

This balanced evaluation raises the issue of whether the department, as now constituted, is likely to lose the war of today and the peace of tomorrow as it helped to lose the peace of yesterday. "Do we feel confident," asks the author, "that men who have made an outmoded diplomacy the be-all and end-all of their official lives will readily abandon that diplomacy. . . ? To assume an affirmative answer is to take a long risk." A comparison with Downing Street under Baldwin, Chamberlain, and Churchill and with the Quai d'Orsay in the last days of its decadence would throw light on the question. A critique of the department's policies toward the United Nations as the basis of a free world order would also be relevant. But this partial solution of a fateful riddle does make it clear that the department is what it is and acts as it acts because it is committed not to the creation of a living future but to the preservation of an international system which has become an anachronism. With all its vices and virtues, the department has not yet grasped the import of Lincoln's words in another time of testing: "The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is new, so we must think anew and act anew. We must disenthrall ourselves, and then we shall save our country."

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN

## From America South

*FIESTA IN NOVEMBER.* Stories from Latin America Selected and Edited by Angel Flores and Dudley Poore, with an Introduction by Katherine Anne Porter. Houghton Mifflin Company. \$3.

THERE is no biographical or historical apparatus in this collection of eighteen Latin American stories and novelettes; except for a few facts dropped by Katherine Anne Porter in her introduction, we are not told whether the writers are young or old, professional literary men, workers, or diplomats, successful or still unknown. But

whatever the background of their authors, only two of the stories are about people of education and social privilege. *Fiesta in November*, the title piece by the Argentinian Eduardo Mallea, is an impressionistic study of a decaying upper-class family, symbolically interwoven with the account of an incident of fascist violence; it has considerable emotional power but it is turgid and forced in the writing and sentimental in its choice of detail. *Brother Ass*, by Eduardo Barrios of Chile, is a subtle, clever, almost brilliant story of the making of a latter-day saint, told through the mind of a sophisticated fellow-Franciscan. For the rest, these are stories of simple people—Negroes, Indians, and halfbreeds, fishermen, woodcutters, and peons.

These people live either in the country or on or near the sea. They are hot-blooded and reckless, generous and superstitious. Miss Porter points out the absence from their lives of all the familiar paraphernalia of civilization: there are no electric lights, radios, automobiles, or airplanes. But in our own fiction, too, it is the fashion to write about the periods of our history and the sections of our country in which life is still unmechanized. There is this difference: these Latin American stories have none of the self-conscious virtue and false innocence of our own "primitive" writing; they don't patronize their subjects. They deal with a primitive society, but their level of worldliness is very high. When we in the United States write about simple people we implicitly pay homage to modern industrial urban life by reducing man's stature quite in proportion as we strip him of machinery, but these Latin American writers know that man is no less complicated and dignified for living in a simpler culture. This is a true worldliness, and it is the sense in which I can agree with Miss Porter when she says that artists lie less than other people. The point seems to be that *good* artists lie less than other people—bad artists probably lie rather more than less—and these are good artists.

And what is striking, although it might have been expected, is that all the stories, not excepting the two sophisticated novelettes I have already mentioned, have in common the theme of the struggle between the individual and a hostile environment. Miss Porter speaks of the amount of "weather" in these stories, and certainly storms and cold and drought rage through their pages. But by the opposition between man and his world I do not mean merely this reiteration of "man pitted against the elements." Weather is only one of the hard conditions of these people's lives, a reality, of course, but also the symbol, in nature, of the fierce, almost unbroken circle of enslavement in which they all have their being. When the fleeing peon in *The Fugitives* meets his death in a torrential downpour, nature is only paying off with the last blow, and his companion who survives is inevitably returned to serfdom; the monk in *Brother Ass* is the prisoner of his vows, and the wealthy Ragues of *Fiesta in November* are enslaved by their class; in *Country Girl* the bondage of Vicenta to her family tradition is represented by the little hoard of gold and jewels stored in her father's cupboard, just as in *Rain* the bondage of the old couple to their dry soil is dramatized by the freedom of the child to wander at will into and out of their poor lives.



But it is the economic bondage which is the master-bondage of them all, and how could it be otherwise in a land with such a history of economic exploitation and oppression? These stories are the stories of economic prisoners and, read with conscience, they should make any white man feel the guilty burden of his race and any North American blush for our good neighborliness. "I have no master, nigger. Slavery came to an end long ago," says a character in *The Sloop Isabel Arrived This Evening*, and she is answered, "But how about the belly? Live without eating and I'll call you Queen!" The quotation from one story might be the epigraph for the whole book. For it is the belly that chains these people to their fate and makes the weather so tragically important for them.

I don't know what Miss Porter means when she says in her introduction: "Of 'social consciousness,' which has been a fighting issue between writers all these years in the United States, there is almost none in the explicit sense. The wrongs committed by one class of society upon another are touched upon obliquely, by inference, in sorrowful little stories of evils endured in silence or rebelled against without hope." Does she mean that the disease has not been recognized because these writers don't give it a label or name its cure? True, these stories are about people and not about victims, and they are constructed not of attitudes but of understanding and insights; there are no slogans or parties, there is not even very much hope. But they are as explicit and effective as any stories written by our own most socially conscious and fighting writers of fiction; they are just better stories. DIANA TRILLING

## Jennie Lee

*THIS GREAT JOURNEY.* By Jennie Lee. Farrar and Rinehart. \$2.50.

JENNIE LEE was only twenty-four when she became a member of the House of Commons, but her maiden speech—a blistering attack on the budget proposals of Winston Churchill, then Chancellor of the Exchequer—showed her astonished colleagues they had something more than an extremely pretty schoolgirl to reckon with. If she then seemed politically experienced beyond her years, it was because she had begun her political education at a tender age. In the miner's home which she describes in her autobiography with illuminating detail and warm affection the ugly facts of a class society were quickly assimilated.

Since her Parliamentary debut Jennie Lee has traveled widely and mingled in cosmopolitan and bohemian circles in the Old World and the New. But her spiritual home is still in the bleak villages where her grandfather fought and suffered to build up the Fife Miners' Union and where as late as 1926 her father was penalized after the general strike. And her faith in the integrity of the common man and his ability to create a better society remains undaunted.

In the last war Jennie's parents as Socialist pacifists were among the local leaders of a small and unpopular minority, a fact which for a short time outraged her natural childish instinct for the conventional. A historical parallel came to the rescue when she saw the despised and sometimes per-

secuted opponents of the war as "the modern Covenanters . . . fighting for conscience's sake." Today she is no longer a pacifist, but while working for the defeat of Hitler she remains a critic of the class structure of Britain and questions the ability of the government to win a struggle the revolutionary implications of which it is unable to grasp. Nor has she any faith in the Labor Party, dominated as it is by trade-union bosses whose timidity and lack of imagination she again and again castigates.

Her hopes, rather, turn toward Sir Stafford Cripps, like her an outcast from the ranks of official Labor. In him she sees a possible leader of a third party which would attract the numerous progressive independents in Britain and the many malcontent members of the older parties. But as Jennie Lee realizes, Cripps is "in a dangerously exposed position." In a postscript to her book at the end of May she suggests that the coal crisis provides an opportunity for him to challenge the old order by insisting that the mines be taken out of the hands of the mine owners. "The time has come," she writes, "when he must either do what he was put into the Cabinet to do or resign." But a compromise solution for the coal problem has since been adopted.

And then there is India. However bitter Cripps may feel about the intransigence of the Congress leaders, he can hardly approve the old-fashioned coercion tactics now being used against them. But he remains in the Cabinet. Has the polished technique of the British Tories for taking dangerous opponents into camp once again succeeded?

KEITH HUTCHISON

## Hermann Rauschning says:

**"This book surpasses by far the general level of the flood of anti-Nazi literature. The author speaks from living and practical experience."**

DANZIG offers the conditions of a clinical laboratory for students of the Nazi experiment. Events that took months in the Reich took seven years in Danzig, and being the one democratic region in the German sphere of influence after Nazism came into power, it was the only place where democratic German reaction to National Socialism could be accurately measured.

The author of this book, a former Danzig lawyer now living in the United States, charts the events between 1933 and 1939 which led to the nazification of Danzig, ~~step-by-step~~—from suppression of trade unions and stifling of the press to assaults on private persons, intimidation and violence. In miniature, here is a problem of world organization such as will confront the leaders of tomorrow. \$3.50

# Nazi Conquest of Danzig

THE  
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OF  
CHICAGO  
PRESS

BY HANS L. LEONHARDT



## IN BRIEF

**THE GLOBE PLAYHOUSE: ITS DESIGN AND EQUIPMENT.** By John Cranford Adams. Harvard University Press. \$5.

Long after the Elizabethan drama had become a favorite subject of literary study little was known about the stage and theater for which it was written beyond a few vague notions involving the "bare stage" and the wooden "O." During the past thirty or forty years, however, an immense amount of time has been devoted to the effort to construct from the evidence, largely circumstantial, a more or less detailed picture of what the stage was like and what went on there. The author of the present book reexamines all that relates to the Globe, Shakespeare's own theater during the most important part of his career, adds some evidence of his own, and attempts to draw a somewhat more precise and particularized picture than any previous one. Other scholars have often used surviving stage directions and relevant bits of dialogue as clues to stage methods, but Mr. Adams is apparently the first who guarantees that he has examined every extant play and considered every such bit of evidence. He also uses contemporary building practice as a basis for discussion of what the general dimensions of the whole theater must have been and gives us the very few figures for which there is documentary justification. In general, he may be a bit too confident that the implications of his evidence can only be what he thinks they are, but his study is certain to take its place with the earlier standard ones. The description of just how a big scene in "The Tempest" must have been staged is very ingenious.

**STRETCHING YOUR DOLLAR IN WARTIME.** By Ruth Brindze. The Vanguard Press. \$1.75.

Here are many useful suggestions to the housekeeper for meeting the rapidly rising cost of living. Miss Brindze's advice on the care and buying of food, clothing, all sorts of household equipment, and even automobiles is detailed and eminently practical, but few housewives, especially those who have outside jobs, will have the time or patience to shop quite as carefully as Miss Brindze apparently does herself. And very few men of the millions who select their own shirts will want to be bothered with counting the number of stitches in

a seam to test the quality. Despite a few limitations of this sort, the book is admirable and should form a part of every efficient housekeeper's equipment in these days of rationing and shortages.

## RECENTLY PUBLISHED

*What Is Your Name?* By Louis Adamic. Harper. \$2.50.

*Mill and Mansion: A Study of Architecture and Society in Lowell, Massachusetts, 1820-1865.* By John Coolidge. Columbia University. \$3.75.

*Billy Mitchell: Founder of Our Air Force and Prophet Without Honor.* By Emile Gauvreau and Lester Cohen. Dutton. \$2.50.

*George Spelvin: American, and Fireside Chats.* By Westbrook Pegler. Scribner's. \$2.50.

*Parachutes.* By Herbert S. Zim. Harcourt, Brace. \$2.50.

*Submarines: The Story of Undersea Boats.* By Herbert S. Zim. Harcourt, Brace. \$3.

## RECORDS

**OUTSTANDING** on Columbia's August list is the third of Beethoven's "Rasumovsky" Quartets Op. 59, played by the Budapest Quartet (Set 510, \$4.73). The work is one of the greatest of the "Eroica" period of Beethoven's career, both in what is characteristic of the period and in what is not—that is, in the triumphant finale, breath-taking in the relentless drive of its concentrated energy, and on the other hand the mysterious opening of the first movement, which points to the works of later years, and the wonderful slow movement, which is like nothing else in Beethoven in its strangeness, its "remote and frozen anguish." I cannot imagine a more effective statement of the work in living sound than the Budapest performance; but I can imagine a better reproduction of this sound than the cold, harsh, coarse one that comes from these records.

Also on the August list is one of Brahms's finest works, the Variations on a theme by Haydn: to the two superb and beautifully recorded performances of this work that have been available—Weingartner's on Columbia records, Toscanini's on Victor—Columbia adds the performance of Mitropoulos with the Minneapolis Symphony (Set X-225, \$2.63). Having had occasion to object to what Mitropoulos has done with most of the music I have heard him conduct, I am surprised by the excellence of this performance. For the most part he has

the work proceed along customary lines; only in variations 6 and 7 are there striking departures from custom—in each an unusually fast pace. In each the unusual conception of the music is, for me, valid and interesting; what is unsatisfactory in variation 6 is the roughness and lack of clarity which may be a result of driving the orchestra faster and harder than it can go with ease, or of unskillful recording: the sound of the orchestra throughout this side is dull, muffled, cloudy. On the other sides it is brighter; but either in the performance or in the recording (and I suspect it was in the performance) there seems to have been an attempt to make all the strands of the polyphonic texture heard without any care to lift the more important ones into greater prominence than the less important—with the result that the important melodic lines in variations 3 and 4 are difficult to follow, and there is not the balanced clarity of the Weingartner and Toscanini versions. These older versions, therefore, are to be preferred to the new.

The music of Wagner's "Ring," on the other hand, is, for me, part of his worst; and that goes for "Dawn," "Rhine Journey," and "Siegfried's Death" from "Götterdämmerung" (Set X-224, \$2.63). A friend for whom I played the first side without a preliminary word listened for a while and then remarked: "A tired old man's performance." As it happened it was the performance of the over-seventy-five-year-old Weingartner with the Paris Conservatory Orchestra; and what prompted the remark was not any feebleness in the playing—since Weingartner, as always, has the orchestra under control—but the perfunctoriness of the performance, its complete lack of the rhetorical expansiveness and power that makes Toscanini's performances of the two excerpts in the recent Victor set so magnificent. A person who cares for the music will, I think, prefer the Toscanini performances; he will also prefer the expanded versions of the excerpts that Toscanini conducts—with the additional first-act music with which he bridges the gap between "Dawn" and "Rhine Journey," the music of the dying Siegfried with which he leads up to "Siegfried's Death"; and he will prefer the greater richness of the recorded sound of the Toscanini performances—though the sound of the Weingartner is good. (Tovey, who objects to concert performances of "bleeding chunks" of Wagner, and for whom "Siegfried's funeral



march, out of its context, is nonsense," observes further that "of its four main themes . . . two are among Wagner's most obvious lapses. . . . If we are to regard such a fragment as this funeral march as an independent composition, it is a serious defect that one of its main themes should be the very awkward and mechanical transformation of Siegfried's juvenile horn-theme into a sophisticated grown-up affair in learned syncopations, and that another should be the theme of Brünnhilde as a mortal woman, a theme which descends markedly below Weber's most suburban [*spießbürgerlich*] style.")

The second act of "Tristan and Isolde" is part of Wagner's best; and Columbia gives us an excerpt which Tovey would object to—the beautiful passage in which Tristan replies to King Marke and then asks Isolde if she will follow him. It is sung by Melchior as well as Melchior is capable of singing these days, with an orchestra conducted by Leinsdorf. On the reverse side is the prayer from "Rienzi"; and the two excerpts are well recorded (71388-D, \$1.05). On another single disc (71389-D, \$1.05) Melchior sings two superb passages from Verdi's "Otello"—"Dio mi potevi scagliar" and "Niun mi tema."

On another single disc, finally (11817-D, \$1.05), is Rodzinski's performance of the Overture to Weber's "Freischütz"—erratic in pace, nervous, and on the whole not effective, and recorded in a way that makes a *fortissimo* in the middle of a side less loud than a *forte* at the beginning.

Two readers have questioned my giving all the details of the reproducing equipment on which I play records. But I do this because records sound different on different machines, and I consider it my obligation to report the sound which they have (1) on wide-range machines—including light, sensitive pickups—such as a few readers have, and (2) on limited-range machines such as most readers have. I owe it to the first group of readers to report the defects of recording or surfaces that wide-range equipment reveals; and the second group should know to what extent these defects are concealed by limited-range equipment. The surfaces of nearly all the records I have discussed in the present article were unusually quiet with the wide-range Brush PL-25 pickup; only the first four sides of the Beethoven Op. 59 were bad; and they were quieter with the limited-range Astatic Tru-tan.

B. H. HAGGIN

## CONTRIBUTORS

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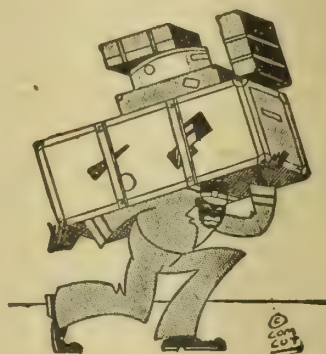
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# Letters to the Editors

## Bertrand Russell on India

*Dear Sirs:* The Indian situation is dangerous, and if it is to be wisely dealt with, clear thinking is very necessary. I find in some quarters a lack of clear thinking which may increase the dangers that we all wish to diminish.

There are some points about which we are all agreed. First, the Indian difficulty must be handled in the way most likely to help in winning the war. Second, as soon as the war is over, India is to have independence—as complete, at any rate, as Great Britain or any other country will have. The only practical question at issue is: what is to be done during the continuance of the war? I feel that neither the British government nor the Congress Party is treating this question in the way most likely to lead to victory. Many people in America seem to feel that Gandhi must be in the right since he stands for national independence; others feel that loyalty to an ally makes criticism of the British government impolitic. Both seem to me mistaken. On the one hand, insistence on immediate independence, with all the confusion resulting from a transfer of government in the middle of a war, would probably end in the enslavement of both India and China to Japan. On the other hand, the problem of India, since it is part of the problem of victory, is a problem on which all the United Nations have a right to a voice.

The question of India is much more complex than it appears to many American liberals. They do not know that one of the points on which the Cripps mission broke down was the unwillingness of the Hindus to admit that Moslems have the same right to independence from Hindus as Hindus from British. They do not face the difficulties of a complete change of government when a Japanese invasion is imminent. They profess to think that Sir Stafford Cripps's promises are not to be trusted. They imagine that if the demands of the Congress Party were granted, India would become enthusiastic for the war, although the example of Ireland should suggest the contrary. They attribute the poverty of Indians to the British, in spite of the fact that the poverty of China has always been at least as great. Mr. Louis Fischer, in *The Nation* of August 22, mentions that the infant

death rate is 274 in Bombay as against 66 in London, and remarks that "such figures burn deep resentment, hatred, and disloyalty into the soul of India." The implication that the higher death rate of Bombay as compared with London is entirely the result of British misgovernment is most unfair. Bombay has a hot climate and a high birth rate; London a low birth rate and a temperate climate. I have no doubt that the British government could have done more than it has done to reduce the high infant death rate, just as the government of the United States could have done a great deal more than it has done to reduce the death rate among the children of Southern Negroes; but there is no reason to suppose that fewer children would die in Bombay if British rule were to be succeeded by a government headed by Mr. Gandhi. Some years ago Mr. Gandhi stated that the earthquakes then troubling India were sent as a punishment for sin. This attitude has never been very effective against a high infant death rate. And Mr. Fischer should remember that there is every reason to think that the death rate in China, before the beginning of the war with Japan, was at least as high as in India.

Above all, American liberals refuse to face the difficulty of establishing Indian independence overnight when every scheme hitherto suggested, whether by Indians or by the British, is vehemently rejected by a large section of Indian opinion.

The British government has been gravely at fault in the past, and Mr. Churchill has been even more reactionary than the government, as appeared in his opposition to the Government of India Act. In these circumstances it is not surprising that Sir Stafford Cripps's promises were not received at their face value. This difficulty, had it stood alone, could have been easily overcome: his promises could have been guaranteed by the United Nations. But this difficulty did not stand alone. The demand that India should be given full independence here and now is incompatible with victory, and would not be made by the Congress Party if it thought the defeat of Japan more important than immediate emancipation from England. It is this demand that creates the apparently insoluble difficulty. I believe, however, that a solution is still possible, though

at some cost to British *amour propre*.

India, as an imperial possession, is lost to England; everyone in England, including Mr. Churchill and Mr. Amery, knows this. The problem is to make the transition to self-government without handing India over to Japan. This problem concerns China and Russia just as much as it concerns England. It should be dealt with, not by England alone, but by the United Nations jointly. There should be appointed, with the consent of the British government, a commission of four men, chosen respectively by the British, American, Soviet, and Chinese governments, with full power to negotiate with all sections of Indian opinion and to make recommendations keeping in mind two objectives: first, that the war must be won; second, that Indian independence should be granted as soon as it can be granted without hindering this first objective. If, as I believe, complete independence cannot be granted now without retarding the conduct of the war, the commission would probably find that some of the functions of government could be transferred without delay. There should be, at the earliest possible moment, interim measures to produce an armistice in the present Indian conflict and, later, considered proposals for a permanent settlement. The British government should undertake to accept the findings of the commission provided the other three governments did so. If any section of Indian opinion rejected them it would be in effect siding with the Japanese and would have to be treated as a hostile force.

The measure should be regarded as a first step toward the establishment of an inter-Allied authority for deciding questions of common concern; and such an authority, in turn, should be viewed as the nucleus of a future international authority for the preservation of peace. Complete national independence, even for the strongest nations, has become an anachronism, since it can only lead to successive enslavement by predatory powers. For the same reasons a private imperialism, such as that of England in India, is equally an anachronism. But those American liberals who think that insurgent nationalism is right while imperialist nationalism is wrong are still living in the nineteenth century.

BERTRAND RUSSELL

Malvern, Pa., August 27



# THE *Nation*

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## *The Shape of Things*

NAZI SOURCES NOW DESCRIBE ROMMEL'S attempted advance in Egypt as a mere "reconnaissance in force," but the nature of the attack and the fact that the whole *Afrika Korps* was thrown against the British left wing suggest that a full-fledged offensive had been planned. In any case Rommel is now back where he started from, minus a considerable number of troops and with a nasty dent in his armor. The new British command in Egypt has come through its first test with honors, but it remains to be seen whether it can turn from the defensive to the offensive and inflict a smashing defeat on the Axis forces in North Africa before new supplies reach them. Until Rommel's panzer units are mauled much more thoroughly than they have been in the past week the optimism voiced by Wendell Willkie at Cairo must unfortunately be considered premature. The fighting on the Alamein front demonstrated once again the vital importance of air superiority, and this time it was definitely on our side. The German tanks, after making their way to some depth through the British mine fields, were stalled by our armor and artillery and were then subjected to severe handling by the air force. Constant effective attacks were also made on the enemy supply lines all the way from the front back to Tobruk and beyond, and a heavy toll was taken of Axis shipping in the Mediterranean.

✱

THE DEFENDERS OF STALINGRAD DESERVE, perhaps, part of the credit for the Axis setback in Egypt, for according to some reports German aircraft were diverted to that front from Africa. Certainly the German High Command is throwing everything it has into the effort to capture the great city on the Volga. But although some days ago Berlin was claiming that all would be over in twenty-four hours, the prize still eludes the Nazi grasp. Pouring out of the factories, the workers of Stalingrad have marched to join the Red Army in a desperate effort to turn back the enemy. Every recent German gain has been followed by a savage counter-thrust, but according to latest dispatches, a dangerous wedge has been driven into the Soviet lines directly west of the city. Stalingrad's defenders, however, are determined to make it a "red Verdun," and Hitler has not yet finished paying



the price of its conquest. In the direction of the Grosny oil fields the German drive also seems to have been held up, but there is reason to fear that the Germans may have succeeded in taking Novorossiisk—the last first-class Soviet naval base on the Black Sea. It is encouraging that despite their preoccupations with defense the Russians have been able to make a number of long-distance raids on eastern Germany. It is to this region that the Nazis have been attempting to remove their industries to take them beyond the present range of the R. A. F. These Soviet bombing attacks appear to have been carried out with remarkably few losses, which suggests that German air defenses have been concentrated in the west. The synchronization of aerial attacks from both directions is an important development, and we hope before long to hear of Russian, British, and American airmen joining hands, figuratively speaking, over Berlin.

★

THE SHAKE-UP IN THE JAPANESE CABINET involving the resignation of Foreign Minister Tojo and of several of his subordinates has been widely interpreted as forecasting an imminent attack on the Soviet Union. Such an interpretation is fully justified by past Japanese political behavior. An even more drastic shake-up, it will be recalled, preceded Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor. Although Tojo could scarcely be considered a friend of the Soviet Union, he was identified with the negotiations that led to the signing of the Soviet-Japanese non-aggression pact in the spring of 1941. It is quite conceivable, therefore, that his resignation signifies an intention to violate that pact. On the other hand, the Japanese government may have wished to give just such an impression in order to conceal its plans for an attack elsewhere. There seems to be little doubt that the Japanese have a surprise of some sort up their capacious kimono sleeves, and the extent of the recent withdrawals from China suggests that it will be a major undertaking. Since weather conditions will shortly become unfavorable for an attack on Siberia, a drive against a weak and divided India appears more probable.

★

THE REACTIONS OF THE SENATE FINANCE Committee to the Treasury's spending-tax plan were so generally negative that it appears likely to be still-born. This will be unfortunate if as a result attention is diverted from direct measures to curb spendable income and shifted back to the sales tax. But it must be admitted that the Treasury plan is a good deal better in intention than in construction. Its great virtues are that, unlike the sales tax, it avoids the erosion of incomes on the subsistence level and retains the progressive principles of the income tax. Its outstanding fault is its complication, which would place a grievous burden of additional paper work on the citizen and would make an adequate

check by the Internal Revenue Department an almost insuperable task. Another major objection to the plan is the fact that it taxes spending after instead of before the event, which weakens it as an implement for curbing inflation. We agree with Mr. Morgenthau that fiscal measures to reduce the pressure of expanding incomes on a contracting supply of goods are due and overdue. But the Weinstein scheme, summarized by Keith Hutchison in *The Nation* of July 11, seems to us to be both simpler and more flexible than the Treasury plan. Mr. Weinstein, who gives a full account of his proposals in the September issue of *Taxes*, suggests that certain categories of goods and services shall require the presentation of purchase coupons, which, after the exhaustion of a specified exempt amount during a fixed period, will be obtainable at a progressively increasing premium *payable in advance*. This plan would clip spending power prior to its actual exercise, lend itself to decentralized administration, and avoid the public and private accountability problems created by the Treasury spending tax.

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"WE ARE SO AFRAID OF WRONGING OTHERS that in doubtful cases we prefer to wrong ourselves." The speaker is Joseph Goebbels; the "we" refers to the German people. The sentence is from an article recently published in a Nazi weekly in which Dr. Goebbels told his countrymen that they were too unbiased toward their enemies. On the contrary, he said, they should acquire a "sound national ego" which would make them turn upon the British the hatred they deserve "because they wish to keep us prisoners in the narrowness of our national existence. . . ." "One cannot imagine what our people would do to a government that would tell us as many lies as Mr. Churchill tells the British people [it is still Goebbels speaking]. Nevertheless, there are still people among us who are prone to accept this as a kind of political style." It is difficult to stop quoting, but we have only enough space left to decode the Goebbels sermon. Its text is, Hate thy neighbor as myself. Its key sentence runs, "We do not want to experience another such catastrophe as in 1918." Obviously the Germans have been listening to British and American broadcasts. Obviously they are alarmed at the prospect of defeat; but because they are sick to death of war, they are pinning their slim hopes for the future on the miracle of a decent peace. Nazi propaganda on the home front must be more than ever directed toward making the German people fear the future peace more than they hate the present war.

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AMONG THE AMERICANS ON THE GRIPSHOLM none is more deserving of honor from his fellow-countrymen than J. B. Powell, for many years editor of the militantly anti-Japanese *China Weekly Review*. Powell knew no fear and pulled no punches. He fought



against all who obstructed progress, whether they were British diehards, American super-nationalists, or Japanese militarists. No American in the Far East has been a more consistent friend of the Chinese. In recent years he has repeatedly risked his life in an effort to arouse the United States against the Japanese menace. As a result several attempts were made to assassinate him. On one occasion a Japanese threw a hand grenade at him; fortunately, it failed to explode. He was arrested on December 9 and thrown into prison. After months on starvation rations he contracted pellagra; his feet were frozen and gangrene set in, causing him to lose all his toes. His weight fell from a normal 160 to 75 pounds. If Powell were in the army, he would be given a D. S. O. for bravery and cared for at government expense. But although his exploits as a civilian are no less worthy of honor, his return has scarcely been noticed in the press. Obviously, there should be some public recognition of his years of foreign service. Preferably, it should come from the government. If this is impossible, why should he not receive a Pulitzer prize for his outstanding contribution to American journalism abroad?

## *No Man-Power Policy!*

THE recent conflicting statements on the draft issued by Representative May of the House Military Affairs Committee and Brigadier General Hershey illustrate the confusion which still surrounds our national man-power policy. The question of whether we should draft eighteen- and nineteen-year-old youths or married men with families is, of course, but a minor aspect of the general problem of making the most efficient use of our rapidly dwindling supply of man-power. Surveys made recently in several war-production centers indicate that many industries are already beginning to feel pinched for workers as a result of stepped-up inductions into the army. Five large airplane plants in Southern California, for example, are reported to be losing 7,000 workers a month to the services. Serious labor shortages are expected to become general by the end of the year if the present rate of inductions is continued. And according to General Hershey, an even greater expansion in the armed forces is planned for next year. By the end of 1942 the army is expected to number some 4,500,000 men and the navy possibly 750,000. Some observers are predicting a combined army-navy strength of 11,000,000 by the end of 1943. A more conservative estimate is 9,000,000.

Since most of the men who will be called into service will come from higher age groups than heretofore, it is obvious that the drain on war industries will be severe. The situation is made worse by the fact that the plants

themselves will demand a huge number of additional workers in the coming year. At present about 12,500,000 persons are employed in war industries. The number is expected to rise to 17,500,000 by the end of this year and to 20,000,000 by the end of 1943.

In theory, the responsibility for properly balancing military and production needs and making certain that the man-power demands of the war industries are met with a minimum of disturbance rests with the War Manpower Board. But although the board has now been functioning for about five months, there is little evidence that these basic questions of policy have even been tackled. On the contrary, several government departments are still pursuing independent and sharply conflicting policies. It is difficult to believe, for example, that a decision to raise an army and navy of 11,000,000 men in 1943 was taken after a careful survey of the amount of production needed to supply not only this force but the men already under arms in England, Russia, and China. The evidence suggests rather that the army and navy determined on this figure without considering the larger questions of United Nations strategy, and that the WPB has pursued an independent course in handing out contracts regardless of the man-power potentialities of the areas concerned. Instead of serving as an over-all planning agency, the War Manpower Board appears to have been occupied with technical problems, such as preventing labor piracy and improving the efficiency of the United States Employment Service.

Despite the acute shortage of labor in certain areas, no plan has yet been worked out for using the selective-service machinery for distributing workers where they are most needed for the war effort. No effective use has been made of the information collected through the occupational questionnaires sent to selective-service registrants. Although it is apparent that a large proportion of the 7,500,000 additional workers that will be needed in the war industries before the end of 1943—not counting replacements for men who are drafted—must be women, little is being done in preparation. British experience has shown that women are fully capable of replacing men in most jobs but that a great many things must be done before they can be utilized. Special training courses must be set up. Day nurseries must be established in connection with the factories to care for younger children. Rearrangements of shifts are necessary to provide for part-time work. Special attention has to be given to personnel work and the improvement of working conditions in order to reduce excessive turnover and absenteeism. After much blundering and lost production, Britain has made most of these adjustments. We hope that the women's policy committee just appointed by Mr. McNutt will seize its opportunity to draft a program which will save us from similar blunders.



## The President's Message

WE HOPE Congress will not allow any feeling of hurt pride to stand in the way of immediate legislation making possible the stabilization of all prices as requested by the President. In more normal times it might rightly object to the ultimative quality of Mr. Roosevelt's message, but now that we are fighting "the toughest war in history" there is no more justification for *amour propre* as usual than there is for politics or business as usual. The unprecedented nature of the President's message is warranted by the urgent need for action if the price situation is not to get entirely out of hand. Controlled prices have held steady for the past five months, but farm prices have been rising at the rate of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent a month—a leak in the ceiling which is endangering the whole structure.

The proposals put forward by the President are by no means unfair to the farmer. A ceiling on farm prices equivalent to 100 per cent of parity or recent prices, whichever is the higher, should give him both his fair share of purchasing power and an incentive to increased production of commodities for which there is an especially large demand. Moreover, the President is also proposing to put a floor under farm prices with a view to

protecting agriculture from any sudden slump either during or after the war.

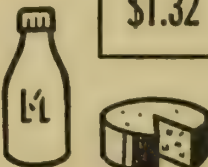



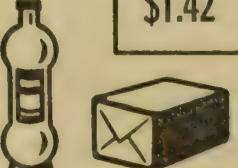


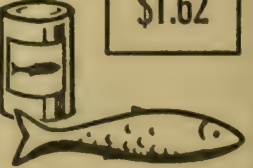
If the cost of living can be held at its present level, labor should not object to stabilized wages. The President did not indicate exactly what steps he proposed to take to this end, but there is reason to suppose he plans to generalize the WLB's "Little Steel" formula, which seeks to maintain the purchasing power of wages at their January 1, 1941, level. Stabilization of pre-war incomes does not and cannot mean the maintenance of pre-war standards of living, let alone standards of comfort, as the President might have emphasized even more strongly. All of us, except those on a bare subsistence basis, must expect to contract our accustomed way of life severely. Up to now most of us, apart from families whose men have gone into the services, have had to accept only minor sacrifices. But if inflation is to be headed off, stabilization of wages and prices is not enough. Drastic curtailment of individual spending power by means of taxation and compulsory saving is an urgent necessity.

Here again Congress has been laggard in its responsibilities, and it is still wrangling over a tax bill which ought to have been completed months ago. Further, it seems more interested in easing the burdens of various interests than in jacking up taxes to an extent commensurate with the Treasury's requirements. The President

FOR EVERY



WE SPENT ON FOOD IN AUGUST 1939  
WE HAVE TO PAY **NOW:**

 <p>\$1.32</p>	 <p>\$1.32</p>	 <p>\$1.33</p>	 <p>\$1.33</p>
DAIRY PRODUCTS	SUGAR	MEATS	CEREALS and BAKERY
 <p>\$1.42</p>	 <p>\$1.43</p>	 <p>\$1.47</p>	 <p>\$1.62</p>
FATS and OIL	EGGS	FRUITS and VEGETABLES	FISH, FRESH and CANNED

SOURCE: U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

GRAPHIC BY PICK-S



has also asked for action on this front and has again urged that income-tax rates be adjusted to insure that no individual has a net income, after taxes, exceeding \$25,000. We anticipate a new howl of anguish from the well-to-do and a spate of arguments to prove that the war cannot be financed by soaking the rich. This is perfectly true, but it is also true that we cannot expect to take one-third or more of the income of persons in the lower brackets—as we must—while leaving those in the upper brackets with the means, after paying taxes, to maintain a high standard of luxury.

## Franco Changes Guard

By FRED KIRCHWEY

IT IS easy to understand why Washington officials—and not only the congenital appeasers—are watching developments in Spain with anxious hope. Much is at stake. As we said last week, the President's announcement of a plan to restore Spain's battered cultural monuments and to boom its tourist trade after the war was no mere exercise in benevolence; so bald an overture to Franco proclaimed a major political maneuver. Coming immediately after it, the Spanish Cabinet upset has produced almost the effect of a diplomatic coup, and many commentators have allowed themselves the risky satisfaction of counting up the still unhatched chickens of appeasement.

This is a natural impulse. Ahead lie months of dark uncertainty. While the Russians hold nine-tenths of Hitler's armed force locked in desperate conflict in the Caucasus and the Volga valley, many observers see the Allied center of gravity moving toward North Africa and the Middle East. If this theater is to provide the only major second front, if a great Allied drive is in the making there, then our relation with Spain will become more and more critical. Spanish Morocco borders French North African territory on the west; and it would be of crucial importance to Allied forces operating against Rommel and the Italians from that direction to be able to count on a friendly neutral across the straits from Gibraltar.

And so it is easy to sympathize with the hopes of those who read into the Spanish Cabinet shuffle a move away from the Axis. Such a shift would go far toward offsetting the nasty political effects of appeasement. But unfortunately nothing that has happened offers any valid excuse for castle-building. If the prospect of a successful North African campaign depends on such risky speculations as the purchase of Franco's favors, we view the coming months with added apprehension.

What are the facts?

It is true of course that relations between the Falangists and the army, always strained, have lately been growing worse, and that this situation precipitated the Cabinet

crisis. But the same thing has happened at least twice before. As early as 1939 Franco was forced to resolve a similar conflict. Then as now he patched up the quarrel by getting rid of a few troublesome individuals on both sides and installing men whom he could trust. Then as now the shift was widely interpreted as a defeat for the pro-Axis group. Now as then the interpretation is based on superficial appearances rather than underlying facts.

From the start the Falangists have been trying to establish its power in the army, as did the Brown Shirts in Germany and the Black Shirts in Italy. About three months ago the walls of Madrid were plastered one night with posters announcing that the Falangists and the army were bound in an indissoluble brotherhood and together were masters of Spain. Next day General Varela, the Minister of War, stepped out of his car before one of the posters and tore it down. That night the posters reappeared. This time Varela ordered army officers to remove them; they did it, all but precipitating an open conflict in the process. The situation grew more tense until, at a recent ceremony at Bilbao attended by the War Minister, a bomb was thrown; it was charged that the attack was a Falangist attempt on Varela's life.

Obviously, Franco had to act. Such incidents endangered the regime itself. General Varela not only was Minister of War. He is the only officer ever to have been decorated twice with the Cruz San Fernando, Spain's highest military honor. His prestige is enormous in the army, and he is hated in equal measure by the Falangists, which has looked upon him as a chief instrument in the effort to restore the throne. Franco moved with decision; he took the most striking step possible, tossing his own brother-in-law, the Foreign Minister and head of the Falangists, to the army. And then in a dramatic counter-move he threw Varela himself to the Falangists.

The balance in the government has not been visibly changed. Jordana, the new Foreign Minister, is, it is true, a monarchist. But a monarchist is not necessarily and by definition a partisan of the democracies. Jordana was Franco's Foreign Minister all through the rebellion and in that role helped establish Hitler and Mussolini as the real dictators of Spain. The new Minister of the Interior, Blas Gomez Perez, and the new Minister without Portfolio, Manuel Mora Figueroa, are both Falangists, "old" Falangists whose adherence to the party and to fascism long antedated the Spanish war. Perez has already announced a policy of "repression with unswerving energy of all provocation or acts of sabotage."

The Falangist organ *Arriba* described the Cabinet shake-up as merely a "change of guard." This much was quoted in the American press, but the dispatches omitted *Arriba's* comment on attempts to find other political meanings in the incident. "The speculations of a gang of foreigners," it said, "supported by an internal gang of Free Masons and intriguers, are well known to us. We



have had a large experience of their interpretations, and as in other cases in the past we merely take note of them now." And it went on to proclaim the permanent, unchanging, and silently heroic nature of the Franco government's policy—foreign as well as domestic.

One need not take *Arriba's* word as gospel, but at least it represents the official Falangist position: nothing has happened, and those who expect a change are fooling themselves as they have done before.

I hope our own government is not fooling itself. Whatever Spain's internal divisions, a majority of the men in power, fascist or monarchist, want and expect an Axis victory. They have bet their lives on it. And even if they were disposed to risk their lives by helping defeat the Axis, Hitler has ways to discourage them. Germany's two leading diplomats are von Papen and von Stohrer. The first is in Ankara, the second in Madrid. Von Stohrer has a major job to do: he has to prevent the final decomposition of the Franco regime. To this end he must support both the army and the Falanx and help keep the conflict between them within bounds. And he has at

his disposal the persuasive power of a force of technicians and police and actual military elements which have been spread throughout Franco's army; not to mention five or six divisions of the German army on Spain's border. Can Ambassador Hayes match that? I'm afraid that he could varnish all the paintings in the Prado without visibly modifying the pro-Axis policy of Franco.

*The Nation* has bitterly opposed the appeasement of Franco, not only because it is a betrayal of the Spanish people and of our own democratic pretensions, but because it has proved futile. Never for a moment has the Spanish regime wavered from its pro-Axis position or wriggled out from under Axis control. The only dependable pro-Ally force in Spain is the Spanish people—an element unaccountably ignored in Washington and London. Just as Hitler uses the fears and reactionary interests of Spain's ruling groups to cinch his control on the country, so we should use the powerful democratic impulses of the people to break that control. Only when our foreign policy is based on the realities of the political struggle will it become either strong or successful.

## The Geopolitical Front

BY G. A. BORGESE

HIGH-SCHOOL graduates who had some Latin may remember a prelude to geopolitics in the opening sentences of Julius Caesar's "Gallic Wars," with the clear-cut outline of the region implying concepts of politics and strategy which had guided the conqueror and now illumine the historian. But the Italians, unsurpassed in their role of forgotten forerunners, would claim geopolitical primacy in the description of their peninsula as designed by Dante and Petrarch and colored by later writers—a country unique, bastioned against foreign offense by the Alps and the sea, prosperously articulated along the backbone of its inner mountains, and perhaps called to world supremacy by its location at the center of the world. Indeed, discussions of the climatic and geographic prerequisites best fitted to enable a commonwealth to survive in freedom or expand in power have been commonplace among the political observers of all ages; and there is small wonder in chancing on another sample of geopolitical preview in "Richard II," where John of Gaunt extols the natural conditions which singled out his England for the manifest destiny of splendid isolation:

This fortress built by Nature for herself  
against infection and the hand of war,  
this happy breed of men, this little world,  
this precious stone set in the silver sea . . .

However, we shall be content with the handier genealogy provided by Strausz-Hupé.\* Its farthest branches do not reach beyond the 1820's, when the first German pathfinders of geopolitics proper walked heavily under the influence of President Monroe's hemispheric postulate. But it was for a Britisher, Sir Halford Mackinder, one-time director of the London School of Economics, to lay much later the systematic foundations of the new science. This he did at first in a short lecture, "The Geographical Pivot of History," delivered before the Royal Geographical Society and published in 1904; whence the doctrine, transplanted and adapted to Germany by Major General Professor Doctor Karl Haushofer and cultivated by a numberless aggregation of disciples, grew to its present vigor and renown. It is now the science of the day, with many also in America daily seeing the light. Haushofer, the septuagenarian in Munich, omitted until a short while ago from current encyclopedias and dictionaries, is a power behind Hitler's throne, the father of the myth of *Lebensraum*, spiritual fuel for the Nazi divisions rolling eastward.

Puzzled reviewers of Strausz-Hupé's excellent book have been asking what in geopolitics is science and what is hoax. The answer becomes obvious as soon as the

\* Geopolitics: The Struggle for Space and Power. By Robert Strausz-Hupé. G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$2.75.



enduring elements of the problem are dissociated from its transitory projections on the screen of propaganda. That the nature of the earth and the fortunes of the human beings who inhabit it are related is so true as to sound like a truism—which nobody was naive enough to copyright as his own invention; and it is a legitimate assignment for science to investigate the coordinations of territory and history. Historiography in the last century and ours has advanced by sudden strides; emphasis, long overdue on a neglected component of history, has carried with it a passionate overemphasis, until a reasonable level is reached between the defects of ignorance and the excesses of fad. This is valid for the Marxian stress, and overstress, on the economic factor of history; it is valid for the Freudian exploration of sex; and the measure could be almost automatically applied to geopolitics as well. It is quite possible that sufficient thought had not been given in past ages to geography as the scaffolding of history; hence it is understandable that the tutor and promoter of an adolescent science striving to interpret history and politics in the frame of geography should be driven to fits of inconsiderate fervor. This might be the case even if the tutor and promoter were other than a Nazi general.

Being what he is, Haushofer blatantly makes a point of converting his science into an implement for racial world conquest. All static blueprints of lands and peoples—such as Petrarch's or Shakespeare's—each allowing for the existence of others, are thrown off with derision, and every frontier is a battlefield. Thus the first term of the binomial falls out, and geopolitics shrinks to crude politics—or hoax. Its disqualification as a science, all make-up notwithstanding, is compellingly evident in the master's posture—as self-assured as it is indecent—between the two stools of materialistic determinism and mystic voluntarism. The first and basic assumption is that the ground, or territory, in its objective structure and explicit opportunities, determines to an enormous extent the destiny of man. But together with this we are taught that man, or at least the German, is the master of destiny, and that the earth is his for the asking if he asks in earnest. In fine, the direction prescribed to the supra-romantic omnipotence of the German will circuitously points anew to the materialistic determinism which we thought we had left behind. There is on this earth a certain land, contained within certain degrees of latitude and longitude, that is the land of destiny. The keys of world empire lie there—and nowhere else. Who gets that land gets the world. Its name—unheard by most laymen before Strausz-Hupé's book—is Heartland.

Here again we are confronted with a double-faced theory, as self-evident generically as it is specifically open to discussion. It is self-evident that in the vicissitudes of any battle there is a hill, or a river, or a trench

which we may dub, *ex post facto*, the hill or the river or the trench of decision. It is equally apparent that in most phases of the struggle for power through the centuries there has been a province or region whose control or loss affected the outcome of that whole phase of the struggle. But the Heartland of Cyrus was in one place, and the Heartland of Napoleon was somewhere else. The Heartland of the German emperors in the Middle Ages was northern Italy; the Heartland of the Spanish kings a few centuries later may have been the Netherlands. The problem as it emerges from the speculations of Haushofer and of his precursors and followers is whether there really exists *in the present circumstances* somewhere on the map one definite zone out of which the opportunity for world control should flow as a stream from its fountainhead—and if there is, whether ahead of telltale events we can reasonably agree on the whereabouts *today* of that shrine of power.

Strausz-Hupé, if I understand him correctly, remains noncommittal. One of his chapters is entitled Heartland and Hokum. It is a merit of his book that the scholarly neatness of the information and the quiet transparency of the style are not sacrificed to impulsive indorsements or to the hurry of competitive results. It is probable, however, that stripped of pseudo-scientific pomp and translated into the factual terms of the present situation, much of the geopolitical theory acquires validity.

The shrine of power, as envisioned by geopolitics, is capacious. First Mackinder identified it as the huge central land mass of Eurasia.\* Haushofer followed suit. This Heartland—broadly heart-shaped, with the tip northeastward—includes but sections of European Russia west of the Urals; neither does it comprise the Maritime Provinces of Siberia; it stretches from the Caucasus to the Lena and beyond; the Himalayas and the other mountain ranges border it to the south, the Icy Ocean to the north. Self-sufficient in commodities and military resources, this empire atop the kingdoms of the earth stands secure from sea-borne attacks; while as for air power—whose rise casts so large a shadow on the picture of present and future—one can reasonably presume that if London and Malta have weathered those storms, Tashkent and Irkutsk might survive bigger storms equally well. It is fair to assume that the terrific display of air forces—whose alleged ultimate decisiveness perhaps intoxicates unruly imaginations no less damagingly than the inherited rules of sea power made drowsy many a military academy—has not shaken Mackinder's views. "Who rules Eastern Europe," he wrote,

\* A first-hand outline of the Heartland has become available in Mackinder's "Democratic Ideals and Reality" (Henry Holt), reprinted from the first edition of 1919. The book, however, does not contain the lecture of 1904, which was basic for Haushofer as it is for Strausz-Hupé, and consists largely of an attempt to translate a great discovery into the mediocre terms of the "balance of power."



"commands the Heartland. Who rules the Heartland commands the World Island [that is, the totality of Europe, Asia, and Africa]. Who commands the World Island rules the world." At any rate we know for sure that Haushofer has not changed his mind. Undisturbed by the rumbling air, he contends more firmly than ever that the Heartland is the roof of the world. From its vast height the architecture of the universe can be mastered.

Mackinder was first moved by the British worry over the chances for world domination by Russia or by a Russo-German alliance operating from the Heartland. He did not think that the fragmentary crescent of British sea power along the margins of the World Island could long withstand the pressure from the central land mass of Eurasia. He did not go so far as to propose, if possible, the conquest of the Heartland by the British Empire. It was for Haushofer to carry the theory straight to its conclusion. If the Heartland is the world, let the Germans have it. Two roads lay hypothetically open: a German-Russian agreement, with Russian administration of the Heartland under German control; or outright conquest, with thorough annexation or without it, but in either case with visible vassalage of whatever should remain of Russia to German overlordship. The first road was tried with the pact of August 23, 1939. It reached a dead end in Russia's recalcitrance. The second is being tried in the present campaign.

The military gist of the Mackinder-Haushofer doctrine is that it is land power that will finally prevail. An illustration from the past will largely confirm, while partially qualifying, this view. Rome learned from Carthage the lesson of sea power. Hannibal in turn learned from Rome the lesson of land power. But he did not march from Cannae to Rome. Scipio, wielding both sea and land power, won the war. The analogies with the present situation need not be elaborated; they visibly apply to all three sides of the military triangle—sea, air, and land. It is credible, however, that land power will emerge at last as the hypotenuse of the changing triangle. Land power is infantry, motorized or not. Infantry is by definition the common people. It is the passion and the belief of the common people that will win the war.

Although the geopoliticians of the Mackinder-Haushofer school are strict politicians and strategists, with a less deep-seated interest in social and ideological issues, their disclosure of the Heartland has none the less at the present moment stupendous implications of a social and ideological nature. The attic on the roof of the world seems roomy enough to harbor, besides the keys to strategic world control, other implements of miscellaneous significance. One among them may be the melting-pot, or witch caldron, for the revitalization of the crossbreed that was still-born in 1939 and bore the name of com-

munazism. Another might be the crucible for the blending of universal socialism with universal democracy. The Heartland might develop into an infernal machine for world destruction or into a laboratory for world redemption and reform.

Says Strausz-Hupé: "Haushofer and his disciples started from the fair assumption that the strategic implications of the Heartland would be overlooked by the Western powers." It was a fair assumption indeed. "They started from the much less plausible premise that these strategic implications would remain hidden from the very power which controlled the Heartland." How much less plausible this premise was we are unable to state. Had the Russians been fully awake to the strategic implications of the Heartland, they probably would have been less insistent in asking for a second front in Western Europe and most resolute in wanting—together with America and China, and against both Germany and Japan—the other front, the global front. The focus of the global front is in Siberia.

We have been instructed of late on the "valor of ignorance." If the global plan as published in *The Nation* of April 11 (A. E. F. to Siberia!) had been prompted by a substantial knowledge of the Mackinder-Haushofer geopolitics, its authority would not soar far above that of a deductive application. Here is, however, the frank avowal that the very name of Heartland lay deep at that time in our Sea of the Unknown. The valor of ignorance in the present case is in the singular circumstances that made Siberia the meeting place between the lead-footed advance of a ponderous "science" and the quick flight of inspirational strategy.

The argument from the half-factual and half-imaginative view describing the history of civilization as a progress from the southeast to the northwest—and therefore pointing to the Arctic shore of Asia as the terminus of the march which started, let us suppose, from Mesopotamia—is not weighty enough to support the thesis. But it is relevant to refer again to the knowledge, now rising at last to popular favor, that this is a total war, a global war—as no other war ever was—whose stake is the control of the globe either by the system embodied in the Axis or by the system maturing in the United Nations. Hence it is plausible to assume the existence of one platform of power, or core of strategy, the control of which will decide this fight. Faust asked: How shall I grasp thee, infinite nature? Our question is: Where shall we grasp this slippery earth-ball?

In the meantime the German armies are crowding the Russians toward the outskirts of the Heartland, and Japan, at the opposite end, quicker-witted than we, has grasped with fog-gloved hands—and bends against ourselves—the point of the Aleutian scimitar which we should have swung at her. The language of the current map is plainer than the cerebations of geopolitical



science. It also is stronger than the counsels of intuitive strategy. And perhaps the price we shall pay for the combined sluggishness of the Western and of the Russian mind, and for the conflict, latent or open, between their war aims, will be a staggering one, but still it is conceivable that a coming phase will be a race from west and east to the northern accesses, and that in spite of delays and detours the field of final decision will be in Asia, with defeat or victory hanging on whether the

Heartland will be in German hands—or Russian hands with German chains—or whether it will remain to Russia with the help and presence of the United States and the United Nations.

It was a Roman dictum that *fas est et ab hoste doceri*—it is right to be taught even by the enemy. Haushofer paraphrased it in the tenet that "military understanding passes from the victor to the defeated." We have been defeated enough. The time for learning has come.

## Greater Loyalty Hath No Man

BY JAMES HENLE

WHEN the social scientists of a succeeding age begin their examination of the attitudes and the *mores* of the first half of the twentieth century, they are certain to be impressed—perhaps astonished—by the loyalty that the corporation has been able to inspire in its more highly remunerated servants. This loyalty, it must be observed, does not prevent an occasional executive vice-president or purchasing agent from accepting a little polite—and personal—baksheesh when dealing with the smaller fry swept within the corporate orbit, but it does mean that on all larger, vital issues he is devoutly faithful to his trust. Reading the correspondence of business officials, as exposed by three decades of Congressional and legislative inquiries, one is immediately struck by the spectacle of men of some sense of honor willing, even eager, to perform for their stockholders acts they never could be induced to undertake for mere personal gain. One searches the record in vain for another case like that of John B. Sheridan, propagandist for the National Electric Light Association, who in letters made public by the Federal Trade Commission in the late twenties disclosed a mounting sense of shame at the tasks his job imposed on him. Mr. Sheridan, whose sins affected only utility rates and not our national safety, apparently decided that the only proper atonement was self-destruction.

But such a case is not only atypical; it is unique. At the other extreme we may cite the \$4,500 employee in the auditing department of a railroad. For years this road had paid dividends of \$8 a share, of which a substantial portion went to a wealthy young yachtsman, reputed to hold some 500,000 shares. When the depression forced the railroad to pass its dividend for the first time in many years, thus depriving the yachtsman of his usual \$1,000,000 quarterly payment, the auditor is reported to have burst into tears.

Not every auditor takes so deeply to heart the plight of the stockholders who—theoretically—employ him,

but in the ranks from "junior executive" upward loyalty is the rule and, furthermore, does not vary with the salary received. For \$5,000 or for \$50,000 a year, a good and faithful servant is willing to bribe legislators, suborn perjury, obtain the dismissal of honest but/and hostile school teachers and college instructors, ruin independent newspapers, snuff out competitors by a colorful assortment of illegal means, and, briefly, do anything and everything short of betraying his country.

"Short of?" Precisely how short, you may ask. Short, as the Persian poet pointed out in his quatrain upon infinitesimal differences, may in certain cases be very short indeed. In fact, many persons are inclined to believe that in some recent instances it has reached the vanishing-point.

Let us stress here what must be clear from the foregoing. There is no question, there is no charge, of *personal* gain, of *personal* motive, of *personal* disloyalty. If there is any charge, it is of too much loyalty, of loyalty directed toward the wrong—or the lesser—institution. Such excessive loyalty, it would seem, has led corporation officials in Washington to retard the production of the essential materials of war by (1) opposing necessary plant expansion (because of a well-justified fear of excess production *after* the war); (2) attempting to keep within their own plants secrets of industrial processes, though the output of these plants has been demonstrated to be insufficient for our war effort (the basis for this is obvious and natural, from the corporate point of view); (3) preventing smaller plants, the "independents," from obtaining war contracts (no business men, except the "independents" in question, will doubt the wisdom of this).

Thus the only three charges that can be brought against these corporation executives in Washington—dollar-a-year men and others—fall of their own weight when tested by sound business judgment. Nevertheless, they cannot be dismissed so easily. For it must be appar-



ent even in the holiest and best-guarded of corporation sanctuaries that, for better or worse, the world is being remade, and that precepts and practices which won wealth and honor before this war may during this war bring only dishonor and death.

Let us revert for a moment to the undoubted and unchallenged loyalty exhibited by corporation executives—to their corporations. Apparently it has never occurred to anyone to ask whether this loyalty is what in happier days was called one-sided but now must be termed unilateral. Perhaps the answer was too obvious to require the question, for of course such loyalty is a strictly one-way, not a round-trip, affair. Can you imagine the embattled stockholders of General Hydrocarbons marching on Washington to the song:

And shall Trelawney die?  
Here's twenty thousand Cornish men  
Will know the reason why.

No, gentlemen's gentlemen of industry, put not your trust in stockholders. But perhaps you are counting upon your Board of Directors to protect you? Never was hope more vain! Your directors will take the profits you bring them—but wash their hands of you at the first intima-

tion of real danger. They are as loyal to the corporation as you are; they will point out to you that IT cannot be compromised by too vigorous efforts in your behalf. And they will insist that the policy you have pursued was not only unauthorized but in direct violation of their instructions. Do you doubt this? If you do, you have only to call to mind the men who make up your board; ask yourself, "Which of these individuals will endanger himself for *me*?"

Nor is the matter of "danger" altogether fanciful. The American public has just begun to get into this war. Soon there will scarcely be a household that has not given one or two young men—or men not so young—to the armed forces. To date—excluding the disaster of Pearl Harbor—our own army and navy have been extraordinarily successful; whenever they have met the enemy on anything like even terms they have been victorious. We may hope and we do hope that these successes will continue, but in war there must be defeats just as there are victories—and even victories are costly. As casualty lists lengthen, the mood of our people will change. We shall demand to know why—and why—and why.

These questions will produce answers. And some of these answers may point to you.

## Short-Wave Artillery

BY STEFAN J. RUNDT

**T**WENTY-THREE short-wave transmitters are now used for broadcasts from the United States to foreign countries. Fourteen of these are international transmitters, licensed by the government and used twenty-four hours a day. Nine are commercial (code) stations, used occasionally for certain voice broadcasts.

The Nazi High Command and Dr. Goebbels have never told how many short-wave stations they have, but it is known that at Zeesen near Berlin, alone, they muster at least fifteen transmitters. In Germany proper, Luxembourg, the "Protectorate" (formerly Czecho-Slovakia), and the "Government General" (Poland) they have about thirty stations, many of them high-powered. If one includes stations in Holland, Belgium, occupied France, Norway, the Baltic countries, Greece, occupied Russia, and Serbia, the Reich Radio Company operates or controls a minimum of fifty stations of various range and power. With Italy, Slovakia, Hungary, Finland, Croatia, Bulgaria, and Rumania thrown in, the Axis controls in Europe some seventy-odd short-wave stations—possibly, with recent additions, close to ninety—as against our fourteen regular and nine part-time transmitters. More than twenty of these Axis stations are among the most power-

ful in the world. Italy alone owns just about as many "Big Berthas" as we do. Even when all English short-wave transmitters are counted, the enemy in Europe maintains a superiority of at least three to two. With Japan, which controls about fifty stations, included, the Axis powers outnumber the United Nations two to one in high-powered, long-range senders. For short-wave transmitters of various power the ratio is at least five to three (this includes Allied international stations in Australia, India, Chungking, and the Soviet Union).

Not only does the Axis have the advantage on the short-wave front; it also has several hundred medium-wave transmitters—comparable to local stations in the United States—that can be used for broadcasts to nearby countries. The United Nations have such stations only in the British Isles. The Axis has the geographical advantage of being able to broadcast propaganda from stations of comparatively limited range.

Over each transmitter several frequencies may be broadcast. Our American installations cross-fire with fifty-odd frequencies. Great Britain broadcasts with nearly sixty. The Axis in Europe uses 125 frequencies or more—Germany 65, Italy 30. In Asia the Broadcasting



Corporation of Japan operates on not fewer than 50 wave lengths. In international multi-language transmissions the Axis employs, on a conservative estimate, wave lengths that aggregate some 280 against the scant 190 of the United Nations. (These figures do not include Vichy stations in unoccupied France, Dakar, Morocco, Algiers, or Martinique, or Franco's Spanish broadcasts, all of which must be considered anti-democratic.)

American stations broadcast regularly in two dozen languages, occasionally in others. The B. B. C. broadcasts in forty-two idioms, Berlin in thirty-nine, Rome in thirty, Japan in thirty-one. While Japan instructs the world in Esperanto and Fukienese, we do not broadcast even in Persian, though the attitude of Iran is extremely important now because of the Caucasus situation. Radio Helsinki goes on the air in fourteen languages over short and medium waves. The threat of the Vichy navy hangs like the sword of Damocles over our heads, but we have not as yet begun to broadcast in Breton, the language of a large proportion of the French naval personnel.

Not a single American short-wave broadcast can be picked up on more than four dial positions. Radio Berlin, on the other hand, often sends out regularly scheduled programs which may be tuned in on seven loggings of a reasonably good home set in the United States. A layman "cruising" over the short-wave bands will catch Berlin on so many points that he will hardly be able to escape its broadcasts. Here it must be pointed out that all comparisons were even more in the enemy's favor a short time ago.

Our overseas programs still cling to fifteen-minute newscast periods or commentary schedules in one given language. The B. B. C. has successfully introduced five- and ten-minute broadcasts. Radio Roma has raised its geographical coverage by using ten-minute shows. Our coverage could be improved 50 or 75 per cent by the change. The high lights of the latest news can easily be presented in five minutes.

Our enemies consider psychological warfare of the utmost importance in this total struggle. More than 15 per cent of all Nazi broadcasting time, both short-wave and standard, is reserved for non-German programs. A reliable expert estimates that Japan apportions fully 30 per cent of its total time on the air to broadcasts in foreign languages.

Since our radio arsenal is on the whole smaller and less powerful than the enemy's, we must compensate for our kilowatt and quantitative inferiority by a superior psychological approach. In other words, we must prepare the best broadcasts possible. Most persons acquainted with the full picture of our international transmissions agree privately that we have a long way to go before we discover the right words, the best methods of presentation, the most dynamic speakers. Some believe that our

broadcasts to Latin America do full justice to American ingenuity. Others hold that despite our comparatively long experience there, and despite Nelson Rockefeller's hard-working organization, our broadcasts directed south of the Rio Grande are far short of what they should be. But in any case our efforts to reach Europe do not yet approach adequacy. Several weeks ago, for instance, one company seriously considered broadcasting a German version of the Hardy Family serial "to exemplify life in America" for listeners in the Reich. Similar bright ideas are constantly cropping up. Often the obvious truth that listeners in Himmler's domain, who risk their very lives every time they pick up a democratic transmission, want mainly facts seems completely neglected. It is true that 75 per cent of our broadcasts to Europe are now newscasts—these have proved to be the best weapon—but the percentage could well be increased. As for talks, a concise, technical lesson on how to sabotage ball bearings does more good than all the eulogies of democracy, however noble.

Scripts for international broadcasts should be prepared by professional experts only—that is, by those who have an intimate knowledge of the ethnic and psychological characteristics, the historical, social, and geographical background, the emotional reactions, and even the dialects of the people to whom the broadcasts are aimed. We have no time to train hastily hired amateurs. Perhaps in our presentation of news we should emphasize more the fact that we are actual participants in the war—and not only in production. "British lose Bardia" seems to imply that we are bystanders. Why not "We lose Bardia"? And why not admit losses sooner? Listeners will believe us more readily if we do. Script writers should listen more frequently to Axis transmissions to know specifically whom and what we are fighting. We may also learn a great deal from the B. B. C. Since 1939 London broadcasts in many languages have reached a high level of excellence. Lindley Fraser, talking to Germans from Britain, and Colonel Harold R. Stevens, former British military attaché in Rome, addressing Italians, are master tacticians. The many underground "freedom stations" can also teach us new ways of approach. Terminology and technique must be studied. A closer liaison between monitors (listeners to foreign broadcasts) and script writers of outgoing material would be beneficial. The accuracy of scripts should be checked and double-checked as rigorously as bomb loads for our flying fortresses are checked before their take-off. Enemy lies should be replied to more quickly—within the hour, not the next day. "Last Monday Berlin claimed . . ." is not nearly so effective as "Forty minutes ago we were surprised to learn from the Rome Radio that Mme Litvinov is a prisoner in Siberia; actually, she is having luncheon at the White House and is just finishing her coffee at this moment." In turn, our own assertions and denials



must become more fool-proof than they are now. Goebels wastes no time in kicking back to us every little boner. The least discrepancy in our broadcasts is fuel for the Axis propaganda machine. If N. B. C. and Radio Schenectady differ in the slightest in the reporting of an item, the Axis stuffs our carelessly uttered words down our throat. Often a phrase that comes naturally to us may contain a hidden insult to the very audience we are trying to reach and hold. Often a piece of advice given by us in the complete safety of an air-conditioned studio must sound like sheer madness to an anti-Nazi listener in Gestapo-ridden Europe.

Many of the analyses of Axis broadcasts prepared in this country indicate the enemy's weakness and the points which our transmissions should make. For example, the Nazi radio says that two departments of the Berlin Food and Agriculture Ministry have just been taken over by the S. S. "in agreement with Himmler." Hitler has promised special premiums to German farmers who deliver (not who produce) more dairy products. Why not immediately stab into this obvious breach with special broadcasts to German farmers? Virtually all princes of the Catholic church in Germany are under house arrest. Why not, then, provide more programs of religious news for the millions of Catholics in the Reich? The B. B. C. constantly aims its German transmissions at special groups—workers, housewives, the army, navy, or merchant marine.

The material we now broadcast to Europe needs a great deal of pruning. A Dane in Nazi-held Copenhagen does not care to learn—at the peril of his life—how the New York *Herald Tribune* reacted editorially to Churchill's second visit to Washington. He will draw his own conclusions about the meeting. He would much rather hear when we expect to overcome the U-boat sinkings along our shores—or whether it is true that cholera is raging in Bombay. When special speakers, the foremost American commentators, are presented or quoted, this same Dane may not know who they are. On the other hand, he would like to hear Karin Michaëlis or Jean Hersholt.

To broadcast to Germany doubtful reports of "20,000 killed in Cologne in R. A. F. raid" can do us more harm than good. If we just say, in conformity with the known facts, that 1,036 planes raided that town and that large fires were still burning thirty-two hours later, we shall score better and, what is most important, establish greater trustworthiness.

Our regular English-language programs, which total nearly 20 per cent of our transmissions to Europe, could be cut, and many could be eliminated. We hardly need to communicate with our English-speaking allies quite as much as we do. Broadcasts to the conquered peoples in their own tongues are far more important. To be

sure, many Europeans understand English, and it may have a certain lure for them, but the average man still gets more when he listens to his mother tongue—for all the static and the "jamming" of Berlin's interference.

Our news broadcasts for Norwegians, Frenchmen, Poles, and other nationalities are generally translated from the same English material. But the main interests of these audiences are very different. Even Germans and Austrians want different kinds of news and want it given with a different choice of words and different German inflections.

Speakers who address Europe in the name of America should be more carefully chosen than they are now. Berlin maintains a special school to train all speakers in technique and "mike manner." Many of our commentators *read* their scripts and are obviously unable to *speak* naturally in the language they are using, say, in colloquial French. There should be preparations and rehearsals for certain feature programs. If 20,000,000 American consumers are to be urged to buy a nationally advertised product, is not the show rehearsed?

The expressions used must be idiomatically correct and up to date, not a literal translation of English. If military reports use the terms current in Germany today, they will be more readily understood. The Nazi Supreme Command, for instance, is the "OKW" (*Oberkommando der Wehrmacht*) to a German of today; its daily communiqué is the *Heeresbericht*—and nothing else! New York must be *Nuova York* for Italians. No Slovak will grasp MacArthur's name if we lisp the *th* and slur the *ur*. Less well-known names or names difficult for foreigners could be spelled out, as is frequently done, for example, by Radio Melbourne or the B. B. C.

Many of our broadcasters to Europe still suffer from various émigré complexes. Others have come so much under the spell of America that they must sound like foreigners—though not like Americans—to those in their home countries. Many of these speakers are professorial in their approach. They have either learned to speak the language at Harvard or they have been at Princeton so long they have forgotten it. Often their remarks are so letter perfect that they sound like a recitation in a dead language. Not long ago a professional short-wave listener was asked by an overseas speaker whether "the B. B. C. in its service for Holland reads daily the *complete* Jap communiqué." How, one wonders, could such a man be intrusted with the task of correlating factually or emotionally our war aims with the mentality of his audience? Mere eloquence about human dignity, civilization, or liberty cannot, in the long run, hold and enlarge our radio audience abroad. We must also give the leaders of a future revolt the news and information they need.

A year ago our short-wave offensive was qualitatively and quantitatively many times weaker than it is today.



Through the efforts of Elmer Davis and his staff a great deal has been accomplished. But we must improve still farther and above all more consistently. Haphazard selection and duplications of material must stop. Our ideological campaign must be planned and executed with the precision of a commando raid. Our strategy must be centrally directed. We must catch up with the enemy and

then beat him. Organization of the war of words equals in importance any other government function. If effective, it may save millions of lives and billions of dollars and shorten the conflict by years.

[*This discussion of short-wave techniques is to be followed in early issues by articles suggesting specific propaganda approaches to the German and Japanese people.*]

## Hollywood Belligerent

BY EZRA GOODMAN

*Hollywood, August 31*

**H**OLLYWOOD, long one of the most insular communities in the country, has been shaken by the war out of its cultural and political isolation into a sharp awareness of world events. It has felt the impact of the war more directly, perhaps, than other sections. It is surrounded by army encampments, anti-aircraft and balloon barrages, and plane and arms factories. It has experienced a large influx of refugees from Europe. Many of its directing spirits—John Ford, Frank Capra, Darryl Zanuck, William Wyler, Garson Kanin—are working with the armed forces, and the number of its actors in uniform increases every day. The production schedules of the major studios are featuring war films ranging from "Mission to Moscow" to "The Moon Is Down."

Not so long ago Hollywood was turning out films like "Ninotchka" and "Comrade X," which aroused ill-will in Soviet Russia, "Gunga Din," which precipitated riots in India, and "Down Argentine Way," which was hissed off South American screens. Today its point of view has changed. "Mission to Moscow," Warner Brothers has promised, will be a fair and square treatment of the subject. Erskine Caldwell, author of "All Out on the Road to Smolensk," is writing the screen play, and the production is in the hands of Robert Buckner, former Moscow correspondent of the London *Daily Mail*. Ex-Ambassador Joseph E. Davies has turned over his private files and papers to the studio for research material. The characters, it has been announced, will include many real persons, such as Voroshilov, Timoshenko, Molotov, and Litvinov. Other studios are pursuing the theme with "Scorched Earth," "Song of the Red Army," and "The Road to Moscow."

Under the aegis of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, most of the major studios are turning out shorts about various phases of life in the United States intended for South American consumption. Walt Disney and a staff of artists visited South America recently and made several animated cartoons featuring Donald Duck and

Mickey Mouse in typical Latin American settings. The Mexican screen villain is definitely out.

Lillian Hellman's bitter, anti-fascist drama "Watch on the Rhine" is being transferred to the screen with the assistance of Herman Shumlin, producer of the play, and five members of the Broadway cast. Practically no changes have been made in the original play except to take advantage of the wider scope of the camera. Ben Hecht is producing his own "China Girl" with a contemporary Chinese background. "The Edge of Darkness," William Woods's novel about the Nazi invasion of Norway, is being filmed by Lewis Milestone and will be one of the more important productions of the season. After some casting trouble Hemingway's "For Whom the Bell Tolls" is being brought to the screen with Sam Wood, creator of "Our Town" and "Goodbye, Mr. Chips," directing, and Gary Cooper and Ingrid Bergman playing the principal parts. John Steinbeck's "The Moon Is Down" will go into production soon under the supervision of Nunnally Johnson, who made "The Grapes of Wrath." The film version will avoid the criticism directed against the novel and the Broadway play that they presented the Nazis in too favorable a light. Paul Muni is to appear in "The Commandos Come at Dawn," with production supervised by Lieutenant Commander John Farrow.

"Random Harvest," James Hilton's novel of a shell-shocked British soldier, has been completed by Mervyn LeRoy, with Greer Garson and Ronald Colman in the cast. An ambitious saga of Flying Fortresses and Pearl Harbor is now being filmed by Howard Hawks in cooperation with the United States army, under the title of "Air Force." "Desperate Journey," about an R. A. F. bombing expedition, "Casablanca," about the underground passport trade in the refugee melting-pot of French Morocco, "Clear for Action," a navy drama, and "Thunder Birds," an aviation odyssey, will soon be shown. "Wake Island," dealing with the heroic American defense of that Pacific bastion, has already made its appearance and been widely commended.



Not dealing directly with the war but reflecting current problems are Leo McCarey's "Once upon a Honey-moon," a comedy-drama with a European setting, and "Talk of the Town," which finds its climax in a lynch scene and trial. The latter is directed by George Stevens, who made "Woman of the Year." Stevens will next do a film version of Kaufman and Hart's "The American Way." Franz Werfel's "The Song of Bernadette" is in preparation as a parable on modern intolerance. "The success of "Yankee Doodle Dandy," based on the career of George M. Cohan, and "Pride of the Yankees," about Lou Gehrig, has turned the attention of producers to indigenous American themes and personalities, and "The Adventures of Mark Twain" and "The Ox-Bow Incident" are receiving lavish production.

The studios are avidly purchasing stories dealing with such subjects as Bataan, the underground movements in Europe, army nurses, and the paratroops. The enthusiasm accorded "Mrs. Miniver" has confirmed Hollywood's belief that moviegoers want either bold and forthright films about things that matter today or pictures completely divorced from current events. The public has indicated its apathy toward productions that take vital themes and reduce them to the level of vapid entertainment. "Escapist" film fare is, of course, still being produced; musicals, comedies, and spectacles fill out the production programs. One of the pictures doing the biggest business at the moment is Cecil DeMille's "Reap the Wild Wind," a Technicolor spectacle of the Florida keys, and such musicals as "My Gal Sal" and "Holiday Inn" and excursions into romantic fiction like "Tales of Manhattan" are extremely popular.

The activity at the studios is spurred by the executives' recognition that no one knows what the next few months may bring in the film industry. Raw film stock, which uses many elements that go into explosives, is now under government priority regulations, and the use of film has been drastically restricted. The ceiling for the cost of construction of a set is \$5,000, and much ingenuity is being exercised in adapting standing sets to new stories. It is practically impossible to obtain any new cameras, lights, or other mechanical equipment. Location trips are being eliminated to save tires. Realizing that future production may be still more restricted or even suspended, Hollywood is trying to accumulate a backlog of completed pictures.

By making bold and courageous pictures about the war the film industry is demonstrating its emergence from its mental shell. It still has a long way to go. It has yet to realize the essential seriousness of the war as a theme; it has yet to remove the last blonde from the bombers. England, Russia, and China are far more skilful than Hollywood in using the screen as a weapon of persuasion and propaganda, but the propaganda pictures of today when compared with those of the last war,

"The Beast of Berlin," for example, show that there has been progress. The screen can be a most effective medium for creating understanding between the peoples of the United Nations and for affirming the democratic ideals that we are fighting for. It is a responsibility that Hollywood cannot afford to shirk.

## *In the Wind*

**THE COMMON TOUCH:** At the meeting of one hundred scholars called last week at Columbia University, Professor Harry A. Overstreet, the popular philosopher, said: "As the ordinary man might say it, a pluralistic civilization might not be a civilization all of one kind, but a civilization of many kinds cooperating among themselves."

J. B. MATTHEWS, the Research Director of the Dies committee, recently asserted that his enemies had broken into his house in New Jersey, ransacked his files, and destroyed 2,000 books. According to the Associated Press, "Matthews recalled that he had been in the house about three days before several boys in the vicinity noticed the damage."

**ALTHOUGH CONSTRUCTION** on two new war plants in Flint, Michigan—A. C. Spark Plug and Chevrolet—has been indefinitely postponed because of the materials shortage, the War Production Board has given permission to J. C. Penney and Company to build a large department store in that city. J. C. Penney had the necessary materials on hand, and the WPB apparently did not choose to freeze them.

A NUMBER of conscientious objectors have been selected to join a group of army and navy officers who are studying to become administrative officials in occupied countries. The pacifists will be trained as civilian aides to the military men.

**LARGE STORES** of rubber set aside for the manufacture of gas masks are being released for other needs. The army has found that the butyl substitute is a much better resistant to mustard gas than natural rubber. It is also unaffected by oil and gasoline.

**THE WORKERS' DEFENSE LEAGUE** reports that for the first time since the defense program began employers who file their requirements with government agencies are specifying racial and religious preferences. The W. D. L. believes that efforts to prevent discrimination by employers have noticeably slackened since the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices was made responsible to Paul V. McNutt.

**GERMAN SHORT-WAVE PROPAGANDA** on Brazil's declaration of war has pointedly refrained from attacking President Vargas, directing most of its attention to the machinations of the United States and Great Britain.

*[We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. A prize of \$5 will be awarded each month for the best item.]*



# BOOKS *and the* ARTS

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## C. B. S.—Berlin the Third

*LAST TRAIN FROM BERLIN.* By Howard K. Smith.  
Alfred A. Knopf. \$2.75.

NOW here, thank heaven, is a book about Germany with an out-and-out anti-fascist point of view, and that view a clear-cut Socialist one. And here, thank heaven again, is an author who does not miss his one big opportunity. Mr. Smith, the latest in the long line of C. B. S. Berlin correspondents to be published by Mr. Knopf, gives a precise answer to *the* one important question.

The only purpose a convinced anti-fascist can have just now in reading yet another book about Germany is to discover, if he can, some clue to how the regime may be brought down. One cannot expect to find military information of any importance, but it is reasonable to hope that one may obtain a clear vision of the structure of German morale, into which our propaganda may be able to thrust its levers. There is no shilly-shallying about Mr. Smith, who left Germany the day of Pearl Harbor. He knows perfectly well that we shall read him only if he tells us about the effects of the Russian campaign on the German people. He does tell us, with clarity and in detail, and with frank appraisal of the sources of his information. Yes, the terrific cost of that campaign and the repeated lies and blunders of German rulers have almost totally discredited Nazi propaganda within the Reich and irreparably damaged German morale. The malady is a progressive one. C. B. S.—Berlin the First told us that the German people felt no joyful enthusiasm at the defeat of France. C. B. S.—Berlin the Second (Harry Flannery) scored a good point in telling us that though the German folk had no special reason to doubt the first few broadcasts about stupendous victories in Russia, they were unmoved or openly disgusted because of the obvious propaganda technique utilized. The bacillus of the disease had long ago begun to produce its anti-bodies in the blood stream of the nation. To live in an enduring dictatorship, it has been said, is to be condemned to perpetual enthusiasm. Rather one would say that it is to be sentenced to universal skepticism. I dare say a German, the day after world victory, would glance nervously at the unvanquished moon.

C. B. S.—Berlin the Third (Mr. Smith) describes a later stage of the process and confirms his report in another way. Most of the Germans he met hated the Russians, though not with the deformed and embittered hatred they had for Americans. Their hatred became pathologically violent after the Red Army had made its weight and valor felt. It requires little psychological insight to see the significance and the use of this information.

President Roosevelt's policy of stepping up the degree of our hostility stage by stage was dictated by internal necessity. Mr. Smith makes one believe, however, that no better way of sawing at German nerves could have been discovered. The Nazis were being handled with their own morale-

destroying technique of intervention short of declared war. Until the Russians had given the German people the telescope they needed to see the end of this war, the American intervention was the source of an anxiety that was not so powerful that it was bound to create a neurosis. But afterward, with possible victory already shown to be a long way off, American intervention began to give the Germans a will-destroying sense of parallel with World War I.

Here, one believes, is guidance for our propaganda effort. The German people, one sadly confesses, are not likely to believe our talk about a just peace. As a whole they are not likely to have a lively affection for our sort of democracy. What we must do, then, is to intensify their sense of parallel between this war and the last in so far as the effects of American belligerence are concerned. Their nerves are weak because of that last experience.

There is one classic source that all readers of contemporary books about Germany and our propagandists in particular ought to have in their hands. That is the report of the Reichstag Inquiry into the German Collapse of 1918. For this writer that inquiry, more than any work on the Russian Revolution, established four propositions as scientific truths. So long as there is belief in victory great losses do not shatter a major nation's nerve. When once the belief in victory has been shaken, the effect of losses grows by leaps and bounds. It is the resultant desire for peace which causes revolt. If peace is instantly obtained, the revolution does not go deep, which is to say that people revolt to obtain peace, not to transform society.

Mr. Smith's report, illuminated by these propositions, suggests such interesting thoughts that one must urge its reading. One may not attribute the same importance to palace revolutions as he does. One may believe his description of the Nazi regime as merely the dictatorship of capital to be a misleading simplification. One may dislike his occasional excesses and be jolted by the unevenness of his writing. But there is no doubt that Mr. Smith has written an extremely useful book. Look, there is Mr. Shirer with two companions. "How do you do, Mr. Shirer; how do you do, Mr. Smith!"

RALPH BATES

## The Progressive Psyche

*SELF-ANALYSIS.* By Karen Horney. W. W. Norton and Company. \$3.

READERS of this review, like its writer, will be diffident of judging the technical grounds on which Dr. Karen Horney has forced a schism in the ranks of American psychoanalysis. But Dr. Horney is not only a clinical physician; one of the few psychoanalytical writers of recent years to capture the imagination of the general public, she has established a philosophy of human nature and society on the basis of her divergence from Freud and has become, not one of the seminal, but surely one of the symptomatic minds of our



time. Her work, therefore, may be judged not merely in a professional but also in a cultural context.

In her latest book Dr. Horney carries her rejection of Freud's theories about as far as it can go short of an explicit denial of the unconscious mind; she propounds the belief that by adapting the techniques of regular analysis a neurotic person can effectually psychoanalyze himself. Judging by the criteria available to a layman, it seems to me that Dr. Horney makes but a weak case for her belief. The evidence she adduces is, in point of quantity, not adequate; in all propriety, so important an idea—important because it controverts one of Freud's fundamental concepts but important too because it is sure to raise hope in so many hearts—should be advanced on a wider and firmer ground of fact. Dr. Horney cites but four illustrative cases of "occasional self-analysis"—that is, of people who, equipped with some degree of psychoanalytical knowledge, were able by their own efforts to gain insight into and relief from some simply motivated psychic disturbance. Of systematic self-analysis she gives but a single example, and the case of Clare, a young woman who ventured into self-analysis after a year and a half of analysis with Dr. Horney, is possibly suggestive but not convincing. This patient no doubt advanced her understanding of her unconscious motives and thereby won a measure of emotional freedom; yet it is not entirely clear why her discoveries about herself—they are not remarkably deep—were not in large part her belated, developing realization of insights to which she had been helped by Dr. Horney in the course of her regular analysis.

In place of evidence Dr. Horney gives us argument and moral exhortation. The argument is dashing but verbalistic and prestidigitary; I shall touch on some of its assumptions below, but I cannot help feeling that, in a popular book like this, exhortation is even more important than argument and that the exhortation is a little irresponsible. When Dr. Horney suggests that one of the advantages of self-analysis is the pride that comes from getting out of neurotic difficulties all by oneself, she implies assent to the popular feeling that there is something "humiliating" about psychoanalysis; and it is hard not to contemplate the even greater pride we might get from bringing ourselves up. When she tells us that, after all, a neurotic lives with himself all the time and therefore knows himself better than anyone else can, I do not understand her. When she tells us that "life itself is the best therapist," I find her trivial.

Then, too, I am disturbed by Dr. Horney's inconsistency in her own statements of the scope and value of self-analysis; she insists on its feasibility, says that some self-analysts have "dealt with problems that are generally deemed inaccessible even with the help of an analyst" and that some have succeeded where analysts have failed, questions whether self-analysis may not be conducted even without the occasional help and supervision which, as a general rule, she feels to be necessary; but when she commits herself to a summation of the possible effectiveness of self-analysis, she is far from sanguine: "Therefore after a period of common work with an analyst even patients who started with severe neurotic difficulties may in some cases be able to continue on their own, if necessary." I feel that a conclusion so tentative on a matter so important should have been confined to a scientific

paper, not communicated with enthusiasm and more than a hint of promise to a general public always avid for new ways of psychic self-help.

For psychoanalytical theory the crucial point of "Self-Analysis" is its substantial denial of Freud's theory of "resistance." According to Freud, the neurosis, however painful, serves a certain purpose; the very symptoms which are so painful cloak impulses which the patient fears and cannot cope with. Even when they are pointed out to him by the analyst, the patient is likely to deny their existence because they are repulsive to his morals and pride; indeed, for a long time he will not even perceive them, for, perverse as the idea may seem, there are powerful forces in the unconscious mind which desire the unhappy neurotic status quo. Dr. Horney does not, to be sure, explicitly reject the theory of resistance which is so basic to the theory of the unconscious, but she does everything possible to minimize the fierce stubbornness Freud attributes to it. She insists that with the right spirit and a sufficient will (knowledge is of far less importance), the patient will be able to bring to light the hidden elements which the unconscious is at such pains to hide. No doubt it is the easier for Dr. Horney to maintain this because in her present book there is no slightest mention of those unconscious drives which are so horrifying to our conscious minds, such as homosexuality, sadism, masochism, Oedipus feelings. (Of course, many educated persons nowadays are willing to admit finding these elements in themselves, but their perception is at most a "novelistic" one, far short in intensity of a psychoanalytical realization.) The effect of Dr. Horney's position is that, though she continues to affirm her belief in the unconscious, she actually denies it by making it an unconscious so easily accessible to an untrained person working on himself; she seems to be talking rather of an "unawareness" or of what, by popular habit, is so often and so significantly substituted for unconscious, a "subconscious."

I have spoken of Dr. Horney as one of the symptomatic minds of our time; she is symptomatic—and most notably in her latest book—of one of the great inadequacies of liberal thought, the need for optimism. It seems to me that her denial or attenuation of most of Freud's concepts is the response to the wishes of an intellectual class which has always found Freud's ideas cogent but too stringent and too dark. They have always wanted a less tragic and strenuous psychology, a more reasonable, decent, and cooperative psyche, and Dr. Horney, in all her three books, has given them what they want.

The basis of Dr. Horney's divergence from Freud is an emotional one; her protest is always that Freud sets gloomy bounds to man's nature, that he is negative, cynical, without "faith." In her present book she quotes with approval a passage from Max Otto: "The deepest source of man's philosophy, the one that shapes and nourishes it, is faith or lack of faith in mankind." But there is no such simple alternative and it is dangerous to suppose there is—as we see when we understand what "faith in mankind" means for Dr. Horney. It means the belief that man is "free" and "good"—she has revived those old, absolute simplicities of eighteenth-century liberalism. To assert man's "freedom" she attacks Freud for finding man's psyche biologically deter-



mined; she often speaks of Freud as an old-fashioned dualist (it is clear that he is quite the opposite), but actually her own passionate rejection of the biological determination of mind constitutes a dualism of the most sterile sort and puts the attributes of body in a "lower" place. Further, in attacking Freud for his biological orientation, she makes the tiresome old mistake of confusing mind with the determinants of mind. Then, in the place of Freud's biological determination she puts a determination by culture: there can be no doubt that Dr. Horney has done psychoanalysis a service by forcing the cultural issue; Freud's views of culture, though suggestive, are surely not adequate. But Dr. Horney's view of culture is both vague and formalistic. Sometimes culture is a norm by which we judge whether or not a certain way of action is neurotic, but then again a culture may itself be neurotic, though by what norm we judge the culture (possibly a biological one?) we are not told. In Dr. Horney's hands culture becomes as much an absolute as she claims biology is in Freud's; but Freud saw a complex and passionate interplay between biology and culture, whereas Dr. Horney sees the individual infant as a kind of box into which culture drops this trend or that. The Freudian man may not be as free as we should like, but at least he has insides.

Then, in order to affirm that man is "good," Dr. Horney, like Erich Fromm, attacks Freud's theory of morals for representing morals as arising from forces themselves not virtuous. This Dr. Horney calls a fallacy of genesis, which of course it is not. She represents Freud as implying that virtue is not virtue because it springs from destructive or anarchic origins, but this Freud never does imply—Dr. Horney, by the way, is not the most reliable expositor of Freud; indeed, if anyone has committed the genetic fallacy, Dr. Horney has done so by implying that virtue can only be virtue if it springs from innate (biological?) virtue.

If we are to talk of faith in man, in the realistic rather than the sentimental sense of that phrase, it seems to me that of the two psychologies it is Freud's that demonstrates faith by daring to present man with the terrible truth of his own nature. When Dr. Horney speaks of faith, she does not mean faith so much as optimism, that emptiest of words. The psyche she has described has won wide assent in liberal, progressive circles exactly because it is a progressive psyche, a kind of New Deal agency which truly intends to do good but cannot always cope with certain reactionary forces. It is a flattering view of the mind and Freud's is not, but Freud's has the advantage of suggesting the savage difficulties of life.

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WHEN an author advances to meet posterity in the full panoply of a collected edition, it is up to the critic, posing as posterity, to inspect the basis of his reputation. Mr. Benét is now best known as the author of "John Brown's Body," which receives pride of place in this edition. How is it possible for a writer to achieve his greatest fame by the least satisfactory of his works? Perhaps there is no

generally valid answer; each case must be explained as it occurs. In that of "John Brown's Body," which is now fifteen years old, posterity is just around the corner, which helps. After all the nostalgic charades and illiterate paeans to Main Street flung at us by Hollywood and others, resistance is high when we are asked to reread an epical interpretation of the Civil War in terms of 1927. And that very resistance makes it clear that "John Brown's Body" is no more profound in message or perceptive in the reading of history than "Gone with the Wind," and less interesting as a story. This despite the earnest interpretative intentions, the "quest of the American Muse" announced at its outset. Mr. Benét aimed high, and felt his subject as an ancestral tragedy; but tragedy must be a conflict between equally credible forces, and his presentation of the South merely exploits the commonplaces about overblown romanticism ill concealing the crime of slavery—as if they had ever thrown any light on the subject. Moreover, its whole appeal of plot and character rests on figures too obviously chosen to illustrate history like pictures in a textbook. One gets very bored with "Jake Diefer, the barrel-chested Pennsylvanian," "Luke Breckinridge, the gawky boy from the hills," and all that crowd of purely regional, not psychological, types, symbols of a superficial topography of attitudes. But—and here we approach our answer—these vague emotional reactions to the Civil War coincide with certain publicly felt demands. Still uneasy about the meaning of the conflict, folk-memory has not yet transmuted it into myth, so that imaginative evocations of it are especially welcome if they appear to facilitate shared

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opinions on its historical significance. With the lessening of such topical demands, the past can be poetized as story. Meanwhile only lyric poetry can universalize it permanently (Whitman's Lincoln elegy is an example), but an artistic anomaly, a subjective epic like "John Brown's Body," may give a convincing temporary imitation of that function.

Yet Mr. Benét, when not writing hundreds of pages of flat free verse, can be a poet, and can tell a first-rate story when not wrestling with attitudes toward history. I think posterity will treat him much like Stevenson. Some will ignore him; the young will treasure his adventure tales, especially "Spanish Bayonet"; and most people will like his ballads, love poems, and prose fantasies. At his unpretentious best he is a writer of sure skill and singular charm. But his efforts as interpreter of the American scene and the world crisis will be tactfully forgotten. No matter how fertile their imagination, little of worth results when writers who do not feel prophetically the power of ideas attempt to express social and historical truths. They succeed only in reflecting the prevalent prejudices of a changing social structure. It is significant that although "John Brown's Body" hardly mentions American problems of capital and labor, in 1936 Mr. Benét suddenly intones an Ode to the Austrian Socialists. Distance and Hitler lend unforeseen enchantment. Heights of platitude, too, are reached in "Tales of Our Time," which regale women who read women's magazines by catering to their stuffiest notions about The Home. I like to imagine D. H. Lawrence commenting on *The Story About the Ant-Eater*, in which a young couple who begin with ideas ("They had heard of Freud") happily end as dull as dull can be. He would probably consider it obscene. No, decidedly posterity will not approach Mr. Benét for intellectual reasons. But it was a great thing to write "Spanish Bayonet" in 1926 and "O'Halloran's Luck" in 1938, because posterity will thank its stars that someone in this grievous century could produce entertaining stories that are not murder mysteries and can be read twice.

FRANK JONES

## Three German Poets

*THREE POETS AND REALITY.* By Ruth Hofrichter. Yale University Press. \$2.

THE beginning and end of Professor Hofrichter's provocative little book seem, curiously, more satisfactory and substantial than the middle. In her study of a German, an Austrian, and a Swiss contemporary lyricist she was prompted to compare the consciously conceived image of the world with the representation of that world as it emerged in the poet's actual work, colored, modified, or completely altered by the forces of the unconscious. This formidable task, which Professor Hofrichter approaches with sympathy and insight, was further complicated by the fact that Carossa and Weinheber have remained poets at peace with, and honored by, the Nazi regime. These two, and the Swiss Albert Steffen, Professor Hofrichter believes to be the most significant poets in German literature today, and that not *faute de mieux*: "among the exiles I do not find their equal."

When it comes down to cases, Professor Hofrichter seems more convinced than convincing. Perhaps the trouble lies in

her book's scope; she needs more room to demonstrate. Confronted more by paraphrase than by extended quotation, the reader lacks direct evidence to judge the poets' talent. Carossa appears a man of integrity, entitled to respect; the case for Weinheber is more dubious. In some ways he seems a good deal of a charlatan, or at best an artist *manqué*, become a rather weird and repellent neurotic. On the evidence, with all due respect for Professor Hofrichter and her thesis, the reader is forced to conclude that there is nothing in all these three poets together which one would not find, in fuller and more rewarding measure, in Rilke, whose garment they seem to have divided among them, to pull about their own inadequate shoulders. Or perhaps the mantle is really Goethe's, a thing of shreds and patches, after having been run through the mangle of Oswald Spengler and the decline of the West.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

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*Webster's Dictionary of Synonyms.* G. and C. Merriam. \$4.

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## RECORDS

FROM the beginning, six years ago, there have been occasional letters from readers of this column who have sighed over what a good music critic I would be if I didn't have that prejudice against Brahms. "Dogmatic" and "opinionated" are other words they have used; and I have also been told that attitudes like mine toward Brahms were something to keep to myself, not to express in print.

Those readers will forgive me for being amused by their assumption that only an estimate of Brahms as high as theirs could represent rational judgment of experience, and that an estimate as low as mine must represent prejudice in the face of experience. Actually, since I have repeatedly expressed my love for certain works of Brahms, my dislike of others cannot represent a prejudice against him. And actually both my likes and dislikes in Brahms are the product of more than twenty-five years' listening to the music, study of it, thought about it; for about half that period it was the music I cherished most; and then I began to be aware of qualities in the First Symphony, the concertos, the chamber music, that made me dislike these works which I had loved, while I continued to love the sets of variations on themes of Haydn and Paganini, the Fourth Symphony, some of the songs, which were not labored and pretentious and saccharine in the way I found the others to be.

My long experience, study, and thought have crystallized in my reasoned judgments of Brahms's music; my correspondents' experience, study, and thought have crystallized in their reasoned judgments; and their contention, in effect, is that where our judgments differ and I refuse to give up mine and accept theirs I am prejudiced, opinionated, dogmatic, and should have the decency to be silent. But a long developed and reasoned judgment, even when unfavorable, is not a prejudice; and while it is likely to be a strongly held and strongly expressed conviction, a man whose strongly held convictions are long developed and reasoned judgments cannot be called opinionated, and even his strong statements of such judgments cannot be called dogmatic. Moreover, he must be granted the right to the reasoned judgments he has arrived at through years of listening, study, and thought; and his function, his duty, his sole usefulness as a critic,

if he is one, is to state them—to state, that is, the reasons with the judgments. For criticism is not the mere opinion that this piece of music is good and that one is bad, or this is a good performance and that is a bad one; it is the reasons for the opinion, in which the writer applies to what he has heard the illuminating insights that constitute his value to his readers.

From Bost Records, 29 West Fifty-seventh Street, New York, comes Volume 1 of "The Evolution of Piano Music" (Set ES 2: four 12-inch records in album; \$6.25), which is devoted to music from 1350 to 1700, played on the harpsichord by Sylvia Marlowe, with a booklet of notes by Curt Sachs that begins with this paragraph: "The music in this album is not 'ancient music'; stale, dusty, and at best a curio for historically minded snobs. It is no more 'ancient' than Rembrandt's paintings or Gothic cathedrals. It is *music*, and excellent music, too. It is written in the style of generations past, but in a spirit that has not changed and will never change; the spirit of solid workmanship, pep, and genius."

As a person for whom a piece of music is something to be experienced as a work of art, not something to learn history from, I find only Frescobaldi's "La Frescobaldi" on 107-A and Froberger's Toccata on 107-B impressive in what they convey, in the substance and structure through which they convey it, and in their mere size—for they are the only pieces that take a whole side. The others range from mildly pleasant to dull; and many are so short—three or four to a side—as to range from unsatisfying to irritating (the irritation coming partly from the fact that the sides are not grooved to connect one piece with the next, so that one has to raise the lid and place the needle several times for one side). They are, in fact, so slight in all respects as to make Dr. Sachs's reference to Rembrandt's paintings and Gothic cathedrals extravagant and absurd (there is a great deal more that needs to be said about the attitudes behind that aggressively defensive paragraph; but it will have to wait for an occasion when I have more space).

Others may feel sufficiently compensated for the dullness of an English dance dated 1350 by the knowledge that it "is in four parts, or *puncti*, either a *Stantipes*, *Ductia*, or *Nota*, the melody of which is written in the angular sings of mensural notation, while an accom-

panying part is marked out in letters—*g*, *a*, *d*—under the notes" and "the simple accompaniment in fifths, octaves, and occasional thirds . . . shows what kind of counterpoint the minstrels improvised when they fiddled with a singer or player." And it may be enough for them to know that "nothing could be more romantic" than Dr. Bull's jig "My Selfe"—meant as "a self-confession," and ending with a "half-humorous, half-melancholic question mark"—even if their twentieth-century ears can't hear it in the music.

The pieces are played with much vigor and little sensitiveness; the recorded sound of the performances is good; the surfaces are a little noisy.

B. H. HAGGIN

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On September 20, *The Nation* will initiate a new four-page section on political warfare, to be directed by J. Alvarez Del Vayo. Advertising forms for this issue close September 17.

The Fall Book Number is scheduled for October 17 publication; the Christmas Book Number, for December 5 or 12.

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### THE NATION

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# Letters to the Editors

## What Are You Fighting for, Soldier?

*Dear Sirs:* I have been in the army about two months. During that time I have seen some fine movies on sex hygiene, first aid, military courtesy, and the art of war. In addition I have heard pep talks by and about our war heroes. The talks were filled with tales of bravery, humorous stories, and daring incidents guaranteed to thrill young America. At no time has anything been said on the subject of "Why America Is at War" or "What Are You Fighting for, Soldier?" No one has stimulated us to really conscientious efforts in training by discussing the facts in the case of Democracy vs. Fascism. The shadow of a fascist victory is far removed. The rich possibilities of a truly democratic world are never allowed to interfere with the day's routine of duty.

The men around me are a cross-section of America. They are farmers, factory workers, and white-collar men from every section of this country. They act in the army just as they did in civilian life—only they dress alike, march in formation, and follow military orders. Those who are naturally sincere and conscientious do their work sincerely and conscientiously as they did in civilian life. Those who took short cuts before they came into the army still take short cuts wherever they can.

At no time have I seen men put any real spirit into their training. No one is inspired to give that extra something which is the difference between man and man out to win a war. As individuals a surprising number have a clear understanding of the alternatives—victory or defeat. But they are politically uneducated, and their feelings find no channels for expression.

Never have I heard a group of men break into song. Gathering in the barracks, standing in line, marching along a road, are all occasions for spirited men to express their feelings in song. The fact that they do not is in itself evidence of the thing that is lacking. When the radio is turned on, it is a battle between popular music and news. That there is a battle shows that there is a group of men who care. Today it is popular music that wins. With the right kind of leadership news would win every time.

Army life without a belief in what a victorious army can achieve is stale and boring. Give these men an opportunity to express their real feelings and boredom would vanish. With this changed spirit, training would be faster and more thorough. Men would take the hardships with a different kind of complaining. They would compete for jobs, for knowledge, and for a chance to be of the most effective service.

Potentially we have a high-spirited army, an army that knows why it is fighting. Let's turn the potentiality into a reality by realistically discussing the kind of world we are fighting for.

PRIVATE S. K.

## Repeal the Exclusion Act!

*Dear Sirs:* Yes, Mr. Fischer, India's trouble is America's business and the business of all of the United Nations, for it raises the whole question of what we are fighting for. "This is a people's war." Aren't we fighting for a "free world"? Are the people of India free? Have all the democracies proved their sincerity of purpose in fighting this costly war. Asia, as well as the rest of the world, has a right to expect proof.

The "Atlantic Charter," Roosevelt's "Four Freedoms," and Henry Wallace's famous speech expressed ideals in which we believe; we want India and China to share these ideals. Quoting President Woodrow Wilson, "We seek nothing for ourselves that we do not seek for all men."

Action on the part of Great Britain now would bring its reward, regardless of the dangers and difficulties involved. However, let the American people first take action at home. Our immigration laws should be revised at once to remove the present color stigma. The cause of democracy is suffering at the hands of our own country because the worthy Chinese are excluded from our shores. Surely nothing could do more to establish the confidence of the Chinese and Indians in the sincerity of American democracy than for the United States immigration laws to be changed at this time. The feeling against the white race in the Orient may be reversed if the American Congress, supported by the people, acts immediately to render this great service of simple justice.

Britain's handling of the India prob-

lem is not our direct responsibility. But a law which denies United States citizenship—even shore leave—to our allies is our case.

ROSA NOLTE

Los Angeles, Cal., August 29

## Aliens and the War Effort

*Dear Sirs:* In this time of national emergency, when the dedication of our unity with the United Nations is so vital a part of our mutual war effort, a situation still exists which prevents the utilization of the brains and skill of thousands of persons who, having come from the conquered countries, are as devoted as we Americans are to the cause that fascism shall be eliminated from the earth. I refer to the position of the alien who finds that neither in the government nor out of it is he welcomed as an addition to our war effort.

It is true, of course, that when there are not enough jobs to go around a nation may be justified in offering employment only to citizens, but today there is a surplus not of workers but of work. And not just a surplus, a crying need. And still the Czech or Yugoslav who has declared his intention to become a citizen but who is not yet one because of time requirement is not accepted as a worker in the arsenal of the democracies, even though—if we insist on being technical—he is a member of one of the United Nations. America will perpetuate the name of martyred Lidice. How much more significant and realistic to permit the living symbols of Lidice who are in our midst to help produce the implements of vengeance!

Another reason advanced for the barring of aliens from employment in the defense industries is the fear that the loyalty of these people may still lie with the mother country. But even if we must suspect all nationals of Germany, Italy, and Japan, we are not justified in placing all aliens in the same position. If we are to withhold jobs from one group because we doubt that they have totally estranged themselves from their former loyalties to our enemies, how inconsistent to treat in a similar manner the much larger group who may still feel some kinship with our friends! With one stroke we weaken the morale of millions of loyal aliens and hinder our own war effort.

JACK GELFAND

Philadelphia, Pa., August 31



# THE *Nation*

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#### LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

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## *The Shape of Things*

THE TRUE VOICE OF FRANCE RANG OUT LIKE a bell in the courageous letter addressed to Marshal Pétain by MM. Edouard Herriot and Jules Jeanneney. The immediate object of these two distinguished elder statesmen, one president of the Chamber of Deputies, the other of the Senate, was to protest against a Vichy decree dismissing the bureaus of both houses of Parliament and thus severing the last thread of parliamentary government in France. This action, as the letter points out, was in direct violation of Pétain's undertaking in July, 1940, when in return for a vote of full powers by the National Assembly he promised that the chambers would not be suppressed. The force of the protest, however, does not depend on this constitutional point alone, for Herriot and Jeanneney seized the opportunity to pen a general indictment of the Vichy regime. "You have," they wrote, "substituted unlimited dictatorship for guaranties that all civilized nations grant to accused persons. You have reestablished *lettres de cachet*. . . . We cannot clearly see your aims, but if, despite your solemn engagements, you intend to deprive the nation of the right to decide for itself freely its definite regime, or if without authorization of Parliament you try to draw France into war against our allies, which you yourself declared 'honor forbids,' we by this letter protest in advance in the name of national sovereignty." We are glad to note that Mr. Hull, in praising this letter and commenting on its significance, said that the United States government was naturally gratified to be associated with patriotic Frenchmen who had the courage to proclaim all the rights and liberties of the great French Republic. We can only hope this means that, in future, our State Department is going to associate itself less with Vichy and more with the Fighting French.

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THE HERRIOT LETTER PROVIDES A MOST timely antidote to Laval's constant efforts to poison the hearts of the French people against America and Britain. This clearly was the real purpose of his two protests to Washington. Speaking of the Flying Fortress attacks on Rouen, the Vichy Chief of Government remarked sourly: "Americans could choose another battlefield if they want



to show their friendship for France." And the invasion of Madagascar produced the revealing comment: "I hope that the event will cause the De Gaullists and especially those in Vichy to diminish." Laval's anti-Allied propaganda, however, is hopelessly handicapped by his Nazi friends. As German resources of man-power diminish, increasing pressure is being put on Vichy to conscript the whole of France for the benefit of the Axis war effort. And every step taken toward this objective inevitably intensifies French hatred of Germany and French contempt for Vichy. Laval's miserable bargain to sell French labor to the Reich in return for prisoners of war too ill to work was a hopeless failure. His wholesale shipments of foreign Jews and other refugees to German slave camps has aroused widespread indignation and led to notable protests by the Catholic church. Now Vichy has promulgated a new decree by which all men between the ages of eighteen and fifty and all unmarried women between twenty and thirty-five must show that they have employment that "the government will judge is useful to the nation." Nothing is said in the official text about the dispatch of workers abroad, but a commentary published by the official Havas Agency declares bluntly that it is necessary to meet not only the needs of the country but the demand for workers to be sent to Germany in exchange for released prisoners.

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AFTER THE CAPTURE OF DIEGO SUAREZ, THE naval base at the northern tip of Madagascar, four months ago, the British made no move to complete their occupation of the island. It is now clear that during this period they were engaged in painstaking negotiations with the Vichy-appointed governor of the colony, hoping to reach an agreement which would leave him in control of its internal affairs provided that he was willing and able to give guaranties against its use by the Axis. The official statement issued in London on September 10 declares that it has been proved that these requirements will not be met by peaceful means. Consequently, with the full approval and support of Washington, British forces drawn from Africa have made three landings on the west coast of Madagascar and are advancing on the capital. Little opposition has been encountered, and there are hopes that the operation can be concluded with a minimum of bloodshed. Vichy, as was to be expected, is protesting to high heaven that no Japanese ships or planes have been near the island. However, a Tokyo dispatch published almost simultaneously with this protest stated that a Japanese submarine had sunk a British freighter in the Mozambique Channel, which runs between Madagascar and the mainland and forms part of the vital British supply line to Egypt. The appearance of a Japanese submarine in these waters, over 4,000 miles from its nearest acknowledged base, is itself a sufficient

answer to Vichy's cries of innocence and a powerful argument against any further delay in securing complete control of Madagascar.

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IN THE COURSE OF HIS REPORT TO THE House of Commons Prime Minister Churchill made only one real revelation about his conversations with Stalin. As we are hardly surprised to learn, the Soviet leader said very bluntly that he did not think the British and Americans had done enough to "take the weight" off the Russians, who for two summers now have been withstanding the major part of Germany's armed might. "It was difficult," Mr. Churchill remarked almost apologetically, "to make the Russians comprehend the difficulties of ocean transport. . . . It was difficult to explain fully the different characteristics of the war effort of the various countries, but I am sure we made their leaders feel confidence in our loyal and sincere resolve to come to their aid as quickly as possible." The Prime Minister went on to speak of Stalin in the most flattering terms, but this tribute seems to have been received without enthusiasm in Moscow, which is surfeited with words and impatiently looking for deeds. Meanwhile, with the second front still somewhere around the corner, the Russians continue their tenacious resistance. Outside Stalingrad the Nazis are still gaining ground yard by yard, with every advance paid for in heavy losses. Even if the Red Army is finally compelled to yield the city, its magnificent defense will not have been in vain. The long check before Stalingrad has upset the Nazi timetable, and already the German High Command is turning its thoughts to winter, making preparations by which it hopes to avoid the costly errors of last year's campaign. Three leading Nazi generals have been assigned the tasks of preparing a strong fortified line, of organizing transport, and of gathering the necessary stores, including warm clothing. Intensified air attacks on German supply lines should add appreciably to the difficulty of carrying out these tasks.

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THE JAPANESE HAVE BEEN SUSPICIOUSLY quiet during the past week on all of their many fronts except in New Guinea and the Solomon Islands. North of Port Moresby they demonstrated anew their skill in the use of infiltration tactics by outflanking Australian troops in the Owen Stanley Mountain region and advancing to within forty miles of the important New Guinea base. This success has been, in a limited way, an even greater demonstration of Japanese skill than was the fighting on the Malay Peninsula, because, in contrast to the earlier fighting, the Japanese have had to contend with overwhelming United Nations air superiority. In the Solomons their success has been more restricted. The navy admits that some Japanese troops have been landed at night to reinforce the remnants still holding out in the



jungles of Guadalcanal. But the number seems to be small, and repeated air attacks on the Guadalcanal airport have been beaten off with severe losses to the enemy. Although the Japanese appear to have sent considerable aerial reinforcements to the Southwest Pacific, the command of the air clearly remains in the hands of the United Nations. As long as this is true, it seems unlikely that the Japanese will undertake major offensive operations.

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PERHAPS THE POSITION OF MARTIN DIES could be worse, but we don't see how. On September 2 Attorney General Biddle informed Congress that of the 1,121 government employees branded by Dies as subversive only two had been found to deserve dismissal after an investigation not by Eleanor Roosevelt but by the FBI. That investigation cost \$100,000; it wasted the time of who knows how many investigators; we can be sure it had its effect on the nerves of government employees. But it has had one result which makes it worth the price: Martin Dies has forever discredited himself with the FBI; and his demand that Congress reject the Biddle-FBI report because it "gives license to every government employee to engage in any communistic, subversive activity" was not designed to increase his prestige with J. Edgar Hoover. It is true that Dies and the FBI have been at odds all along and Congress may persist in supporting Dies, but after the FBI's damning exposure of the committee's "evidence," public funds for gathering more of it will not be easily granted from now on. Meanwhile the FBI is beginning to press its advantage over the Dies forces. Last month twenty-eight persons were indicted on charges, presumably documented by the FBI, of conspiring to undermine the morale of the armed forces. Several of them had been subpoenaed, but most of these had never been questioned, by the Dies committee. *The Nation* has been asking why for many long months, and now at last the FBI, just back from the wild-goose chase instigated by Dies, is also wondering. According to Kenneth Crawford, writing in *PM*, the FBI is not only asking why the Dies committee ignored blatant fascists while it concentrated on 1,119 government employees now exonerated; it is also getting curious about the committee's finances. May its curiosity increase. We are already looking forward to the FBI's report on the un-American activities of Martin Dies.

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CONGRESS HAS MADE A BAD START ON ITS new anti-inflation legislation, and there is grave doubt whether it will be able to meet the President's October 1 deadline. In the Senate a joint resolution has been introduced which, so far as farm prices are concerned, roughly follows the proposals outlined by Mr. Roosevelt in his Labor Day speech. It allows the President to impose price

ceilings at either full parity or the highest market price between January 1 and September 15 of this year, whichever is the highest. This would enable the farmers to retain all their recent gains. The House bill, introduced by Representative Steagall of Alabama, who steered the Price Control Act along a course laid down by the farm bloc, adopts the same formula but adds a joker to it in the shape of a provision for the recalculation of parity prices. These, it declares, "shall be determined so as to include all costs of production, including the cost of labor, with all labor included and the wage rates used for all labor to be the same as the general average of wage rates for hired farm labor." The exact meaning of this masterpiece of obscure drafting may well baffle both lawyers and economists, but its intention is fairly clear—compensation to the farmers for restricting them to a parity price ceiling by altering the parity ratio in their favor. Mr. Steagall confessed he was unable to say just what the effect of this clause on prices would be, but there is no doubt that it makes the bill an inflationary rather than an anti-inflationary measure. With regard to wages, both Senate and House proposals provide the President with the broad regulatory powers he says he already possesses. This Congressional sop to its own pride appears harmless, though it is hardly impressive as a bid to recapture lost prestige.

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ELLIS ARNALL, THE MAN WHO HAS JUST relieved Eugene Talmadge of his governor's toga, promoted his campaign as "a crusade to restore decency and democracy in Georgia." He did in fact have the backing of the President, and there is little doubt that every liberal in the state chose him in preference to the red-gallused primitive from Sugar Creek. Confronted with Talmadge's inflammatory appeal to "white supremacy," his rampant phobia against "foreigners" from beyond the borders of Georgia, and his assumption of dictatorial powers on the ground that "you can't have a democracy unless you can have a head to appeal to" the way the Romans appealed to Caesar, distraught Georgians flocked to Arnall. The youthful attorney general backed the policies of President Roosevelt and pledged himself to free the university system from political degradation. The choice was clear, and the downfall of Talmadge is heartening, but to judge from Arnall's own standards, Georgia still has quite a way to go. The champion of "decency and democracy" rightly resented Talmadge's demagogic raising of the racial issue, but not because he himself is even relatively free of prejudice. "If a nigger ever tried to get into a white school in my part of the state," he told a rural campaign audience, "the sun would never set on his head. And we wouldn't be running to the governor or the State Guard to get things done, either." Arnall is to be preferred to Talmadge, but this is surely a new low in compliments.



THREE YEARS AGO THE GERMAN FILM OF the blitzkrieg in Poland was almost enough to cause a neutral country to surrender even before the "liberating" Nazi army appeared in its capital. "Sieg im Westen" was, as they say, packing them into the *Lebensraum*. But the newest German film venture indicates a serious decline in Nazi war pictures and their prestige in neutral countries—if we are to judge by the reception in Lisbon and Zurich of "How We Dealt with the British at Dieppe." The critics in Lisbon not only found it a poor show, "which cannot convince even those who know little about movies"; one of them, who didn't refuse to give his name, said outright that it was faked and clumsily faked at that. He pointed out, among other things, that one sequence showed a captured British tank in the heart of Dieppe, though the commentary asserted that no British tanks passed the beach defenses. In Zurich the audience greeted it with irreverent catcalls. We can't help wondering why the Nazis chose the "negligible" Allied attack on Dieppe as a subject anyway. Surely some of the great offensives in Russia, not to mention the magnificent air attack on Britain, would be more photogenic than Nazis on the defensive at Dieppe. Can it be that the Great Director prefers not to mention the Battle of Britain and that the big Russian feature so loudly anticipated in Berlin a year ago is being held up until he can find the happy ending which movie fans, even in Germany, notoriously demand?

## Churchill's Speech

BY FRED A KIRCHWEY

WHEN I read Churchill's speech on India last Friday, I was struck with the unhappy contrast provided by Britain's treatment of its dissident subjects and of its avowed enemies. And I began to think about the nature and uses of appeasement.

It is an apparent but not a real paradox to say that appeasement is effective only when it is used in dealing with friends. Since long before Munich, Britain has made the all-but-fatal mistake—and America has aped it—of appeasing its enemies and betraying or openly attacking its friends and dependents. Spain fell because Britain and its associates wanted to placate Hitler and Mussolini. Czecho-Slovakia fell for the same reason. Mr. Churchill knows now that this is so; and he has laid the blame on his pusillanimous predecessors. But his government has continued to use the same tactics toward Franco and, to a lesser degree, Pétain. The consistent attacks on Britain by the dictator of Spain have been met by kindness, patience, and supplies of food and fuel. Franco is an enemy, though a weak, exhausted, and spiritless one, but because he is an enemy he must be paid tribute so that he will not strike.

But what is the use of placating a country which is part of the empire and subject to the military might of Britain? The appeasing instinct, so strongly developed in dealings with enemy states, fails when it comes to India. It fails where it could for once impressively succeed. Appeasement in India would be political wisdom, not weakness; it would be magnanimity, not cowardice. Britain has more than a million troops in India. It can certainly crush rebellion. For that reason alone, if for no other, it can afford to be conciliatory, generous. But instead it chooses to be ruthless.

Winston Churchill's speech on India slammed the door on appeasement; it was a declaration of war on the Indian National Congress and on Mahatma Gandhi. It was the speech of an unreconstructed, unrepentant imperialist. Taken together with the statement by Sir Stafford Cripps during the debate that followed, it is the most discouraging thing that has happened since the Cripps mission failed. An irreconcilable, embittered India faces a stubborn unconciliatory British government; and no way of breaking the deadlock seems open.

I don't pretend that all the fault for this situation is on the side of the British. I believe the Indian Nationalist leaders, and Gandhi in particular, were more intransigent than they should have been in dealing with the Cripps proposals. I believe their followers are tragically wrong in allowing fanatical concentration on the relative evils of British rule to blind them to the absolute horror of Axis domination. But the resistance of the leaders and the lack of vision among their cohorts are twin products of imperialism. They may be deplored, but they cannot be shrugged aside. They exist as menacing facts which may influence the course of military events in India as directly as did native disaffection in Burma and Malaya—and with more disastrous consequences.

India needs to be won, not whipped and jailed into sullen acquiescence. But Churchill has vetoed any new attempt to win India. And his speech was proof that even the frankness and blunt honesty for which he is noted disappear when the imperialist begins to speak.

Churchill said, for instance, that "the good offices of Sir Stafford Cripps were rejected by the Indian Congress Party." Louis Fischer's article in this issue recalls the fact, which the Prime Minister conveniently forgot, that every single party in India rejected the Cripps proposals. But it is the Congress Party that has launched the civil-disobedience campaign; and it is against them that Churchill has declared war. Again, he says, "Outside that party, and fundamentally opposed to it, are the 90,000,000 Moslems in British India who have their rights of self-expression. . . ." The dispatches reported that "here a member interjected 'nonsense'"; it was a proper interruption. Many thousands of Moslems are included in the Congress Party, whose president is a Moslem; the Moslem League, which opposes the Congress, itself represents



but a small minority of the Moslems; and the Moslem League, as Mr. Fischer explains, also favors an end to British rule, but with independence for the predominantly Moslem states. None of these blurring details found a place in Mr. Churchill's analysis.

Nor is the Prime Minister more impartial in his description of the disorders. He says in this connection, "The Congress Party has now abandoned the policy, in many respects, of non-violence, which Gandhi has so long inculcated in theory, and has come into the open as a revolutionary movement designed to paralyze communications . . . and generally to promote disorder. . . ." Clearly this implies disbelief in Gandhi's sincerity; it implies that the Congress itself has merely awaited the chance to throw off its mask and unleash mass disorders. But no one who has followed Gandhi's career can doubt his hatred for violence; and most dispassionate observers will wonder whether the jailing of the responsible leaders of the Nationalist movement has not inevitably thrown power into the hands of less scrupulous men who are willing to turn the anger of the people to ends of violence and mass sabotage. If a pro-Japanese fifth column is, as Mr. Churchill suggests, directing the disorders against strategic military points, its operations may well have been aided by British measures of repression.

One cannot ask the British authorities to stand by while railroads are blown up and telegraph lines are destroyed. They must use force against force. But one may ask why they refused to negotiate with Gandhi when he asked for a final interview before launching civil disobedience. And, even now, they could, if they were willing, hold out a hand of reconciliation to the Indian leaders with whom, ultimately, they will have to come to terms. They could offer new negotiations looking toward a national all-party government in return for an ending of disorder and civil disobedience. That they will do so is not to be expected. The speech of Winston Churchill, with its willful simplifications and its reliance on force to resolve a complex social-political conflict, clearly announces that no change of policy is contemplated. He promises the Viceroy the full backing of the British government. He minimizes the dangers involved in Indian disaffection. Such a speech makes it extremely difficult for the President of the United States to intervene further and all but dooms the desperate efforts of Indian moderates to find some formula of conciliation.

Louis Fischer's remarkable account of the Cripps mission reveals the willingness of the highest British authorities to risk everything except a transfer of real power. He shows how close Cripps and the Indian leaders came to a satisfactory interim agreement, how small an area of difference remained when Cripps's original offer was withdrawn and the negotiations finally broke down. It is a terrible story when one considers the consequences of a failure that could have been avoided.

## The Senate Tax Bill

THE response of the Senate Finance Committee to the President's urgent request for a steep increase in taxes to hold off the threat of inflation has, on the whole, been disappointing. Less than twenty-four hours after the President delivered his message, the committee rejected the Treasury's proposal for a graduated tax on spending by a vote of 12 to 0. The President's renewed request for a war-time ceiling of \$25,000 on personal incomes was not even considered by the committee. Senator George, the chairman, declared that such a ceiling was not necessary because "a person would have to have about a \$5,000,000 yearly gross income in order to have more than \$25,000 left after taxes." This, of course, is utter nonsense. Under the revised Senate bill a single man with a \$5,000,000 income—with no allowances for deductions—would have \$348,000 left for personal use, and a single man with a \$100,000 income would have more than \$30,000 after meeting his tax obligations.

In place of the graduated spending tax proposed by the Treasury, the Senate Finance Committee adopted a flat 5 per cent "victory tax" to be levied on all incomes above \$624 a year. This new tax has an advantage over the ordinary income tax in that the money is to be withheld at the source; it should also yield a considerable amount of revenue and help close the "inflationary gap" between incomes and the diminishing supply of consumers' goods. The \$624 exemption and its simplicity of operation make it definitely preferable to a sales tax. Nevertheless, it is a bad tax because it largely ignores the all-important principle of capacity to pay. A 5 per cent tax on a man with a \$1,000,000 income cannot be considered equivalent to a 5 per cent tax on a man earning \$2,000 a year. There can be little doubt that the "victory tax" represents a more or less conscious effort to place the burden of paying for the war on the low- and middle-income groups so that the well-to-do shall not be called upon to go without their luxuries. It will be recalled that the Senate Finance Committee had previously rejected a whole series of levies that would have fallen, in the main, on the wealthy or on war profiteers. It had refused to increase excess-profits taxes or the corporation tax in accordance with the Treasury's proposals, and it had repulsed all efforts to correct the shocking injustice of tax-exempt securities.

The chief criticism of the Senate tax bill, however, is that it is "too little and too late." It is quite possible that a tax bill of this size might have sufficed to stem the inflationary tide if it had been enacted last January when the President first urged a steep increase in taxes. But during the past eight months an enormous amount of money that might have helped to pay for the war



has been utilized, instead, in bidding up prices for our dwindling stock of goods. As a result, our entire mechanism for price control is in great danger. A disastrous inflation can still be prevented, but more drastic measures are called for than would have been necessary eight or nine months ago. The National Bureau of Economic Research has estimated that at least \$22 billion in new taxes will have to be raised in 1943 "if inflation is eventually to be avoided." The Senate bill would yield only about \$9 billion. The disparity may represent the difference between complete success in stabilizing prices, wages, and the cost of living at approximately the present levels and the ultimate collapse of orderly price-wage relationships.

The necessity for preventing a runaway inflation—which would wreak untold injury of the low-income groups—overshadows for the moment the far-reaching social implications of the Senate's repudiation of the principle of capacity to pay. Although the Senate bill avoids heavy taxes on the very poor—that is, families with incomes of less than \$1,000—it places a crushing load on the middle-income groups—those with incomes ranging from \$1,500 to \$2,500. Families in this income bracket will be compelled to make a severe sacrifice in living standards. The taxes on the well-to-do are large enough to cut drastically into their ability to save but not large enough, as we may see from the illustrations above, to cause any real discomfort or giving up of luxuries. The effect of this inequality of sacrifice on national morale is apparently not even being considered by Congress. But in disregarding it, Congress may seriously impair the entire war effort.

## *Workers of the World—*

TWO matters of international importance have stood out in reports of the British Trade Union Congress, which has just closed its annual convention. They are the questions of the immediate opening of a second front in Europe and the related problem of international trade-union unity. A resolution demanding an immediate mass sortie was moved by Jack Tanner, the non-Communist left-wing leader of the Amalgamated Engineering Union. More interesting than the voting, which returned a two-million majority against the resolution, was Mr. Tanner's principal argument. There was, he said, an influential section of British political opinion which was hostile to both the U. S. S. R. and to British labor. Since the demand for invasion now means that the mover believes the necessary resources exist, the implication is clear. It is that the Tories are deliberately allowing the Soviet Union to be weakened as a means of checking Communist influence in Europe.

At a remove of 3,000 miles *The Nation* cannot pre-

sume to assess the real force of Mr. Tanner's argument. Doubtless, in Britain as in this country there are still people bent on national suicide in the interests of their class. The Blackpool congress, however, would seem to have decided that this section of British opinion is not influential. For that is the meaning of the General Council's accepted resolution, which declared that the question of when, where, and how a European front is to be reopened is one for the military leaders alone. Apart from the merits of the case, the second-front campaign in Britain has obviously had some undesirable results. There as here extravagantly worded demands may intensify the very suspicions and divisions which the proponents of a second front assume to be operative.

The British labor movement has shown itself to be aware of the danger of anti-Soviet prejudice. The creation in October, 1941, of the Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Committee and the recent efforts of the British movement to induce the American federations to enter that committee are realistic enough. It was a pity that Sir Walter Citrine, who recently visited the United States to promote this project, was compelled to report failure to the Blackpool conference. What he had to say does not entirely coincide with reports current in this country. It is clear, however, that once again the disunity of American labor has stood in the way of international unity. Since the A. F. of L. has long been affiliated to the European Trade Union Federation, the British movement could not very well approach the C. I. O., with which it has no formal relations, without the A. F. of L.'s consent. Once the A. F. of L. had refused to associate with the Russian unions, it became practically impossible for Sir Walter Citrine to make official contact with the C. I. O. Mr. Murray, we understand, as well as other C. I. O. leaders, were displeased at the British delegates' failure to invite them. Quite naturally the C. I. O. itself would not risk a British rebuff.

Mr. Murray is said to have proposed another scheme to Sir Walter, whereby the C. I. O. and presumably the A. F. of L. could join a committee composed of trade-union representatives from every member of the United Nations. It is not hard to see the difficulties, though the idea seems a good one. In any case, outside liberal opinion may reasonably plead with American labor to end its divisions. Perhaps we may also suggest to the older British union leaders that they cease to regard the C. I. O. as a breakaway movement. Labor's demands in the post-war world are much more likely to be met if international trade-union unity has been well cemented during the war. And aware as we are that good sense has not always characterized Soviet leadership, and recognizing that the Russian unions are not autonomous in the sense that the American and British organizations are, the inclusion of the Russian unions in any international committee is still essential.



# The Baruch Report

BY I. F. STONE

*Washington, September 13*

MUCH can be learned from the Baruch report, but not about synthetic rubber. Regarded as a barometer of the war effort, it shows that the temper of our leadership has stiffened slightly, enough to impose new and necessary hardships on the people, though not yet on the trusts. Regarded as practical politics, the report makes it easier for the President to order nationwide gasoline rationing to save tires, a painful task on the eve of Congressional elections. Regarded as scientific inquiry, the report comes to no conclusions which might hurt the endowment funds of Harvard or M. I. T. Regarded as a fortunate bit of public relations for Standard Oil of New Jersey, it takes the edge off the revelations of the Truman, Gillette, and Bone committees. Best of all, from this point of view, while the report attempts to appease the farm bloc, it also leaves the synthetic-rubber program exactly where it was—in the lap of the Standard-Mellon-du Pont interests.

The report is least informative where it should have been most helpful—on the technical questions of the synthetic-rubber program. Presumably Conant was put on the board because he is a chemist; Compton because he is head of an outstanding scientific school, with the best technicians at his disposal. Any corner-store statesman could have thought up the idea of a thirty-five-mile speed to save wear on tires. Any garage mechanic could have given us the Baruch report's chatty discussion of the best way to park a car. Any good hotel detective could have told us that we ought to hire "additional armed guards" for rubber stockpiles. We didn't need two college presidents and twenty-five "experts," kept discreetly and suspiciously anonymous, to tell us these things. Nor did we need them to tell us that priorities are working badly, that there ought to be more facilities for reclaiming scrap rubber, and that we ought to plant more rubber-bearing guayule. None of that is news.

The Baruch board was set up because Congress had passed and the President had vetoed a bill for a separate agency to make rubber from farm products in the shape of grain alcohol and butylene glycol. The board was supposed to tell us whether rubber from alcohol was a pipe dream born of prairie surpluses and the romantic Polish imagination or a scientific reality. This is a subject the Standard Oil crowd would rather not discuss. It is a subject the Baruch report did its best to avoid. Of the report's seventy-three pages, only sixteen are devoted to the synthetic-rubber program. Of these sixteen, less than

two discuss rubber from alcohol. The fact that rubber can be made from grain alcohol is left to implication, and there is no discussion of the relative advantages of alcohol and petroleum processes from the point of view of time and materials.

The Russians make their rubber successfully from grain alcohol, and the Baruch board could hardly avoid the Gillette committee's discovery that a Russian offer to exchange technicians and information on synthetic rubber was turned down last February. The report shields the men and motives involved. The People's Lobby reveals that the offer was made to W. L. Clayton, the cotton magnate who is Jesse Jones's Assistant Secretary of Commerce, and George Hill, president of the RFC's Defense Supply Corporation. One would never guess from the Baruch report's description of these Russian processes that they are based on grain alcohol rather than petroleum, much less that the Soviets chose to make their rubber from alcohol after an exhaustive investigation of both raw materials.

"Every effort," the Baruch report says, "ought to be made to obtain this information." What good will it do us when we get it? The men who rejected it in February will still hold the purse-strings of the rubber program. For while the Baruch report recommends the appointment of a Rubber Administrator to centralize responsibility for the program, it leaves Jesse Jones and his men in charge of the financing. This means that authority will continue to be divided, that the new administrator may be as powerless as the highly publicized "rubber czar" who preceded him at the WPB.

In any case, the Baruch report leaves the synthetic program frozen. There would be little possibility of using the Soviet formula even if Jones and Clayton changed their minds. As a grudging sop to the farm bloc, the report recommends that a miserly 30,000 tons be obtained from new grain processes out of a 1,100,000-ton program. This allocation is to be kept on ice for six months, after which it may be canceled by the Rubber Administrator "if the needs for synthetic rubber and the production program are in balance," whatever that means. If not, the administrator may choose between the Polish process and the butylene glycol developed by the Department of Agriculture at Peoria. Presumably the Russian method would be a third alternative for this puny allocation.

Our ignorance of the Russian processes is not the result of Soviet secretiveness. It does not differ from our



ignorance of the Houdry process, of what Standard Oil is doing with butyl, or of the tire-making possibilities of du Pont's neoprene. The dollar-a-year chemists from the big oil and chemical companies and their scientific schools have told us only what monopoly thought it convenient for us to know. Before and since the Revolution, Russians figure prominently in the development of synthetic rubber. The Soviet success with rubber from alcohol is no secret to chemists. A bulletin on synthetic rubber published some years ago by the Bureau of Standards lists in its bibliography many articles by Soviet scientists. The dollar-a-year men kept quiet about these possibilities, as about others, because a knowledge of them would interfere with the plans of the monopolists.

The result is a program so lopsided that it invites disaster. The casual reader of the Baruch report may gain the impression that we cannot afford to jeopardize our synthetic-rubber program by experiments. The truth is that every process in the program is more or less experimental, and that the program leans most heavily on those processes which have been least tried. The way to cut down the risk is to diversify the program so that the breakdown of one process will not affect too large a part of the program. The WPB, Jesse Jones, and the interests which use them have chosen instead to put most of our eggs into a few baskets.

Everything is topsy-turvy, idiotic in the eyes of common sense, but shrewdly planned from the viewpoint of monopoly. Most of the rubber to be made in the program is Buna S. The company which knows the most about making this type of rubber is Goodrich, and Goodrich has been given the smallest allocation of any rubber company. This is its punishment for daring to develop a buna-type rubber on its own after Standard and I. G. Farben had refused to give Goodrich a license under their buna patents.

The Germans invented buna, and Standard does not know how to make it. I. G. Farben, after stalling Standard for years, finally handed the patents over but only to keep them from being seized by the Alien Property Custodian. I. G. never gave Standard the know-how. But Standard has another synthetic rubber, butyl. Standard invented butyl and knows how to make it. Common sense would propose that we concentrate on butyl; Standard prefers to have us concentrate on buna: Standard has licensed production of buna but not of butyl. Special plants must be erected to produce the butadiene and the styrene that go into buna. Every refinery in the country in the course of its normal operations produces sizable quantities of isobutylene, the raw material of butyl. No steel or copper need be spent on facilities to make isobutylene. Information found in Standard Oil's files by Thurman Arnold's men showed (1) that there was enough isobutylene at major refineries alone to make 600,000 tons of butyl a year, and

(2) that the Nazis were extremely anxious to prevent development of butyl in this country. The advantage of butyl to the war effort is its disadvantage to Standard Oil. It is so easy to produce, the raw material so plentiful, the cost so low—a third the price of buna—that it could never be controlled if the patents and the know-how ever got out of Standard Oil's hands. So we are to make only 132,000 tons of butyl as compared with 705,000 tons of buna, and the Baruch report recommends another 140,000 tons of buna on top of that. Wouldn't it be wiser to divide the program more evenly?

Within the buna program itself there is the same lopsided planning. There are four processes to be used for making the butadiene. Here, again, the oil company which seems to have the most experience in making butadiene is given a small portion of the program. Phillips Petroleum, Goodrich's partner in the making and marketing of America's first synthetic tires, has a one-step process for making butadiene from the butane in natural gas. It has contracts for 50,000 tons of butadiene. Houdry, with a similar one-step process from butane, managed by the skin of its teeth to get 15,600 tons. The largest allocation in the petroleum field, 283,000 tons, goes to Standard, which has a new and still to be tested process for making butadiene from butylene. Unlike butane, butylene can only be obtained by cracking processes, and it is needed for aviation gas. This possibility of a conflict was one of the most important technical questions the Baruch report should have answered; it weasled and dodged instead. "It is our conclusion," the report says, "that while the possibility of a conflict between the two programs does exist, it need not become serious if . . ." There are big "ifs" involved. Why take chances? Why not divide allocations among the butadiene processes more evenly?

We ought to try several grain processes in our butadiene program instead of concentrating on the cumbersome four-step Carbon and Carbide process, on which we are depending for 242,000 tons. We ought to try the Polish process, the Russian, butylene glycol, and butyl alcohol; the last makes a purer butylene than petroleum. This is not possible until we loosen the grip of the oil and chemical trusts from the synthetic-rubber program. The Baruch report moves in the other direction when it suggests that all butadiene processes be passed on by the Office of Petroleum Coordinator: this office has a worse case of oil-trust dollar-a-yearitis than the WPB. The present program can still be changed; much of it remains on paper. The Baruch report admits that some of these plants have not even been started. There is still time, but not much time. If we had an independent fighting man for Rubber Administrator, if we threw open all patents and processes to exploitation, if we gave enterprise free rein, we could lick the rubber problem. Monopoly never will.



# The Solomons Campaign

BY DONALD W. MITCHELL

THE Battle of Midway, the most important engagement in the Pacific area up to the present, accomplished more than the destruction of a considerable number of Japanese carriers. Coupled with the rapid repair of the American ships damaged at Pearl Harbor, it reduced Japan's ability to take the offensive and gave to the United States navy a definite though small margin of superiority. This transfer of the initiative in Pacific sea fighting is evidenced by the recent campaign in the Solomons.

The present state of public information on this operation is far from satisfactory. The British navy has been traditionally termed the "silent service"; yet Admiralty communiqués sound like the proceedings of a press agent's convention in comparison with the meager information vouchsafed to the American people by the Navy Department. This makes difficult either a true reconstruction of the Solomons fight or a sane evaluation of its strategical significance. Yet the Solomons campaign is of peculiar interest to Americans, for it represents, in miniature, the type of combined land-sea-air operations which will be required if Japan is to be dislodged from its strong positions in the western Pacific.

On August 7 American convoys with plane, cruiser, and destroyer protection, probably operating from New Zealand bases, scored a complete surprise on the Japanese garrisons in the southeastern Solomons, knocking out the defending seaplanes while they were still at anchor. Shore landings and the establishment of beachheads were greatly aided by American superiority in numbers of men, by an umbrella of protecting air power from carriers, and by the element of surprise. After two days the American position was relatively secure. In those days the Japanese attacked with land-based air power from New Guinea, but these attacks were lessened in effectiveness by the softening up which the Jap bases had taken from MacArthur's bombers and also by the speed and thoroughness with which the marines established shore defenses and mopped up the defending garrisons.

The attempt of Japanese cruisers and destroyers on the night of August 8 to destroy the American transports, which were defended by a similar force, resulted in a strategic check for the enemy, who was compelled to retreat, though losses may have been fairly equal. The later phases of the fighting have consisted of counterattacks by the enemy designed to dislodge American garrisons from the positions which they had been allowed time to consolidate. With a kind of bullish aggressiveness which is one of their weakest and their strongest

fighting qualities, the Japanese chose to use strong fleet units in an attempt to test American resistance and possibly retake what they had lost. Had a large number of torpedo planes been available to the defenders, the outcome might well have been disastrous for the enemy; as it was, American bombers caused considerable damage and defeated the attempt. More recent efforts to get troops to the islands by stealth rather than force have likewise met an alert defense.

In this campaign the American navy took advantage of the fact that the Japanese conquests are so extensive that at many points they are necessarily rather weakly held. American losses were not revealed, but in this type of action they would normally be large, and we should not be surprised if the navy announces the destruction of several warships. The question of whether it is feasible to send a naval expedition against bases held by land planes has received one more answer, but under conditions so favorable to the attackers that the extreme air-power school need not feel dismayed.

The capture of part of the Solomons is cheering news for several reasons. In the first place, the harbor of Tulagi and a completed airfield on Guadalcanal Island are of decided value. They bring American naval and air power closer to Japan's main bases in the South Pacific and may provide valuable springboards for later expeditions against either the northwestern Solomons and New Guinea or, more likely, the Gilbert and Marshall Islands. Technically the campaign was well conducted, especially in the coordination of air, land, and sea elements under naval command. The fact that the Japanese rather than ourselves were surprised demonstrates that their intelligence and reconnaissance services are no longer working with the precision of peace days and that our own are steadily improving. Most important, it is our first real offensive in the Pacific.

However, the Solomons battle cannot by any stretch of the imagination be termed of decisive value. The area and population recovered are not more than a fraction of one per cent of what we lost to Japan in the first few months of the war. If we are now taking the initiative, it is on but a tiny scale. Since a campaign on the mainland of Asia would be essentially military, an American naval offensive through the Pacific islands is not likely to make the Japanese postpone an attack on Siberia. Finally, it will be difficult in the extreme to expand slight gains anywhere in the Southwest Pacific into a first-class offensive. The shorter lines of attack—and all are long—lie much farther north.



# Why Cripps Failed

BY LOUIS FISCHER

I

IN INDIA, after a while, I sighed aloud for a person whose statements to me on the Indian situation would not be contradicted by the next person I met. On one question, however, there was complete unanimity: on the primary reason for the failure of the Cripps mission. Yet this reason has apparently remained a secret outside of India, and Sir Stafford Cripps himself contrived to avoid any mention of it in an article about his mission published in the *New York Times* of August 23, 1942. Englishmen and Indians in India agreed that the Cripps negotiations broke down when Cripps withdrew a promise he had made to the Indian leaders that India could have an immediate national government.

On April 11, 1942, two days after the negotiations broke down, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Moslem president of the Indian National Congress Party, who had been conducting the talks with Cripps, wrote Cripps a letter in which he recapitulated the course of the negotiations.

What we were told in our very first talk with you [Azad stated] is now denied or explained away. You told me then that there would be a national government which would function as a Cabinet and that the position of the Viceroy would be analogous to that of the King in England vis-a-vis his Cabinet. In regard to the India Office [headed by Leopold S. Amery in London] you told me that you were surprised that no one had so far mentioned this important matter, and that the practical course was to have this attached or incorporated with the Dominions' Office.

The whole of this picture which you sketched before us has now been completely shattered by what you told us during our last interview.

How did Cripps reply to this charge that he had reversed himself? At the end of his letter Azad asked Cripps's permission to publish this and other correspondence. Cripps's reply, dated April 11, was a four-line letter which read:

*My dear Maulana Sahib:* Thank you for your letter which I have just received in reply to mine of the tenth April. I have no objection to your releasing the Congress resolution and our correspondence whenever you desire to do so.

Yours sincerely,

STAFFORD CRIPPS

If Azad had lied or distorted Cripps's promise, would it not have been natural and imperative for Cripps to

say: You may print my letter but I insist that I never promised you a national government free from the Viceroy's veto? Cripps made no such denial. He has never denied Azad's assertion. The correspondence between him and the Congress leaders was accordingly published by Congress in an unbound pamphlet which lies before me.

I had the following conversation in New Delhi with the British official to whom Cripps reported late every evening during his negotiations with the Indians:

"I did what I could," the official said, "to draft a formula for defense. But then they reverted to the question of the Viceroy's rights in relation to the Indian members of the government."

"Is that the issue on which the negotiations broke?" I asked.

"Yes, quite definitely," the official replied.

Azad, Nehru, and Rajagopalachari negotiated with Cripps on behalf of Congress. Each one of them separately gave me an account of the negotiations which coincided with the version of this British official. On June 1, 1942, the New Delhi newspapers quoted a declaration by Rajagopalachari to the effect that Cripps suddenly left India in a hurry, after it had become clear that a satisfactory defense formula could be found but when differences had arisen regarding the relations between the Viceroy and the proposed national government.

I said to a very high British military man in India: "Azad, Nehru, and Rajagopalachari have told me that Cripps offered them a national government not subject to the Viceroy's veto. They have put that in writing. I do not think they would lie and attribute to Cripps statements he never made.

The military man said: "If Cripps promised any such thing he did so without the authority of the British government."

"There is a story," I proceeded, "that after Cripps discussed the national government with the Indians, the Viceroy and General Wavell protested to London against it, or London disapproved on its own; at any rate, Cripps was then instructed to withdraw his proposal, and he informed the Indians that they would have to discuss the nature of the government with the Viceroy."

"The fact is," the General replied, "that Sir Stafford did not have the authority to propose a national government with responsibility."



The General carefully did not deny that Cripps had made such a proposal. In effect, he confirmed it.

Although Sir Stafford Cripps does not mention this essential cause of his failure in India and instead blames the collapse of his mission on Congress and on the Hindu-Moslem difference, the British government and the United States government possess documents and reports which prove that Cripps failed because he promised India a responsible Cabinet government at the beginning of his negotiations and then withdrew that promise. I have heard many people argue that it is impossible to give India its own government now because you cannot make such big changes in war time. The answer is that this is just what Cripps offered to do when he arrived in India.

The *Calcutta Statesman*, British-owned and an occasional mouthpiece of the British authorities, commented angrily, on April 12, 1942, on the breakdown of the Cripps talks. "It would be easy to blame Congress and the other parties for the failure," it wrote. But "the blame lies with the India Office and the official section of the Government of India." The paper declares unequivocally that "the breakdown is over the interim proposals" about the immediate war-time settlement.

The question therefore to be answered [the editorial continues] is, Was Sir Stafford Cripps empowered to offer a real national government or not? . . . Writing on this subject when he announced the proposals, we interpreted them as meaning that he was. . . . We held that the Cripps school in the British Cabinet had won. . . . It seemed to us that what was proposed was dominion status in action now, but that the diehards were determined to pretend that it was not. Success, we wrote, would elude Sir Stafford unless he was empowered to use very different language, accompanied by striking changes that would make it clear that the old regime is ended, and new men and new methods are at work.

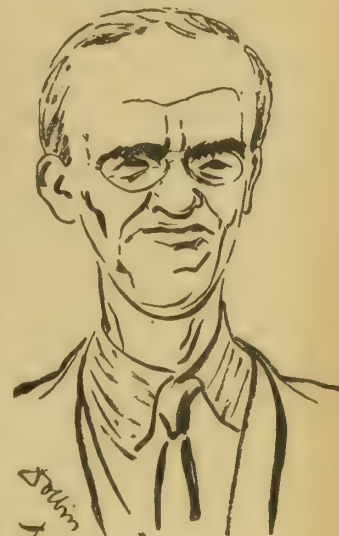
Sir Stafford Cripps was not empowered to use such language. Unfortunately, as the discussions proceeded he was compelled to make it clear that our interpretation was wrong. . . . The India Office, "this undesirable relic of a past age," is to remain, and with it the whole theory that the Government of India is responsible not to India but to the Parliament of Great Britain. . . . How can they know anything about governing India? How can they be anything but an incompetent and unpopular authority in a war? . . . Sir Stafford has been made a dupe. . . . We regret greatly the announcement of Sir Stafford's immediate departure. If the diehard object is that he should return discredited, that will not be achieved. Events can only bring discredit on the reactionaries.

Professor Reginald Coupland of Oxford University, a member of Cripps's staff in India, published a little book several weeks ago entitled "The Cripps Mission." In it he writes; "The decisive factor, as has been seen, was the clash between Congress and British views as to

the character of the proposed national government." The Indians wanted a real government. Cripps had agreed. But subsequently "British views" prevailed, and Cripps changed his tone and told Congress leaders the matter was no longer in his hands and they would have to discuss it with the Viceroy.

Something had happened behind the scenes. As one American general who was in New Delhi during the Cripps negotiations said to me, "Cripps was bitched in the back."

If Sir Stafford Cripps had been able to stick to his promise, a settlement of the immediate Indian problem could have been reached to the satisfaction of all parties concerned. There would have been no Hindu-Moslem dispute. If Britain had said: Here is a real Indian national government; come and participate in it and defend your country, it would have been politically impossible for President Jinnah of the Moslem League or anybody else to refuse and say: "No, I do not wish to help govern my country, which now, at last, is free." Jinnah could no more have turned down



Sir Stafford Cripps

an offer to enter an Indian national government than Wendell Willkie could refuse to help in the war effort if he were asked. This is the real answer to all spurious arguments about Moslem-Hindu differences and to assertions that the establishment of an Indian government now would let loose a civil war.

I asked Nawabzada Liqat Ali Khan, the secretary of the Moslem League (a *Nawabzada* is the son of a *nawab*, and a *nawab* is a titled big landlord), whether the Moslems would join a real national government. He said: "Yes, if Pakistan [a separate Moslem dominion] were granted. Then as a result of such collaboration we might decide we did not want to divide India." On August 17 the *New York Times* reported a statement made by Jinnah in Bombay. After much rich verbiage about what terrible things he would do if the British reached an agreement with Congress and the Hindus, he came down to earth and said "repeatedly," according to the dispatch, that he was ready to form a provisional government of India. "Naturally," he added, "it would be necessary to obtain the support of all groups including the Congress." This is direct enough. It means that Jinnah would cooperate with Congress inside a national government. Of course since then Jinnah has seen the



Viceroy and may have decided to become more intransigent. But I carried out of India the definite conviction that if the British wished, they could have a working unity in India within twenty-four hours.

I feel sure that Sir Stafford Cripps went out to India with the best intentions and the profoundest wish to succeed. Hongkong, Malay, and Singapore had fallen. On March 7 Rangoon, the key to Burma, was captured by Japan. There was depression and even panic in some British circles. Everybody realized that the military defenses of India were weak and that India could never be held unless far-reaching concessions to the nation's desire for independence enlisted its 400,000,000 in the fight against Japan. Cripps, new member of the British War Cabinet, patriotically and courageously undertook the difficult task.

Cripps carried to India the British government's draft of a declaration it would be prepared to make if the Indian parties approved the text. "Immediately upon the cessation of hostilities," the proposed declaration began, "steps shall be taken to set up in India, in a manner described hereafter, an elected body charged with the task of framing a new constitution for India."

Article B provided that the native Indian states, ruled by princes and maharajas, would participate in the constitution-making body.

Article C read:

His Majesty's Government undertake to accept and implement forthwith the constitution so framed subject only to (1) the right of any province of British India that is not prepared to accept the new constitution to retain its present constitutional position, provision being made for its subsequent accession if it so decides. . . .

These "non-acceding" provinces could unite and draft their own constitution if they wished. The British government would then give them "the same full status as the Indian Union."

Article D stated that "unless the leaders of Indian opinion in the principal communities agree upon some other form before the end of hostilities," the constitution-making body would be composed as follows: After the war elections would take place for new provincial legislatures in British India. The lower houses of these provincial legislatures would then meet as a single electoral college and elect the constitution-making body by a system of proportional representation. The size of the constitution-making body would be "about one-tenth" the size of the electoral college. The delegates from the native Indian states would be appointed by the princes in proportion to population.

So far, the draft declaration which Cripps brought to India dealt with the post-war future. The last article, Article E, asserted that "during the critical period which now faces India and until the new constitution can be

framed, His Majesty's Government must inevitably bear the responsibility for and retain control and direction of the defense of India." However, "His Majesty's Government desire and invite the immediate and effective participation of the leaders of the principal sections of the Indian people in the counsels of their country, of the commonwealth, and of the United Nations."

This was the Cripps offer. Within a few days of its publication on March 29 all important Indian parties, groups, and leaders—including Congress, the Moslem League, the Sikhs, the Hindu Mahasabha, and the Untouchables—had rejected it. In his first interview with the Indian press on March 29 Cripps explained that "the scheme goes through as a whole or is rejected as a whole," and since each party disliked a different part of the scheme, all turned it down.

In that March 29 interview Cripps explained that there was a difference between "termination of the war" and "the cessation of hostilities." There might be "one or two years between the cessation of hostilities and the end of the war." After the cessation of hostilities, he said, there would be elections to the provincial legislatures and these would then elect the constitutional assembly, which would then tackle the slow job of drafting the constitution. The new scheme might not go into effect, Indians feared, until about five years after the war.

But that was not their chief objection. The Congress Party contended that if the autocratic princes, who are under British protection, appointed almost one-third of the delegates to the constitutional convention, the British government, which might also exercise some influence over other delegates, would be in a position to control or delay the drafting of the constitution. The Congress, furthermore, felt that the right which the declaration gave to any province not to enter the union amounted to the vivisection of India, which, Gandhi said, was "a sin." India, they maintain, is geographically a compact unit; despite its much-advertised 222 languages and 200 races, it possesses great linguistic and racial homogeneity. Gandhi admits that it would be impossible to keep the Moslems in an Indian Union if they really wanted to secede. But as Nehru and Azad put it to me in a triangular interview at Wardha, they object to divorce before marriage. "If after ten or fifteen years' trial," Nehru said, "the Moslems or anybody else wished to secede from the Indian Union, no one could stop them. But to give them the right of secession at the very start would mean that they would never go in." And many Moslems would resent that.

While welcoming Cripps's offer of dominion status, which, Cripps said, included India's right to vote itself out of the British Commonwealth, Congress therefore rejected Cripps's offer of a post-war settlement chiefly on the secession issue. The Moslem League, on the other



hand, welcomed the right of secession and saw in it a theoretical recognition of a separate Moslem state—Pakistan. Jinnah, however, was afraid that in practice he would not get Pakistan because not enough Moslems wanted it. So he too rejected the Cripps offer. The Sikhs, a compact warrior community of six million non-Moslems inhabiting the predominantly Moslem Punjab, feared that Pakistan would take the Punjab out of India and thus "lamentably betray" the cause of the Sikhs. They informed Sir Stafford that they would "resist by all possible means the separation of the Punjab from the All-India Union." The Hindu Mahasabha rejected the offer because it gave too much to the Moslems, and the Untouchables because it gave too much to the Hindus.

These responses to the Cripps proposals prove, not that the Indian situation is hopelessly complicated, but that the offer was inept. The fundamental blunder was that the offer concerned itself almost entirely with the future. But Indians are much less interested in the post-war future than in the immediate present. Congress, rejecting Cripps's offer, stated that "in today's grave crisis, it is the present that counts, and even proposals

for the future are important in so far as they affect the present." Promises about the "uncertain future" gave Congress no comfort, especially since they were accompanied by provisions and restrictions as a result of which "real freedom may well become an illusion."

The Congress Working Committee accordingly adopted its resolution rejecting the Cripps offer, and President Azad brought it to Cripps, but then they both agreed not to publish it and to proceed with their negotiations about the interim settlement for the war. "All these provisions for the future," a Congress statement handed to Cripps on April 8 declared, "need not come in the way of a present arrangement. As controversial matter, this might be left out of any proposed declaration at this stage. It will be open to any group or party to adhere to its own opinions in regard to them and yet cooperate in a settlement for present action."

Realizing that this was the only procedure possible, Cripps concentrated on the negotiations regarding the participation of Indians in the war effort. Congress was the only Indian party with which he conducted these negotiations about defense, for he knew the importance



HOW MUCH FOR THIS LOT ?



of Congress. Despite Congress doubts of the sincerity and wisdom of the British Cabinet's scheme for the future, it was ready to cooperate in the present. "The overriding problem before all of us, and more especially before Indians, is the defense of the country from ag-

gression and invasion," President Azad wrote to Cripps on April 10. "The future, important as it is," he continued, "will depend on what happens in the next few months and years."

[Part II of this article will appear next week.]

## To Nowhere and Japan

BY RICHARD H. ROVERE

ON SEPTEMBER 5 the FBI announced the arrest of three unregistered foreign agents who had published the *Living Age*, an old American magazine devoted almost exclusively to foreign affairs, on a subsidy from the Japanese government. The nominal leader of the group was Irvine Harvey Williams, an accountant, who was dummy president of the dummy corporation. Williams was born in Japan and educated in Germany. Walker Grey Matheson, the second conspirator, also acquired his fascist sympathies at first hand. He was born in Canada but early in life went to Tokyo with his father, an editor of the *Japan Advertiser*. While he was working on the *Living Age*, Matheson, according to the FBI, also served the Son of Heaven as a spy in the Communist Party. The only native American involved was Joseph Hilton Smyth, an alcoholic who was described by the press as "an intellectual of 'lost generation' vintage."

If it were not for Smyth's bizarre character, the story of the *Living Age* would hardly be worth recounting. As a conspiracy, the enterprise had no chance to undermine anything but the Japanese treasury. Indeed, it was less a conspiracy in behalf of Japan than a racket to mulct that country of as much cash as possible; for while Williams and Matheson may have been earnest partisans of Japan, Smyth was nothing of the sort, and he ran the show. The magazine was dying of inertia when in 1938 Shintaro Fukushima, Japanese vice-consul in New York, gave Smyth \$15,000 with which to buy it. During its three years of venality not even its editors claimed a circulation of more than 3,000, and no responsible agency ever checked that figure. It is difficult to imagine who the actual readers of the magazine were, but since the *Living Age* has always been a ponderously highbrow journal, it is probable that they were thoughtful people who could not have been taken in by the fascist apologetics, which, as a matter of fact, were a very small part of the magazine's contents. For the \$125,000 which the Japanese eventually sank in the venture, they got precious little. The magazine's affairs were run with wonderful economy. Printer's bills and staff salaries were small and rarely paid. Articles were

either lifted from the foreign press, a traditional and legitimate function of *Living Age*, or lifted from their American authors by Smyth's half-brother Carlisle, a literary agent who became a fugitive from justice about a year ago when some of his acquaintances accused him of cashing checks bearing their names. The conclusion is inescapable that most of Hirohito's money went into Smyth's pockets and into his other publishing interests, the *North American Review*, *Current History*, the *Foreign Observer*, and a pulp thriller, *World Detective*.

Few of us who knew Smyth suspected that he was being staked by the Japanese, but none of us were surprised by the FBI's disclosure. What is significant about his case, it seems to me, is that America has at last produced a literary traitor of the type made classic in France since its fall. This country has had remarkably few literary Lavals, and these few were moved by something beyond the need to settle their liquor bills. Lawrence Dennis is an intellectually convinced fascist; William Dudley Pelley is a genuine fanatic; George Sylvester Viereck is a bred-in-the-bone Prussian. But Smyth was none of these things. A political cause, good or bad, held as little attraction for him as a temperance picnic. In his frankly alcoholic way he sometimes wrote and thought brilliantly, and in temperament he was liberal, but he was mentally and spiritually incapable of judging a moral issue. He was not a fascist, but he was perfectly willing to become a fascist agent.

Nothing that one can say about Smyth betrays any confidences, for he has written eagerly of his irregularities in one of the most curious confessionals of our time, "To Nowhere and Return: The Autobiography of a Puritan." Precociously talented both as a writer and an artist, he left his home in Plymouth, Massachusetts, early in his teens to live in a small artists' colony in Boston. After a year of casual study at Harvard, he got a job as press agent for the company of "They That Go Down to the Sea in Ships," and spent most of his time aboard the New Bedford whaler on which the picture was taken with Clara Bow, the "it" girl. After that he returned to Boston, but a breach-of-promise suit sent him scrambling aboard a boat bound for Central America.



He worked for a while as a time-keeper for the United Fruit Company, and then joined in several revolutionary brawls, emerging with a Byronic limp of which he was very proud.

Back from the tropics, he went to New Orleans and became a small part of the local renaissance that flowered in the works of Roark Bradford, William Faulkner, and Hamilton Basso. Moving on to France, his appetite for liquor and erotic experience developing all the time, he became editor of the Riviera edition of the *Chicago Tribune*. He was fired because he left too much of the work, appropriately enough, to Frank Harris, who introduced him to the then aging Lord Alfred Douglas. He wrote a book of verse, "Tropical Fragments."

In 1928 he returned to this country, and his wife of the moment persuaded him to try for the big money. He became for a while an enormously successful manufacturer of slick fiction. But his penchant for liquor and divorce caught up with him, and he became a Bowery bum. To pay for his nickel whiskeys at Rainbow Benny's he wrote "true confessions" and became as successful in that genre as he had been at *Saturday Evening Post* fiction. Protracted D.T.'s again, then an insulin cure and a job on the WPA Writers' Project. He wrote a drug-store novel called "The Nuder Gender."

No apparent interlude separated Smyth's term on WPA from his emergence as a publisher of four old and respected American magazines. In his book, which ends at this point, he says blandly that his earnings as a pulp writer enabled him to fulfil an old dream. "For a long time I had harbored a wish for a magazine to edit," he

wrote. "I wanted something that dealt with current affairs, current trends in the arts and politics and literature. I wanted something that would be part and parcel of the American tradition, a tradition which was too often forgotten or ignored." So, longing for something deep in the American grain, he went to Shintaro Fukushima and got enough yen to buy the *Living Age* on condition that it printed propaganda. And then, with the most innocent hypocrisy, ". . . on the morning I finally handed over a check for payment in full for the magazine, I couldn't help but retranslate the sum into the incredible number of words, at three cents a word, that it represented. Too many hundred thousand words, at any rate."

Smyth has entered a plea of guilty and is being held for \$10,000 bail, which he has as yet been unable to raise. It is hard to guess what his defense will be, but he might explain himself by his own lie—"too many hundred thousand words." Smyth wrote so much, so cheaply at times and so brilliantly at others, that words came to have no meaning to him. I happen to know, for example, that while he was running the *Living Age* for the Japanese, he was also engaged in ghost-writing one of the most anti-Japanese books ever published in this country, a book signed by a famous correspondent who is an excellent observer but something less than a felicitous writer. I know also that he was the anonymous author of some exceedingly effective anti-Nazi propaganda in the form of cheap "one-shot" magazines about Nazi atrocities. Somerset Maugham once advised him to take ideas less seriously than the words which expressed them. He has followed that advice.

## The Magazines Are Loud

BY WILLIAM H. JORDY

PURCHASERS of the May 30 issue of the *Saturday Evening Post* confronted a *fait accompli*. Quietly, with neither advance warning nor fanfare, the sentimental typography of Franklin and Lorimer had been summarily scrapped for a bolder face. The transformation was dismissed in a couple of sentences in "Keeping Posted." And indeed such modesty was completely appropriate, for the typographical face-lifting introduced nothing new. Quite the contrary. As the notable conservative among mass-circulation magazines, the *Post* served the tradition by being the last to change.

This complacent "American institution" had never realized that the thirties were critical for the magazines, which in those years bucked their strongest competitor in American mass entertainment. The competitor had more glitter. It certainly required less concentration. By

1941 there were 65,000,000 radio sets in the United States. Moreover, millions of American evenings, once presumably spent at home with a magazine, were now spent at the local theater with Clark Gable. And adding insult to injury, late in the thirties, picture magazines skyrocketed in circulation and advertising.

The more progressive magazines recognized the competition as much as fifteen years ago. To outstartle the other startlers, they adopted the obvious strategy of giving the art editor more and more domain. The space given to illustration and title rose from about 40 per cent of the front pages in 1930 to practically 70 today. A consideration of the steps in this evolution will perhaps help us to understand the peculiar characteristics of our mass-circulation magazines.

The *Post's* renovation was in a sense the end of the evo-



lutionary period. Throughout the thirties the *Post's* format had dragged along behind the other magazines, with the management resisting changes as long as it dared. For example, it was already 1937 before the *Post* timidly used a couple of color illustrations regularly on the inside pages. But even such fustiness didn't mean that the American Institution wasn't justified in a little complacency. After all, it did have an individual appearance, and the new should have been grafted on the old, as it promised to be last spring. It was a big mistake for Ben Hibbs, the *Post's* new editor, to plop a copy of the latest *Collier's* on the editorial mahogany—with a "like this."

Consider some of the changes: the name of the magazine blocked in the upper left corner; a fatter, blacker type face; blurbs under the titles of all stories and articles; a feature complete on one page; editorials opposite the inside back cover. These are all characteristic of *Collier's*. What is more significant, they have been for ten or fifteen years. So the redesigning conference on Independence Square aped not only the economics of *Collier's* but its scheme for a more dramatic typography and format.

To make its format match its clipped journalistic style, *Collier's* in 1925 hired William O. Chessman as art editor. Up to that time the art editor's equipment had consisted pretty much of a pair of scissors and a pot of paste. His job was to "fit" the illustrations into the text, with the result that every page looked like every other. Chessman began to contrast every page with the next. A triangular layout flipped over into a checkerboard; a series of circles became a couple of thin rectangles running from top to bottom. *Collier's* covers were posterized with flat areas of color. *Collier's* illustrators were the kind who could draw a bold line, splash a vivid color, fill an unusual shape, catch an odd angle. *Collier's* title typography became successively blacker and bolder, with more and more page-space given to it. Cartoons or puzzles in the back of the magazine stopped the reader's eye long enough for him to see the advertising. All these tendencies began to appear before 1930, and while *Collier's* is certainly not the originator of all of them, it has shown a longer and more consistently progressive development than any other magazine.

The women's magazines played their part in the trend. Overplayed it, in fact. Many innovations were introduced by them. They never used one color where two were possible, or a half-page illustration where a full-page would fit. They used bigger title types. Most important, they pioneered in color photography. The best color photography is still found in them—witness the food spreads, recent *Home Journal* covers, and especially the "covers" fronting the three sections of each issue of *McCall's*. But the women's magazines affected magazine practice not so much by their single innova-

tions as by their excesses in every direction; their screaming influenced other art editors.

Title typography is important in the modern magazine. It gets bigger and bigger. In the middle thirties Albert Lefcourt began sprawling its title across the *American*. The title often stood alone with no illustration. When he had to illustrate, he used a vignetted photograph, sheared of any background, and still makes distinctive use of this today. So successful was Lefcourt that the scissored photograph threatened to become the tricky and rather effete standard for all magazines.

Then 1937 brought *Life*. Henry Luce wanted no nonsense about his photographs. He dismissed trick photographic make-up as "cookie shapes." And it was good that he did. For no magazine was to have so much influence as *Life*.

To compete with *Life's* booming circulation, the other magazines adopted pictorial features in the *Life* manner. The *Ladies' Home Journal* has its How America Lives series; the editors of the *Companion* visit prominent people and report on whether they take one or two lumps in their tea; *Liberty* has a This Is America series; the *Post* and *Collier's* have pictorial features in every issue. But *Life* has had another, subtler influence. The vigorous geometry of the photograph has come to rule the illustrator. The easygoing vignette, which had tolerantly fitted any column of print, has disappeared almost completely. *Collier's*, the *Journal*, the *Companion*, and *McCall's* had already begun to banish the vignette, but *Life* speeded its demise. The vignette was quiet. The magazines were loud.

There are those who think increased illustration space will bring in another golden age in American illustration. It won't come. For the wish to startle leads not to good art but to flashy mannerisms. While the William Arthur Browns and John Lagattas, with their pastel washes and finicky line, will happily disappear, so also will the Leyendeckers and the Rockwells. Good illustration investigates details—frayed carpets, worn shoes, wrinkles. Today's illustrations stem from the photograph: we find the same intense blocks of light and dark, the same use of angles and close-ups, an emphasis on effect rather than on interpretation. More and more, too, photographs are replacing illustrations; usually they occupy as much as two-thirds of a magazine's picture space. Photographic covers, invariable on the *American*, *Redbook*, and *McCall's*, are appearing more and more frequently on the other magazines. Borrowed from the *True Confession* trade, photographs illustrate fiction. Saddest of all is to see both *Collier's* and the *Post* replacing the cartoon, which once accompanied so many of their non-fiction pieces, with photographs bought from the big photographic agencies.

Just as the photograph as used in the magazines now counts less as a single print and more as part of a



larger geometric scheme, so the illustrator counts less as an artist. In 1932 Henry Dreyfus, the industrial designer, became art editor of *McCall's*. Almost immediately he revolutionized the art editor's position by making up a complete dummy. Whereas the illustrators had previously been handed the story and told to choose what to illustrate, they now received the caption that defined the illustration and even a rough sketch of what was to go into it. As a result the magazine presented an integrated layout, with contrasts from page to page calculated to surprise the reader constantly. It meant that the illustrator was pulled from the files for some personal mannerism. He took the caption, he took the sketch—and he "created" a picture with the same idiosyncrasies that he had displayed a hundred times before.

An idiosyncrasy, a mannerism, makes a big splash, a loud bang, catches the eye on the street, catches the dime in the pocket, sells a million copies and a million dollars' worth of advertising. It doesn't make a good illustration. The essence of illustration is a multiplicity of details carefully observed and honestly recorded.

Products of metropolitan slickness, the mass-circulation magazines of today sell America the ideal of slickness. Smartness, glitter, the big noise—these are the virtues they advertise.

## *Everybody's Business*

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

### There Ain't No Santa!

SOME of the tax schemes put forward by the Treasury can reasonably be criticized on technical grounds, but in all its proposals for increasing revenue it has stuck firmly to two principles: taxes should be geared to ability to pay and should therefore be levied on a progressive scale; incomes providing a mere subsistence basis should not be subjected to new burdens. These principles are unassailable as the fiscal foundations of a democratic society, but the Treasury's devotion to them has not saved it from constant charges of "playing politics." To my mind it would be much fairer to accuse it of neglecting popular psychology in the interest of social equity.

For instance, the Treasury has resisted tremendous pressure for a general sales tax. Yet, as taxes go, a levy on sales, despite its unfair incidence, would not be unpopular with the majority of citizens. So long as it was at a moderate rate its effects would not be severely felt by the average housewife at the time it was paid. The erosive action on purchasing power of a sales tax is similar to that of a steadily flowing stream, while income tax gullies the purse like a spring freshet and thus appears to be much more damaging even to those

in the lowest brackets. Nor did the ill-fated spending-tax proposal make any concession to popular psychology. The fact that it would have required the filing of new and complicated schedules and the keeping of more meticulous personal accounts than the average person is accustomed to keep made it anathema to the public.

Curiously enough, the very newspapers which have been nagging Mr. Morgenthau for playing politics have been the loudest advocates of the Ruml plan, which was certainly packaged with all the merchandising appeal that one would expect from a director of Macy's. Campaigning on behalf of this scheme, the *New York World-Telegram* sent out reporters to ask the opinion of the man in the street and found his response satisfactorily enthusiastic. Of course it was: who wants to black Santa's eye?

The Ruml plan, if not inspected too closely, gives everybody something for nothing without hurting anybody. It proposes that the taxes we are paying this year shall be considered as taxes on 1942 income though actually they were levied on 1941 income. Then next year we shall start paying 1943 taxes in quarterly instalments calculated on our own estimates of the whole year's income, with adjustments made at the end of the year. Thus taxes on 1941 income are made to vanish. It sounds reasonable enough, and it certainly gets over the awkward hurdle which many people will have to take next year if the withholding tax is finally enacted and has to be met in addition to taxes at enhanced rates on 1942 incomes.

Now there is much to be said for putting people on a current tax basis so that they pay as they receive their incomes and not a year later. In that way spending is checked and the anti-inflationary force of taxation increased. The immediate effect of the Ruml plan would, however, be inflationary, because it would release funds accumulated by prudent citizens in order to meet their tax bills next March. Supporters of Ruml assume that most taxpayers have not finished paying their 1941 taxes and will have to find the cash for next year's levy entirely out of current income. Speaking for myself, I settled in full for 1941 on March 15 last and have since put aside enough money to cover nearly half of next year's probable tax bill. If the Ruml plan went through, I could feel free to spend at least part of that sum, and I would be less than human if I did not use it to insure a more bountiful Christmas for my family than now seems probable. Nor do I think my prudence in this respect is unusual, for an analysis recently published by the SEC shows a sharp increase in individual liquid savings in the second quarter of 1942—that is, after 1941 taxes became due—particularly in the form of bank deposits and cash holdings. This suggests the accumulation of personal tax reserves. Any encouragement to the spending of such savings, particularly at a time when



inventories of many consumer goods are running low, could have real inflationary significance.

Nor is this the only count against the Ruml plan. More important is the price which must be paid by the Treasury—that is to say, by the common purse of all the people. For there is a price, though Mr. Ruml and his friends use mirrors to disguise the fact: it is the tax bill for 1941, which is to be forgiven—a mere matter of \$8 billion. Now it is perfectly true that the Treasury, since it is on a cash basis, will continue to pull in income-tax revenue without interruption and will feel the loss only as taxpayers die and close their income-tax accounts immediately instead of owing a year's income as they do at present. This may rob death of some of its terrors, but it robs the Treasury of hard cash, and burglary committed in instalments over a generation is still burglary.

There is another point to consider: 1941 was a bonanza year for the high-bracket incomes. Civilian production was still going full blast, returning handsome profits, and corporation taxes had not attained their war-time peak. This year total national income will be much greater, but the proportion received by the higher brackets will be less. Hence there are solid advantages for the well-to-do in skipping taxes on 1941 incomes, advantages which may mean not merely increments to their heirs but the actual refund of moneys previously paid out. Let us consider the case of Mr. X, whose tax on his 1941 income amounted to \$100,000. At the end of last year Mr. X liquidated a lot of his investments and put the proceeds into tax-exempt bonds. As a result his tax bill on his 1942 income will be only \$10,000, and it would appear that if the Ruml plan were adopted he would be entitled to a refund of \$90,000. All the newspapers advocating the Ruml plan that I have seen managed to slur over this point.

Mr. Ruml himself has expressed a willingness to have his scheme amended to take care of "windfalls" if some satisfactory way can be found of distinguishing them. I doubt very much if it can, but even if it could, the plan would still be one for relief of the taxpayers at the public expense—in short, a "gimme" scheme.

At the time of writing, the Ruml plan seems to have died in the Senate Finance Committee, but the high-powered propaganda behind it suggests it may be revived. Or if this proves impracticable, we are likely to see new schemes for rendering tax-paying comparatively painless. Unfortunately, there is no known economic anaesthetic capable of doing that job. Wars can no more be paid for by easy stages and financial short cuts than they can be won without taking risks and suffering losses. We shall have to pay and keep on paying no matter how much it hurts, and if we don't pay enough to the Treasury we shall make up by paying inflated prices for everything and, in addition, shall have a still bigger debt problem to struggle with after the war.

## In the Wind

IN A RECENT PRIMARY in Contra Costa County, California, the system of "cross filing" produced a strange result. Two candidates sought the nomination of both parties for the same office. The candidate who had always been a Republican lost his own party's nomination but won on the Democratic ticket. The Democrat lost to the Republican in his own primary but won in the other. Now each will have to run on the ticket of the party he actually opposes.

VICTOR RECORDS announces that the most popular song in Argentina is "*En lo Profundo Corazón de Texas*."

WESTROOK PEGLER'S column has been dropped from the *Washington Post*, which has the largest circulation in Washington, and is being published by the *Washington News*, which has the smallest. . . . Eleanor Patterson, publisher of the *Washington Times-Herald* and a bitter critic of Mrs. Roosevelt, was hostess to several delegates to the recent International Student Assembly, an enterprise to which the President's wife devotes much time.

UNITED STATES CENSORS apparently have orders not to let any material on unfair treatment of Negroes in this country reach foreign readers. Subscribers to *The Nation* in South America and elsewhere have sometimes found articles on Negroes cut out of the magazine. A recent item from this column on the beating of Roland Hayes, Negro concert singer, in Rome, Georgia, was scissored from copies going to Mexico.

ON THE MORNING that the *Chicago Tribune* printed the famous story revealing that the navy knew the size of the Japanese force it was to engage off Midway Island, Colonel McCormick realized that his editors had blundered. For perhaps the first time in his life he apologized to his publishing rival, Secretary of the Navy Knox. He immediately dispatched a telegram saying that he was sorry the story had been printed.

THE SOUND TRACK accompanying Universal Newsreel's pictures of Maxim Litvinov greeting one of the young Russian heroes now in this country carries the czarist national anthem.

ELECTRICAL WORLD, a trade journal, reports in one article that the Consolidated Edison of New York is helping the war effort with a series of broadcasts telling how to conform with dim-out regulations and still keep rooms well lighted. On another page it reports that the same company has suffered a loss of 14.5 per cent in the demand for power since the dim-out was ordered.

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of \$5 will be awarded each month for the best item.—EDITORS THE NATION.]



# BOOKS *and the* ARTS

## Mythology: Western Imagination in the Making

BY IRWIN EDMAN

SCHOLARSHIP and imagination have never been too closely allied in this country. Creative spirits or those who wished to pass as such or whose imagination consisted in their imagining themselves to be such have been notoriously impatient of the pedantries of official academic scholarship. They have resented research in literature and the arts that inquired into everything about a work of art except the qualities that render it precious and unique. Scholars have, on the other hand, been irascible, not without cause, concerning refinements of criticism that are justified by everything but the facts. They have looked with suspicion on flights of generalization that have no evidence to support them, and disdained creative hypotheses made out of the whole cloth of week-end erudition. Scholars have identified imagination with irresponsibility. As for attempts to communicate general ideas to a wider public, they have regarded even the most serious of these as "popularization," to be greeted with something between a shudder and a leer.

These ruminations are suggested by "Mythology," Edith Hamilton's recent book,\* which is or ought to be a most delightful lesson for both the poets and scholars of criticism. It is a model, too, of what popularization can be in the hands of a writer both learned and imaginative. The first thing one is tempted to say about "Mythology" is that it is a Bullfinch for our time. But that is hardly a description, even a suggestion, of what Miss Hamilton has done. In a prose at once edged and colorful, she has thrown the whole of even familiar Greek and Norse mythology into a fresh and luminous context. She has never overpressed suggestions and intimations. She has distilled into incidental observations the whole meaning of mythology itself to the modern scholar and man of letters. Though there is hardly a footnote, every page is a condensation of literary and anthropological learning.

She has woven skilfully into the very body of her text, always without heaviness, the sources of the various legends, and even indicated in brief, telling epithets their relative weight and importance. What emerges, especially in the case of Greek mythology—which occupies seven-eighths of the book—is a picture, both exact and exciting, of the world of Hellenic imagination. Miss Hamilton's study is more than a lively guidebook of gods and goddesses, heroes and heroines of the Greek and Norse world. It is a wise discourse on mythology itself, and shows what can happen when love and erudition animate a gifted writer to communicate the necessary elements of a complex and noble subject.

In a paragraph, for instance, Miss Hamilton succeeds in placing the world of Greek myths:

That is the miracle of Greek mythology, a humanized world, men free from the paralyzing fear of an omnipotent unknown. The terrifying incomprehensibilities which were worshiped elsewhere, and the fearsome spirits with which earth, air, and sea swarmed, were banned from Greece. It may seem odd to say that the men who made the myths disliked the irrational and had a love for facts, but it is true, no matter how wildly fantastic some of the myths are. Any one who reads them with attention discovers that even the most nonsensical take place in a world which is essentially rational and matter of fact. Hercules, whose life was one long combat against preposterous monsters, is always said to have had his home in the city of Thebes. The exact spot where Aphrodite was born of the foam could be visited by any ancient tourist; it was just offshore from the Island of Cythera. . . . The "Odyssey" speaks of "the divine for which all men long," and hundreds of years later Aristotle wrote "excellence much labored for by the race of mortals." The Greeks from the earliest mythologist had a perception of the divine and excellent. Their longing for them was great enough to make them never give up seeing them clearly, until at last the thunder and lightning were changed into the Universal Father.

One has only to read Miss Hamilton's account of Zeus, his history and his literary transformations, to see how much she has crowded of truth and of relevant poetry into that last sentence.

Our author is equally delightful and equally cool in letting us know or reminding us, where we have forgotten, what are the dominant sources of the literary tradition of the Greek stories. She is accurate and engaging, for example, on the subject of Ovid. "Occasionally stories familiar to us through literature and art have come down to us only in his pages. In this book I have avoided using him as far as possible. Undoubtedly he was a good poet and a good storyteller and able to appreciate the myths, to realize what excellent material they afforded him, but he was really farther away from them in his point of view than we are today."

Miss Hamilton does not, with Ovid, regard the myths as ancient poets' monstrous lies. She does not consider them as sheer nonsense. She constructs her account of them mostly out of the Greek writers themselves: out of Homer, who saw the gods with the vision of the directest of poets, in an atmosphere of radiance, courtliness, lustiness, and splendor, even in their cruelty and lies. She sees the myths as Hesiod saw them, stories of the creation of the universe and the generation of the gods, explanations in answer to the question how everything happened, stories to still wonder by satisfying it with logical history. She sees them in the moralized reasonableness of the tragedians, in the philosophical transformations of Plato. Her book places the myths properly where they belong, as both early literature and early science. She does all this in eighteen pages which are as good examples as one could wish of the difference between being brief and being superficial.

Reading this book gives anyone familiar with Greek literature the pleasure of recognition, of many recognitions sharply focused in the discrimination of a connoisseur

\* Little, Brown and Company. \$3.50.



scholar. It will give those wishing to find their way an index to what their reading of the Greek writers themselves will substantiate and amplify. One feels throughout that one is in the hands of a guide who, when she does simplify, is always careful to imply the delicate recesses and by-waters of her subject. Thus, in speaking in summary at the close of her discussion of Demeter: "The Olympians were the happy gods, the deathless gods, far removed from suffering mortals destined to die. But in their grief and at the hour of death, men could turn for compassion to the goddess who sorrowed and the goddess who died."

Hardly anyone could do better for a brief account than Miss Hamilton does with the House of Atreus or the House of Thebes. Our author is not too completely the summarist to make felicitous suggestions. For example, she does so when she notes Euripides giving the story of Iphigenia a happy ending: "A possible reason for this lapse on the part of one of the greatest poets the world has known is that the Athenians who were suffering greatly at the time from the war with Sparta, were eager for miracles and that Euripides chose to humor them." One could draw a contemporary moral if one wished to, but Miss Hamilton is too fastidious to do so.

Best of all for many readers will be the minor and neglected myths retold with succinct art; so that the narratives are little poems rather than summaries in a dictionary. Those who remember only Bottom's horseplay in Shakespeare will be surprised at the tenderness and beauty of the myth of Pyramus and Thisbe.

The section on Norse mythology is too brief. It is twenty pages long. In a way it hardly belongs in the same book at all, though it is remarkable as a clear compression of tortuous materials. Nor is Miss Hamilton at home in the subject in the same way as she is with the Greeks. She admits, for instance, that she judges the style of the ancient Norse legends from translation. But she does succeed in conveying a summary image of that strange somber world. Of it she says, "All the best Northern tales are tragic, about men and women who go steadfastly forward to meet death, often deliberately choose it, even plan it long beforehand. The only light in the darkness is heroism." Even the gods know that a day will come when they must be destroyed.

One wishes that Miss Hamilton had developed a little bit more her theme of the persistence, however transmuted, of the romantic fatalism of the Norse mythology—often disguised as the Christianity which never quite destroyed it—in both the English and German heritage. "For Norse mythology and Greek mythology together give a clear picture of what the people were like from whom comes a major part of our spiritual and intellectual inheritance." Her book is a study of the European imagination in the making. It has had a lot to do with what J. H. Randall, Jr., has called "the making of the modern mind." There is a saying in the Elder Edda: The mind knows only what has lain near the heart. What has lain near the Western heart and has been spoken in a thousand modulations of poetry, art, and music is here retold with grace, economy, and wit. The scholar and the writer meet in these pages to the edification of other writers and scholars and for the initiation of the common readers in their common unrealized heritage.

## The Problem of Sovereignty

*THE PRINCIPLES OF POWER.* By Guglielmo Ferrero. G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$3.50.

FERRERO'S renown as a historian has long since been established. In recent years his historical inquiries have tended to become merely the occasion for more systematic reflections on the meaning of certain aspects of history. In seeking to satisfy the interest of both philosopher and historian he adopted the strategy of using a limited field of historical study as a basis for an inquiry into the meaning of larger trends of history. Thus his recently published "Reconstruction of Europe" was on the one hand a study of the Congress of Vienna and on the other hand a comparative analysis of revolutionary and constructive statecraft. Napoleon served as symbol of the former, and Talleyrand was made—not too plausibly—the embodiment of the latter.

His posthumous volume uses the French Revolution as the historical locus for an inquiry into the problem of government. Only two slight excursions, one into Roman and the other into recent Italian history, take him beyond this particular domain. But his real interest is not so much the French Revolution as the problem of "legitimate" government. He is seeking to determine how governments can be sufficiently stable and secure to obviate the necessity of maintaining themselves by force and fear. His analysis of this problem is rich in valuable insights which we could accept more gratefully if he made a wider sweep into history to substantiate his conclusions and if he were a little more modest in assessing the importance of his thesis. He seems to think that he is the first to have penetrated into the mysteries of government and found the secret of what makes it "click."

His thesis is that there are only two forms of "legitimate" government—the aristo-monarchic and the democratic; that the mark of legitimacy is uncoerced consent; that habit and tradition prompt consent in the former case and explicit forms of suffrage in the latter; that governments which lack these forms of legitimacy are driven by the fear of the people to maintain themselves by fraud and inordinate force; that modern history is dominated by a struggle between these two types of legitimacy.

The main foundation of this thesis is a rather neat device. The connotation of the word "legitimate" is extended on the one hand so that it becomes relevant not only to governments based on heredity but to democratic governments as well; on the other hand the moral connotation of the word "legitimate" is made to cover not merely democratic but hereditary governments. The important point is that the government be accepted by the people so that the fear of possible revolt will not preoccupy the ruler and tempt him to use terror as the means of survival. There is only one form of "illegitimate" government—one that uses force and fraud to survive. Lacking the implicit consent of the people, it is in fear of the people and consequently rules by prompting the people to fear its power. Ferrero's analysis of this vicious circle of fear in tyrannical government is psychologically very astute. There are also "pre-legitimate" governments, primarily revolutionary ones, which must use inordinate force until they have established themselves but which intend to rule upon the basis of principles that will finally win the



consent of the people. There are also "quasi-legitimate" governments." They pretend to use one principle of sovereignty when in reality they are based upon another.

Perhaps the most valuable insight for modern men in the author's main thesis is the recognition that non-democratic governments must not be too simply identified with tyranny. Hereditary governments in which habit and tradition, the personalization of loyalty and the reverence for majesty, prompted by the panoply of the state, all combine to win the implicit consent of the subject may be creative forms of statecraft. Hereditary government actually implies a democratic principle in so far as it rests upon consent. On the other hand, even the most explicit forms of democracy are connected with a traditional principle, since only habit and tradition can make them absolutely secure by freeing them of the fear that the people might use their suffrage to annul the democratic principle.

The primary weakness of Ferrero's analysis lies in his inability to grasp, or to do justice to, all the complex economic and social factors which have contributed to the decay of hereditary and the rise of democratic governments. He seems to think that our modern instabilities are derived primarily from the conflict between the two principles of sovereignty. He admits that the two may be united and made to support each other, as has been the case in the constitutional monarchies of Europe, particularly Britain, Holland, and the Scandinavian countries. But he casts only a glance at this possibility. Occasionally he suggests that the complexities of modern civilization make democracy preferable to hereditary rule, because democracy arms all the various elements in society with political power and thereby insures a consideration of their interests in the harmony of the whole; while governments based purely upon heredity must also maintain a traditional social order which must progressively defy new dynamic elements in the social equilibrium.

On the whole, however, he is not interested in measuring the comparative merits of the two types of sovereignty. He is convinced that no government is sufficiently just to be able to preserve itself merely by commending itself to the conscience of its subjects. It must count upon some irrational force of habit or reverence to overpower the natural reluctance of people to endow their rulers with sufficient power to maintain order.

This not unjustified but rather extravagant note of skepticism about the problem of justice persuades Ferrero to regard the sudden collapse of the old regime of France, after the fall of the Bastille, as one of the great mysteries of history. It had authority only yesterday, and today its sovereignty is completely annulled, leaving, he says, a political vacuum. How can we explain such a mystery? The concept of justice might be of help here. Men may accept even an unjust government out of habit and tradition; but its injustices may pile up conscious and unconscious resentments which become fully conscious and dynamic the moment some open defiance acts as a match for the smoldering tinder.

There are indeed mysteries in the phenomena of the sovereignty and majesty of governments and in the implicit and explicit consent which people yield to their rulers, but the whole field of inquiry is not quite so occult as Ferrero seems to imagine,

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

## Report from the Near East

*RETREAT TO VICTORY.* By Allan A. Michie. Alliance Book Corporation. \$3.

*LIFELINES OF VICTORY.* By Squadron Leader Murray Harris. G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$2.

RECENTLY a bad "correspondent's book" provoked me to say that at this date a war correspondent's manuscript must possess certain very special qualities to be worthy of print. I was, I think, too liberal in that I included a brilliant style among the printworthy qualities, and I begin to doubt whether Mr. Werth's "Moscow War Diary" is as good as I once thought. Knocking out style, then, as a quality of both good and bad books of this sort, grasp of historical process and an abundance of useful information are the two characteristics that alone should put a war correspondent's manuscript between stiff covers. On the first count Mr. Michie scores about fifty out of a hundred, and on the second about seventy-five or seventy-five plus. For the rest, "Retreat to Victory" is a streamlined, high-powered job of journalism in the Lucian school, superb in its sort, lean, swift, and graphic, though a little too much given to thumbnail portraits of everyone above the rank of major.

Very definitely Mr. Michie is not a boy on stilts shouting "Look at me," nor is he a *Collier's* Siegfried mooring for the love of schoolgirls. He is outspoken, and has the courage to say, for example, that for this country, and in general, civilian defense is a more or less useless luxury and bad for morale. He is critical and informative about fatuous incompetents in colonial offices. His contempt for "base rats"—Auchinleck is reported to have packed 600 of 700 staff officers off to the front when he took over Cairo from Wavell—equals the "base rats'" dislike of fighting men. He is frank about the incomprehensible blunders committed in local campaigns, but he shows his close-grained common sense in not drawing the false conclusion that British strategy has been basically wrong. Indeed, it is his belief in the soundness of Mr. Churchill's direction that gives his book its somewhat misleading title. Mr. Michie is aware that history is full of blitzkrieg victors who have lost their long wars. And "too little and too late," about which we had small choice, must not give way to "too little and too soon," about which we have some power of decision.

But if these were its only merits, "Retreat to Victory" would not be worth five or six hours of a sensible man's time. It happens, however, that Mr. Michie has seen a great deal of the war in the Near East, a region in which censorship has been absolutely ruthless. What Mr. Michie has to say about the political and military activities of the United Nations in this part of the world forces one to protest once more against the absurdities of imperialism. In the last war the Allies betrayed the Arabs, as Lawrence bitterly charged, or they kept their promises only when violent revolution compelled them to, as in Iraq. In this war, therefore, we must constantly dread a "stab in the back" from the peoples on whose territory we fight. The weakness of the conservative outlook is particularly evident in the behavior of the Free French during the Syrian campaign. De Gaulle and his staff were so naively confident that the Vichy troops would welcome deliverance that at the zero hour the Free French forces



crossed the Syrian frontier headed by a band playing the Marseillaise. The instant reply was sounded by instruments that repeat their one note 460 times per minute. The Vichy French, who are real imperialists, fought savagely, while the Free French, whose philosophy is not yet clear, "had no stomach for rough stuff" and were far inferior to the colored troops of British India.

Thus, to pit our Frenchmen against their Frenchmen without contrasting our France with their France is an act of political naivete. It is almost like offering to varnish the pictures in Spanish art galleries as a device for keeping Franco neutral rather than doing something to increase the Spanish dictator's fear of his people, which, with our growing might, is what keeps him out of war. As it is, it is the Axis which too often, as in Egypt, utilizes the revolutionary appeal. The wretched *fellahin*, to whom Berlin and Rome promise land, are often pro-Axis, while the rich rabble of Cairo are pro-British. Again, Mr. Michie tells us that the British needed to raise their voices quite a lot to persuade the Free French to honor pre-campaign promises of limited independence for the peoples of Syria and Lebanon. Britain, that is to say, correctly insists that the Free French cede ground, but fails to apply that logic in India. One can estimate the influence which the inevitable Vichy comment must have upon those Frenchmen who, for lack of the social vision we do not ourselves display, cannot make up their minds to turn against Pétain and Laval. Mr. Michie, by the way, feels consternation at the State Department's policy toward Vichy, which, he positively asserts, has provided the Afrika Korps with war materials.

Mr. Michie's book is only incidentally a defense of Churchill strategy. Squadron Leader Harris's "Lifelines of Victory" was definitely written as a counter-blast to the second-front-now school. It is not much of a blast. The author's thesis is contained in the words of an undistinguished German general, "Strategy is the study of communications." We have ultimate superiority in productive resources and in man-power, the author agrees; therefore, so long as we maintain our lines of communication, the odds are with us. That one believes to be true, and it would be conclusive if victory necessarily went by odds. But there are so many other relevant questions to which the author does not give convincing answers that the book fails to impress this reviewer—who does not himself take any part in the second-front-now campaign. As a brief study of the worldwide communication lines in our control it is interesting, but even here the absence of any quantitative estimates robs it of force.

RALPH BATES

## Childe Nicolas

CONFOUND THE WISE. By Nicolas Calas. Arrow Editions. \$3.

THIS explosively vivifying book was needed. Criticism of the arts has become so much a specialists' affair—music for the musicologists, literature the semanticists' chanel house—that one almost forgets it could ever inspire a *Weltanschauung*. Who among the dwarf Aristotles and doubting St. Thomases will interpret the totality of art and life, present and past, in the light of positive immediate

values? Where is a Ruskin for painting, a Nietzsche for drama, even a Pater or Spengler for culture in general? Mr. Calas may not be the answer, but he has at least attempted to be.

A Greek poet and pilgrim through the modern world, now based in New York, he began criticism some years ago in Paris with "Foyers d'Incendie," which might be rendered "The Incendiary at Home." The present work is the second in a series of four, the two to come being "Transfiguration" and "The Fate of Jocasta and the Destiny of Prometheus." His books are not treatises—that too is fortunate—but groups of free variations on one theme: the artist as rebel and prophet. The variations are classified under the roomiest of headings; the framework may be ignored, the parts have a life of their own. Of the present work the first section, entitled Time, is the best. A discussion of poetry as prophecy, revelation, stimulus to action, it greatly advances the often bungled synthesis of Marxism and psychoanalysis as instruments of evaluation. Ranging through Occidental poetry, Calas points out the parallel between poetic sublimations of the individual's desire for richer inner life and the social will to change. This avoids the two major traps of contemporary criticism: the Marxist tendency to judge in mere terms of social content (Dickens "greater" than Proust), and the anti-romantic, neo-Aristotelian view that literature is under some moral obligation to assuage rather than sharpen discontent.

Calas also rightly condemns—though here he is not quite fair to the exception of Jung—the tendency in psychoanalysis itself to treat the artist's cry of discontent as a clinical phenomenon, a "maladjustment," when the disease is in society rather than in the artist. He sums up: "One listens well only to that which leads to action." Defining "action" leads to difficulties of course, since in his view it seems to include any imaginative storm and stress induced by surrealist art, provided it is good art—for example, Tanguy not Dali. But the difficulties are rewarding, not simply vexatious, especially as they lead Calas to some excellent remarks on surrealism, his championship of which is unusually discriminating, and to a superb manifesto on poetry as heroism. In the remaining three sections he discourses on baroque art in Portugal, his own recent experience of that country, the aesthetics of portraiture, and New York as a culture symbol. Here disproportion sets in and the argument is frequently labyrinthine, especially when he needlessly introduces Portuguese baroque by a great slab of Portuguese history seemingly cribbed from a very dull textbook. But suggestive reflections, comparisons, analogies abound. Calas's richly associative mind is in refreshing contrast with our critical Alexandrians, close interpreters of single texts. His restatement of romantic doctrine in twentieth-century terms is one of the most fruitful contributions to criticism in America since Babbitt's "Rousseau and Romanticism," and makes a welcome counterblast to that masterpiece of misapplied intellect. Regrettably, it lacks an index, and it sometimes reads like French homework by a sixth-grader weak in English grammar. "Expose" for "expound," "moeures" for "mores," "lanced" for "launched," etc., with quantities of misspelled names and plural subjects with singular verbs, are blemishes that need not have occurred.

FRANK JONES



## Four Recent Novels

*TELEGRAM FROM HEAVEN.* By Arnold Manoff. The Dial Press. \$2.50.

*NEARER THE EARTH.* By Beatrice Borst. Random House. \$2.50.

*THE WHITE QUEEN.* By Betty Baur. The Viking Press. \$2.50.

*A TIME TO BE BORN.* By Dawn Powell. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.75.

BESIDES the accident of being published in the same month, the four novels brought together in this review have in common their intellectual decency and their effort to deal intelligently with modern life. While none of the four is wholly successful, all four are readable and each has merit. In better literary times books like these might not warrant special enthusiasm, but in the current flood of Civil War novels and frontier novels, novels about a single river in Georgia or a single acre in Mississippi, they take on life-saving disproportions simply because they try, each in its own way, to cope with the world of their authors', and readers', experience. It may be significant that three of the four are first novels and their authors are young.

Arnold Manoff's "Telegram from Heaven" will remind you of Clifford Odets's "Awake and Sing." Although it has not the ingenuity of detail of Mr. Odets's first and best play, it surveys the same territory, the Jewish Bronx, from much the same point of view, well left of center. It has the same awareness that the lives of its poor Jews are part of a larger political picture and the same essential vagueness about what is to be done about it. But a lot of water has flowed under the bridge since Odets made his first appearance, and if the author of "Awake and Sing" hadn't the war to complicate his problem, the author of "Telegram from Heaven" uses the war both to complicate and solve his problem too easily. Before Pearl Harbor, for instance, what Sylvia Singer, Manoff's heroine, was waiting for was the right feller with the right prospects and the right bank account; after Pearl Harbor her telegram from heaven is her boy friend's draft call to fight for democracy. One is tempted to ask Mr. Manoff, "And after the armistice, what then?" Even with all the political breaks on her side, and obviously she deserves them, one suspects Sylvia Singer will still want to be Hedy Lamarr; it is a limitation that her author resolves her dilemma so crudely in terms of the present. But Mr. Manoff's writing gifts are worth notice. Like Odets, he has a feeling heart and a beautifully accurate ear for the harsh poetry of American-Jewish speech (attention, Mr. Kober, on both counts). There are half a dozen scenes—the moment in which Sylvia's friend Francey breaks down and confesses her sexual fears, and the interviews between Sylvia and her Riverside Drive employers—that have the sure touch of creativity. Mr. Manoff deals even more truthfully with his secondary characters and situations than he does with his hero and heroine, a sign of grace, certainly, in a beginning, or any, novelist.

Miss Borst won first prize in the Avery Hopwood competition with her novel called "Nearer the Earth." A far cry from the Bronx of "Telegram from Heaven," "Nearer

the Earth" is the biography of a nice spoiled child brought up in a comfortable home in a comfortable medium-sized city; even the genteel poverty which confronts Karen Greenwald after her father's death is luxury compared to Sylvia Singer's one step from the relief rolls. Yet Karen's problem too is the problem of how to grow up and face reality; in her case maturity is made difficult by an oversheltered childhood. The "reality" her author concocts for her unfortunately has one too many deaths to be convincing, and for all her efforts at self-education, Karen Greenwald never develops into an interesting personality. Nevertheless, Miss Borst's story has many virtues. It is written with great good taste in a style that neither inflates nor whines, it is poignant without being tremulous, and for a first novel in which author and heroine are closely related, it is remarkably objective—so objective, actually, that one is never quite sure whether it is Miss Borst or Miss Greenwald who peters out in the end. What one feels most strongly is that Miss Borst needs to enlarge her range of seeing and thinking. It isn't so much that her world is so small as that she moves in it as if it were a cloister, by which I don't mean that, like so many women writers (see Gladys Schmitt's "Gates of Aulis" or Ann Chidester's "Young Pandora" for recent examples), Miss Borst thinks she is a priestess. In fact, her lack of self-exaltation is one of her outstanding distinctions.

The most interesting as well as the most uneven of these three first novels is Betty Baur's "The White Queen," which at moments is so skilful as to astonish you, at moments so skilful as to seem machine-made, and then again—as in the timing of the heroine's change of heart—not skilful at all. Much more ambitious than either Mr. Manoff or Miss Borst, Miss Baur divides her attention almost equally among several characters, interweaving their lives to the better understanding of each of them. The story is set in England in 1937, while Spain is fighting its war to determine all future wars, and the heroine is an American girl married to a well-placed Englishman. In the course of discovering the connection between her own destiny and the destiny of the world Deborah Abbott falls out of love with her husband and into love with an impecunious radical. Politics and social conflict, in other words, boil down to one woman's choice between two men—after all, a perfectly good way to write about world events in fiction; and amusingly enough, it is only when Miss Baur's social conscience gets the upper hand and she steps out of the realm of emotion to describe the practical workings of her Workers' Party or her Tenants' Association that she sounds naive. Miss Baur's real gift is her energy, her enormous zest for what things look like and how people are, individually and in disharmony with each other. And if, as one sometimes thinks, there was once a day when novels like "The White Queen," about pleasant articulate young men and women trying to make the right kind of lives for themselves and having vital relationships with one another, might have been expected to be the least common denominator of first novels, Miss Baur's book makes one wistful for it.

And then there is Dawn Powell, who is no first novelist, of course, and who should need no introduction to *Nation* readers. Miss Powell, one of the wittiest women around, suggests the answer to the old question, "Who really makes



the jokes that Dorothy Parker gets the credit for?" The central figure of "A Time to Be Born"—you certainly can't call her the heroine—is the fabulous Amanda Keeler Evans, blond and beautiful, the author of a successful novel and the wife of a publishing power; she knows exactly what she wants, which is everything, and she is in a fair way to getting it. The world is her oyster, and the war, on which she is solemnly articulate, is the perfect break for her career. A ruthless debunking and the quintessence of cattiness, Miss Powell's book is at least one instance in which female venom becomes a social force-for-good. She cries out to be quoted, not one sentence at a time, either, like "A gypsy should be required to be wrong, or else she becomes an affront to science," or "She was thirty-two, but she looked like a woman of forty so well-preserved she could pass for thirty-two," but whole paragraphs and pages. Her description of the women's-magazine formula for how to cure a broken heart, her picture of women girding themselves for war, her analysis of contemporary literary trends are not only funny; they proclaim the educated, no-nonsense intelligence that lies behind them. It all adds up to a first-rate satiric talent, and one wonders what went wrong for "A Time to Be Born" to fall apart as it does in the middle. Perhaps it is because there is no proper satiric tradition nowadays for Miss Powell to work in; so that she loses heart and dubs in, as a backdrop to her satire, the kind of love story—nice little small-town girl wins away the great big tough newspaperman from the glamorous big-time beauty—that she would be the first to ridicule. At any rate, the wee note of cynicism she introduces into her love idyl doesn't save it.

DIANA TRILLING

## Civilian Front

*CIVILIAN DEFENSE OF THE UNITED STATES.* By Colonel R. Ernest Dupuy and Lieutenant Hodding Carter. Farrar and Rinehart. \$2.50.

*HANDBOOK OF CIVILIAN PROTECTION.* Prepared by the Civilian Defense Council, College of the City of New York. Whittlesey House. \$1.25.

*ARMS AND THE PEOPLE.* By Alden Stevens. Harper and Brothers. \$2.75.

IN THE United States the problem of civilian defense is of less importance than in Europe only because our geographical position greatly decreases the danger of air attacks. Raids by limited numbers of planes from enemy carriers are possible, and some of our coastal points are quite likely to be bombed unless the enemy concludes that the chances of doing damage are not worth the risks. To less direct forms of attack we are distinctly vulnerable.

The government of the United States has already made unprecedented demands on civilians and will and must make many others. The reason for such demands is well explained in "Civilian Defense of the United States," which gives an excellent and complete account of the efforts now under way to weld Americans into a disciplined whole for the sake of victory. In the twenty-one chapters full consideration is given to all phases of aerial attack, gas protection, fire fighting, first aid, evacuation, health and welfare, sabotage, enemy

propaganda, morale, and other pertinent topics. The explanation of our defense program is both full and lucid. A reader of this book can discover not only what is necessary to civilian defense but why it is necessary, and be enthusiastic in undertaking the program. A long list of practical suggestions of ways open to civilians to aid the defense effort and an impressive bibliography complete the book.

"Handbook of Civilian Protection," prepared under the sponsorship of New York's City College, is exactly what the name implies, a textbook of civilian defense. Much less complete in its scope than "Civilian Defense of the United States," it is mainly concerned with the problem of dealing with air raids, only secondarily with conservation and health, and not at all with such problems as enemy propaganda. However, it gives singularly thorough treatment to those problems which it does consider and is an adequate guide to ordinary situations. Air-raid wardens, auxiliary firemen and policemen, and the average citizen are told exactly what principles underlie the most effective use of their talents and how best to perform needed services. Certain rules of action are expected to be memorized by the student. This little booklet or its equivalent should be in the hands of defense volunteers in such of the larger American cities as are vulnerable to aerial attack.

Easily the most readable of these volumes is "Arms and the People." Instead of giving attention to minute details of defense it describes the broad and far-reaching changes which the war effort has already brought and is still bringing to the United States. Boom towns, priorities, mining, farming, modern housing, and improvement in the machinery of production are only a few of the subjects treated in what is a much more valuable volume than might appear at first glance. The author, a free-lance magazine writer, bases his book upon extensive travel and numerous contacts in all parts of the United States. His comments on army camps and their surroundings and on the problems created by placing millions of men in new environments are especially keen. He believes that the cleanliness, improved diet, and regular habits engendered by army life far outweigh increased prostitution and other evils. This optimism is typical of the author. Although Mr. Stevens does not overlook such serious future questions as demobilization and the post-war change-over of industry, he is far more impressed by the improvements in Southern agriculture growing out of the war, by the demonstration of the needlessness of industrial depressions, and by technological advances. "Arms and the People" is written in a popular style, but it is by no means superficial.

DONALD W. MITCHELL

*In Early Issues of The Nation*  
Constance Rourke in the Reviewers' Den

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

"The Real Italians" by Carlo Sforza

REVIEWED BY GAETANO SALVEMINI

The Poetry of José García Villa

REVIEWED BY MARIANNE MOORE

Virginia Woolf as Critic

BY LOUIS KRONENBERGER



## IN BRIEF

**I LOVE YOU, I LOVE YOU, I LOVE YOU.** By Ludwig Bemelmans. The Viking Press. \$2.50.

Not Bemelmans at his best, but even Bemelmans at his second best is better than most and still the only writer who can produce two such consecutive sentences as: "She wore a little mink coat on deck—the only junior mink I have ever seen. The way the young widow managed her entrances into the dining-room reminded me of Easter at the Music Hall." Among these stories you'll especially enjoy *Souvenir*, the recollections of two trips on the *Normandie*, and *Bride of Berchtesgaden*, the account of Bemelmans's encounter with the Gestapo. The author's illustrations are, as always, all you would—or could—expect.

**THE DAYS OF OFELIA.** By Gertrude Diamant. Houghton Mifflin Company. \$2.75.

Neither a novel nor a guidebook, Miss Diamant's story of Ofelia, the little girl whose family were Miss Diamant's neighbors in Mexico City, is a pleasant, informative record of one person's living and traveling in Mexico. Ofelia was only ten, but she insisted upon becoming the American lady's maid. While Miss Diamant tried to teach her Mexican neighbor the virtues of booklearning and vitamins, Ofelia gave her mistress an inside view of native life—a happy way for a visitor to become acquainted with a foreign land, and a happy device for writing about it. A Book-of-the-Month Club selection.

**THE STONES BEGIN TO DANCE.** By Aben Kandel. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. \$2.

Mr. Kandel's novel is a whimsey in simple bad taste about life under the Williamsburg Bridge. Its central character is Mr. Marco, a Rumanian pushcart peddler who has read too many novels by Robert Nathan, and the story demonstrates that poor people are always sweet, simple, and good, and rich people always greedy and pompous—except those who got their start in life in the pushcart market. As dénouement, there is a gathering of all these once humble, now wealthy, good souls at the legal closing of the market to commend Mr. Marco for his loyalty to the old way of life and to be present at his affecting death. Unquestionably a book on the side of democracy. Also a

good example of the Hollywood political theory that a few words from an eccentric character can solve most social problems.

**DACEY HAMILTON.** By Dorothy Van Doren. Harper and Brothers. \$2.50.

Dorothy Van Doren's new novel is largely concerned with the newspaper profession in 1918. Her heroine, Dacey Hamilton (at twenty-seven, she is a widow and the mother of five children), works for a liberal weekly, and the hero (he has the astonishing name of Urian Oakes) is a Vermont boy making his way on Park Row. Inevitably there is a good deal of talk about what is going on in a world at war. It is good talk and should help us to understand what is going on in a world at war today.

**SEE HERE, PRIVATE HARGROVE.** By Marion Hargrove. Henry Holt and Company. \$2.

Corporal Hargrove (he was promoted) has written a delightful book about the trials and tribulations of a rookie. We recommend it as an antidote for those who worry about their boys in our army camps. The book also contains much sage advice which every draftee would do well to heed. We hope that Corporal Hargrove will continue to keep us informed about army life. He can do more to popularize it than any number of official army reports. His book is well adapted for reading aloud.

**GOETHE AND THE GREEKS.** By Humphry Trevelyan. The Macmillan Company. \$3.75.

Recent advances in archaeological and historical knowledge and a widening of our view of other great cultures have shed new light on the Greeks and placed them in a new perspective. We cannot see the Greeks as Goethe did; but since his Hellenism was fundamentally "an effort to establish the basis of values upon which European civilization has been built," it "is not to be judged by its historical truth but by its vital force." This scholarly volume is therefore a highly important means both of keeping our perspective on Goethe right and of revitalizing our own view of the Greek ideal. By following a biographical method Mr. Trevelyan presents Goethe's view of the Greeks as many-sided, dynamic, and developing to the very end of his life, and shows how it can go on developing as our horizon changes.

**OIL, BLOOD, AND SAND: STAKES AND STRATEGY IN THE MIDDLE EAST.** By Robert L. Baker. Appleton-Century Company. \$2.50.

Probably the most important phrase in this book is the following: "30,000,000 barrels of good crude would be sufficient to relieve Germany of all strain over all fuel and lubricants." It may be a coincidence, but this estimate is exactly the production of the Maikop and Grozny oil fields in the North Caucasus. The Nazis have captured the first and are well on their way toward the second. The author holds out no hope that the destruction of the wells by the retreating Red Army will seriously hamper the Nazis. He claims that the Germans have assembled vast amounts of drilling equipment in eastern Poland and Rumania for use in the Caucasus. He points out that the North Caucasus oil fields are rather shallow and that Texas drillers have brought in shallow wells in as little as seven days. So it seems that the Germans really have no need to drive on to Iran and Iraq and will probably attempt to establish a defensive winter line in the North Caucasus. The major part of this book, however, is devoted to the countries of the Middle East, their peoples and the problems of their defense. Mr. Baker knows how to separate the facts from the headlines in a mass of clippings and tell an integrated story. But the book suffers by comparison with "Retreat to Victory" by Allan Michie, who had the advantage of recent personal observation.

**ANTHOLOGY OF CANADIAN POETRY (ENGLISH).** Compiled by Ralph Gustafson. Pelican Books. 25 cents.

This anthology, 56 poets, 129 poems, begins with writers born around 1850, and ends with a young man of 22. The best known names are those of Constance Lindsay Skinner, Bliss Carman, Sir Charles G. D. Roberts, John McCrae (who is represented by only one poem), and the vastly overrated Wilson MacDonald; the best poets are Raymond Knister, A. M. Klein, and, decidedly, A. J. M. Smith. The anthologist, Ralph Gustafson, has attempted to make his principle of selection not "Canadianism" but artistic merit. The poems should give pleasure, he says; he seems rather easily pleased. The earlier Canadian poets in commemorating nature or expressing patriotic sentiments were influenced by Browning and Tennyson, surprisingly little by Kipling and



Service, once in a while by Rossetti and Swinburne, a good deal by contemporary magazine verse. There is quite a lot of the I-lift-mine-eyes-to-gaze sort of thing. Those born later, around the turn of the century—almost none seem to have been engendered in the '90's—also pay attention to contemporary magazines, notably *Poetry*, and to the Imagists; they have hardly noticed Hardy, Hopkins, Housman, Yeats, Eliot, or Auden. Mr. Gustafson has included biographical and bibliographical notes on the poets, and on himself likewise, with a portrait by way of frontispiece. He has also included five poems of his own, as generous a number as he has given anyone else with the exception of Messrs. Knister and Smith—though he has given Klein and E. J. Pratt more pages. The example of Untermeyer to the contrary, anthologists should not do this. On the whole, while the anthology does not lack interest, and the price commends it, one rather hopes there is more to Canadian poetry than this, and that somebody better informed and with nicer taste than Mr. Gustafson will find and prove it.

**RIVER ROGUE.** By Brainard Cheney. Houghton Mifflin Company. \$2.50.

The rogue of Mr. Cheney's title is "Snake" Sutton, who discovers when he is only a kid that his mother isn't all she should be, and runs away to live among the Negroes. Sensitive but tough, he becomes a river rat, a raftsmen on the Georgia rivers—the kind of glamorous villain who bites off his opponent's thumb in a fight; later, he conquers land life as well. A colorful exploration of hitherto uncharted literary territory—if that is what you look for in a novel.

## RECENTLY PUBLISHED

**Wartime Price Control.** By George P. Adams, Jr. American Council on Public Affairs. \$3.

**The American Ballot.** By Spencer D. Albright. American Council on Public Affairs. \$2.50.

**This Land We Defend.** By Hugh H. Bennett and William C. Pryor. Longmans, Green. \$1.50.

**Liberty and Learning.** By Davis Edison Bunting. American Council on Public Affairs. \$3.

**Politics and Political Organizations in America.** By Theodore W. Cousins. Macmillan. \$4.

**Civilian Health in Wartime.** By Dr. Francis R. Dicouaide. Harvard. \$2.50.

**The Future of Industrial Man.** By Peter F. Drucker. John Day. \$2.50.

**The Best American Short Stories, 1942.** Edited by Martha Foley. Houghton Mifflin. \$2.75.

**Lost Chords: The Diverting Story of American Popular Songs.** By Douglas Gilbert. Doubleday, Doran. \$3.50.

**Strategic Materials in Hemisphere Defense.** By M. S. Hessel, Walter Murphy, and F. A. Hessel. Hastings House. \$2.50.

**The Merchant Service Today.** By Leslie Howe. Oxford. \$1.75.

**Education for Democratic Survival.** By Walter E. Myer and Clay Coss. Civic Education Service. \$1.50.

**Industrial Concentration and Price Inflexibility.** By Alfred C. Neal. American Council on Public Affairs. \$3.25.

**Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Areas.** By Clifford R. Shaw and Henry D. McKay. Chicago University. \$4.50.

**The Chorale Preludes of J. S. Bach.** By Stanton DeB. Taylor. Oxford. \$2.25.

**Nazi Guide to Nazism.** Edited by Rolf Tell. American Council on Public Affairs. \$2.

**The Native Labor Problem of South Africa.** By J. M. Tinley. North Carolina. \$3.

**The Bible Is Human.** By Louis Wallis. Columbia University. \$2.50.

**They Were Expendable.** By W. L. White. Harcourt, Brace. \$2.

**How Wars Are Fought.** By Captain J. E. A. Whitman. Oxford. \$1.75.

## RECORDS

ANOTHER of Beethoven's "Rasumovsky" Quartets Op. 59 is at hand on records, this time as the outstanding piece of music on Victor's September list. It is the second of the group—with its powerful, violent, dramatic first movement, its richly elaborated and poignant slow movement; it is performed by the Coolidge Quartet with impeccable technical finish, with excellent musical understanding and taste, with vigor and spirit; and the performance is well recorded (Set 919, \$4.73). But good as this version is, it hasn't the warmth and luminous beauty of blended sound, the richness and subtlety of inflection, the incandescence of integrated progression of the Budapest Quartet version in Victor Set 340. And with Victor withdrawing Budapest Quartet performances of Beethoven's Op. 18 No. 3 and Mozart's K. 400 one must hope it will not withdraw that magnificent performance of Beethoven's Op. 59 No. 2, among others.

Strauss's "Don Juan," in which his brilliant powers are to be heard and

enjoyed in their youthful vigor, is at hand in a Victor set (914, \$2.63), of a performance by Kindler with the National Symphony. As against the older recorded performance by Fritz Busch with the London Philharmonic, this one has the advantage of richer and more spacious recorded sound. But the power which the Busch performance achieves through its restraint, its directness and structural compactness, the Kindler performance loses through its expansiveness, its rhythmic unsteadiness and structural slackness, its details of over-emphasis and fussiness in sonority and pace. The Busch performance, I might add, is recorded with adequate fidelity, clarity, and volume.

On a single disc (11-8239, \$1.05) Kindler and his orchestra give us the Polka from Shostakovich's "Age of Gold"—a piece of Shostakovich humor-with-a-sledgehammer. On the reverse side is an orchestral arrangement of the Marina-Dmitri duet from Musorgsky's "Boris Godunov," which is hardly one of the great moments of the work and is not ennobled in this performance. The conclusion, as recorded, is heard with terrific surface-chatter.

The English composer Vaughan Williams is one of the people with the mere facility in sounds that is not enough to produce valuable music. In Williams the facility has given us the enjoyable Fantasia on a theme of Tallis, and on the other hand the more pretentious large-scale use of pictorial and atmospheric material and street-songs in the "London Symphony," with results that are mostly inconsequential and uninteresting. A good performance of the symphony by Goossens with the Cincinnati Symphony is well recorded (Set 916, \$5.78).

Best Records issues Volume 1 (1620-1830) of "The Songs of Early America" (Set ES 1: three 12-inch records in album; \$4.75), compiled by Elie Siegmeister and sung by a vocal quartet under his direction. I haven't the passion for folk songs that others have; and so I will comment only on the performances. The voices are good; but I find the enunciation and singing too cultivated, in some instances too arch, and in one instance mistakenly derisive where the song should convey its humor from within.

Better done are the songs of Argentina, Chile, Peru, Ecuador, and Cuba assembled by Irma Labastille in Volume 1 of "Latin-American Typical and Folk Songs" (Set ES 3: four 12-inch records; \$6.25). B. H. HAGGIN



# Letters to the Editors

## Canada Ready for Offensive

*Dear Sirs:* In the article *The Facts About a Second Front*, in your issue of September 5, Donald W. Mitchell says in part:

Of the greatest importance, then, is the army now stationed in the British Isles—probably two million Britishers, plus Free French, Polish, Canadian, and American contingents. . . . Its quality is not easy to gauge. The courage of the men and their eagerness to fight can be taken for granted. But their training—until recent months that of protecting against invasion—their military experience, and their leadership are also vital factors. . . . The American army has increased enormously in both size and striking power in the past year, and it is the only one belonging to the United Nations which has been formed mainly for offensive action.

Canada just now is licking her wounds of Dieppe, essentially a Canadian show. Of one battalion only three officers survived, other ranks in proportion.

Was it just a tryout, seed sown in blood-soaked ground to bloom in the distant flower of victory? Or was it the entering wedge, not there and then to be driven home, of a general offensive, a second front?

Success or failure? History alone can make answer. But no one can deny the élan of the leadership, the gallantry of the troops, representative of Canada from coast to coast, who engaged in that assault. They proved worthy of their blood brothers, the men of Bataan.

From the day in 1939 that the First Canadian Division landed in Britain the troops were trained to the offensive. It grew from a division to a corps, from a corps to an army, the most completely armored force in the world today. Its commander, General MacNaughton, who has been mentioned for the supreme command of a second front, is on record as saying the Canadian army is equipped, trained, and designed to be the spearhead of such an enterprise.

The offensive is the historical role of Canadian soldiers. In the dark hours of Ludendorff's drive of March and April, 1918, when every rifle was needed, the Canadian corps was withdrawn by Foch to G. H. Q. Reserve, only a token force being left in the line before Arras. "I do not despair as long as I have my Canadians," he is reported to have said. There, for the next four months, in safe billets far behind the lines, under the

leadership of Sir Arthur Currie, its training was entirely devoted to the spirit and tactics of the offensive. Fruition came on August 8, 1918, termed by Ludendorff "the black day of the German army," when in the Battle of Amiens the Canadian corps broke fourteen miles through enemy lines and so entered upon the series of victories that was to end with the capture of Mons on the eve of the Armistice.

These things being so, it is a trifle disconcerting for a Canadian to read Mr. Mitchell's lines quoted above.

J. F. B. LIVESAY

Clarkson, Ont., September 8

## Post-War Worriers

*Dear Sirs:* I hear much about post-war conditions. But I believe with Paul Mallon that we should concentrate on the war, the business at hand, and take care of post-war affairs after the war is won.

These post-war worriers remind me of a mediocre golfer who is always concentrating on the next shot ahead rather than on his immediate shot. He always winds up second best. Now the one who winds up second best in this war is not going to have much to say about post-war conditions; therefore the post-war worriers, if they are seriously listened to, will not only lose the war for us but find they did all their worrying for nothing, since they will not be consulted on how to run the post-war world.

We hear on every side, "What's going to happen to us after the war?" What are we afraid of? We can make happen just about what we want to happen after we win the war. Let's concentrate on winning and not fill people's minds with forebodings.

The possibility of any change in conditions causes nightmares among some people in high places in the industrial and political worlds. Evidently they have not enough confidence in themselves to feel sure of their position in a changing world—many of them will tumble, no doubt. These are the people who are worrying about the post-war period. They are not worrying so much about the war as about what will happen to them individually after the war.

Most of the men who make up the army are from working families which

do not enjoy particular benefits from the richest country on earth; they love their country, but they dream of better days. Can that be a worry for some of our present leaders who want to shape the post-war world to their particular liking? The boys from the army and the navy will have a lot to say about that. These boys may wonder how some men can have 1,000-acre estates, an army of servants, and a fleet of automobiles while they spend a lifetime acquiring a 50-foot lot with a 5-room house on it. Perhaps the chief worry of some persons is whether the soldiers will continue to support such a lopsided system. They may even insist on a democracy in fact as well as in name.

Let us dissipate the myth that a depression is bound to follow the war. If we can have prosperity in a period of destruction, we can have prosperity in a period of construction, and destruction must be followed by construction. If we agree that every citizen is important and that his welfare has a bearing on the rest of us, then we as a nation can go forward to a way of life heretofore undreamed of.

FLAHAVHAN MARTIN

Amarillo, Tex., September 9

## The Treasury and the Banks

*Dear Sirs:* Harold Mager's article on continued government borrowing from banks was excellent. How absurd it is to expect Leon Henderson to stop inflation while the Treasury and the Federal Reserve cooperate with the commercial banks in expanding the nation's money supply! The whole procedure is nothing short of fantastic.

In 1929 a money supply—currency and demand deposits—of about \$27 billion was sufficient to finance the production of about \$82 billion worth of goods and services. On the same basis \$40 billion would finance an annual production worth \$120 billion. But our present money supply is already about \$54 billion, and at the present rate of increase it will exceed \$80 billion a year hence.

There is no need whatever for further borrowing from banks. But it is already clear that the Treasury cannot rely on voluntary investment in government bonds. What is required is a tax on available investment funds—with an



exemption, say, of \$5,000. Such a tax, at the rate, say, of ½ per cent per month, would force savings into investment and supply the Treasury with all the funds it needs at a very low rate of interest.

I don't think that such a tax would increase spending appreciably during the war. People don't usually spend savings except as a last resort.

GEORGE R. WALKER

Boston, Mass., September 9

## An Indian Answers Russell

*Dear Sirs:* I take strong exception to much in Bertrand Russell's letter on India in *The Nation* of September 5. The letter needs to be particularly examined because coming from a distinguished thinker and a friend of India it is bound to carry much weight.

Mr. Russell complains that the American liberals do not know that "one of the points on which the Cripps mission broke down was the unwillingness of the Hindus to admit that Moslems have the same right of independence from Hindus as the Hindus from Britain." That issue had absolutely nothing to do with Cripps's failure. Cripps failed because Britain refused to curtail the dictatorial powers of the Viceroy, and because it refused to trust Indians with the defense of their land. Cripps admitted in the House of Commons that he never once discussed the minority question with the Congress, though he discussed it with the minorities. Of course Congress objected to Cripps's plan, for it implied Pakistan, and Jinnah rejected it for its failure to guarantee Pakistan, but the negotiations finally broke down over the nature of the interim government, not over what was to come at the end of the war.

There is nothing in common between the desire of a fraction of Moslems for independence from the Hindus and the desire of the overwhelming mass of the Indians to end an alien rule. Hindus and Moslems have religious differences that have recently been accentuated by Jinnah's intransigent attitude. Moslems, prior to the British, lived in India for centuries as rulers of the Hindus and since the British have lived as equals. They belong to the same racial stock and speak the same language as the Hindus. This Moslem talk of independence from the Hindus started only in 1939; since Cripps, it has been made the pre-condition of any negotiations between the two groups.

Mr. Russell further complains that

American liberals "do not face the difficulty of a complete change of government when a Japanese invasion is imminent." Indians never asked for a drastic change that would involve either an election in India or passage of a bill in Parliament. They did ask for a coalition Indian government with real powers given it by convention or gentlemen's agreement. Russell cites Ireland's case to warn that even the grant of freedom may not fully arouse India for the war. He may be right. But without the grant of this freedom the apathy and bitterness in India will certainly play into the enemy's hands. That is the issue.

Russell takes Louis Fischer to task for suggesting that the disparity between the death rate in Bombay and London burns deep resentment and hatred into the soul of India, and for implying that the death rate is entirely the result of British rule. Fischer merely stated a fact in reporting the existence of this feeling among the Indians, without seeking to justify fully those feelings. The grinding poverty in India is largely responsible for the high death rate, and certainly there is connection between poverty and the government of the day in India. It is quite possible, as Russell suggests, that the death rate in Bombay, with a hot climate, will always be higher than in London, but it need not remain so appallingly high.

Again, Russell may be right in saying that there is no reason to suppose that fewer children would die in Bombay under a government headed by a man like Gandhi, who said that earthquake shocks in India were punishment for sin. Yet this attitude of Gandhi's has never prevented him from actively striving to improve the lot of the Indian masses. Gandhi looks upon British rule, too, as punishment for Indian sins, but he doesn't sit idly by. He also believes that India is paying for its sins against the Untouchables, but he does not leave the matter there; he is exhorting the upper classes to abolish this iniquitous system. In fact, in his opposition to British rule Gandhi is moved largely by the conviction that India's social and economic regeneration is no longer possible under the British.

Finally, I take exception to the composition of the commission Russell proposes for the settlement of the Indian question. He suggests an American, British, Chinese, and Russian member. If a British, why not an Indian? Why should one party in the dispute and not the other be allowed to sit in judgment

on its own deeds? Let both parties, Britain and India, give a prior commitment to abide by the decision of an international tribunal. Indian nationalism is neither jingoistic nor exclusive; it is international in its outlook. When Indians talk of independence, they mean the absolute end of British domination, and not freedom from legitimate international obligations and responsibilities as Russell seems to imply.

While Russell is perturbed over the lack of clear thinking about India among American liberals, I am perturbed over the present attitude of the English liberals toward India. I wonder if Russell, too, is going the way of Cripps, Norman Angell, and others!

ANUP SINGH

New York, September 10

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## *The Shape of Things*

THE WIDELY PUBLICIZED CHANGES AT THE War Production Board leave everything where it was before—in the hands of big business men and bankers who have already proved their constitutional inability to give us a total effort. Two new vice-chairmen have been appointed by Donald M. Nelson. They are Charles E. Wilson of General Electric and Ferdinand Eberstadt, a New York stockbroker. Wilson is superior in ability and understanding to Philip Reed of General Electric. Reed was rewarded by Nelson with an important post in London for the incapacity he had shown, first in handling copper, lead, and zinc, then in the conversion of civilian industry to war. In this field his apparent goal was the continuance of business as usual as long as possible. Eberstadt has made a good impression as chairman of the Army-Navy Munitions Board; he is an open-minded man, much above the dollar-a-year average. But neither Eberstadt's record at the Munitions Board nor Wilson's in private industry promises the kind of ruthless subordination of private interest to war production which is needed. Eberstadt succeeds the smug and complacent James S. Knowlson, who shares with Reed the responsibility for delaying the conversion of the radio, refrigerator, and other industries to war. But Knowlson will now be Nelson's deputy on the Combined Production and Resources Board.

★

EVEN LESS PROMISING THAN EITHER OF these two vice-chairmen is Nelson's choice for Rubber Administrator. This is a post for a vigorous, youthful man of independent mind, with the energy to combat the oil and chemical interests. Nelson's choice, William M. Jeffers, is sixty-six. He knows nothing about the rubber industry and seems unlikely to learn. He rose from office boy to president of the Union Pacific, a railroad controlled by W. Averill Harriman, and may owe his appointment to this connection. The Union Pacific is a well-run road, but it is hard to tell how much Jeffers has had to do with that. In recent years he has functioned principally as a glad-hander and speaker for Rotary clubs. An Omaha newspaperman tells one of our editors an illuminating story. When the Burlington, the



Union Pacific's rival, put on its first streamlined train, this newspaperman interviewed Jeffers. Jeffers pooh-poohed the newfangled idea. This does not sound promising. The President's order, unlike the Baruch report, gives the Rubber Administrator power over Jesse Jones—on paper, anyway. It remains to be seen whether Jeffers will have the personal force to boss Jones, a stubborn customer.

✱

WHILE NELSON CLINGS TO THE IDEA OF salvation by dollar-a-year men, independent men in the production setup continue to lose their jobs through his influence. The latest victim of a "get tough" policy which gets tough only with those who try to get tough with big business is Guy Holcomb. Holcomb was chief of the small-business section of the Department of Justice until an angry letter from Nelson reached Attorney General Biddle last week. Holcomb told the Fluorescent Lighting Association in New York that the flare-up was caused by his insistence that WPB officials give some consideration to this type of lighting. It saves current and materials and has been fought by General Electric and other lamp manufacturers. Holcomb challenged Nelson to make the letter public and charged that it was written by John Lord O'Brian, counsel of the WPB, whose firm represented General Electric in the tungsten-carbide case. One may note in this connection that while prosecution of the tungsten-carbide case was postponed on the excuse that General Electric officials were too busy with war work, the same officials found time to bring a patent suit against a manufacturer of fluorescent lighting. Holcomb, like Libbey and Guthrie before him, was guilty of fighting the big-business crowd. That seems to be the only thing that ever arouses Nelson's ire.

✱

RECENT STORIES FROM MOSCOW AND London renew the bitter debate—which feeds the Nazi propaganda machine with juicy chunks of raw material—over the question whether or not the Allies really promised a second front this year. The latest contribution comes from Raymond Daniell in England, who insists that Churchill and Roosevelt disagreed about the wording of the second-front statement issued after Molotov's visit to Washington. Churchill, according to Mr. Daniell, did not like the language of the statement; he thought it might be misinterpreted. The President thought otherwise; and it remained as he wanted it. Its words should be recalled: "Full understanding was reached with regard to the urgent task of creating a second front in Europe in 1942." Mr. Daniell reports that persons agitating for a second front "read into" this sentence "the promise of an invasion of the Continent this summer, while those less easily swayed by emotions analyzed it as possibly meaning that the Russians had been convinced that, urgent as the need

was, the task was too great." The wording of the statement is queer and somewhat tricky, but anyone who can read into it the meaning italicized above rates a medal for imagination. It meant, if it meant anything, that a second front was urgent and was in the making for 1942. In any case that is the way the Russians understood it; and so did ordinary people in Britain and occupied Europe and America. Now, when the chance of a second front in 1942 appears less and less probable, a chill of disillusionment has crept through all these countries, particularly Russia. If Churchill and Roosevelt knew in June that a second front was impossible, or even unlikely, then the statement they gave out was indeed unfortunate, and the Prime Minister should have insisted on changes. The people of Stalingrad fighting in the ruins of their homes have firmly believed the Allies would attack this year in the west. If no attack is made they are not going to be much interested in subtle qualifications hidden in a phrase which was taken as a solemn pledge of action.

✱

THE MORE LAVAL GROVELS BEFORE HITLER the more fiercely the French people resist the policy of collaboration and the more brutally the Nazis attempt to club them into obedient acceptance of the "New Order." The German-dictated decree conscripting French labor has been quickly answered by a new underground offensive against the army of occupation. Last week a bomb was exploded in a theater reserved for German troops, killing one man and injuring thirty. General Otto von Stülpnagel, German commander in Paris, immediately ordered the execution of 155 French hostages as a "reprisal" and proclaimed a drastic daylight curfew in the city. Simultaneously it was reported that large numbers of non-Jewish French citizens, drawn from the German "hostage pool," were being shipped eastward to slave in Polish and Silesian mines. After such demonstrations of the fact that life under German rule is not worth living, it is hardly surprising that more and more Frenchmen are daily risking their necks to kill Germans and sabotage production and transport. Nor is it surprising to find a renewal of French unity in the face of the common foe—a unity illustrated by the joint escape to London of Charles Vallin, vice-president of the Croix de Feu, and Pierre Brossette, former foreign editor of the Socialist newspaper *Le Populaire*. Vallin, like many Croix de Feu leaders, had at first supported the Vichy regime, but Brossette from the time of surrender had played a leading part in the underground movement. In a radio speech to France Vallin said he broke with the Vichy government when he realized that it had morally and physically aligned itself with the enemy. "Is it possible," he asked, "for Frenchmen today to have any opponents other than the enemy of their country?"



CONSCIOUS OF THE MOUNTING ANGER OF his fellow-countrymen, Laval has sought to strengthen his hold on the government machine by a decree giving him personal authority to dismiss any civil servant. In interviews with the press he is exhibiting an increasing truculence, which is perhaps designed to cover up his inward fears. He has answered the outspoken Catholic protests against the deportation of foreign Jews by interning priests and sneering at the hierarchy. "The Catholic cardinals and bishops," he said in an interview with German and other correspondents, "have intervened, but everyone is master of his own trade. They handle religion; I handle government affairs." This is much rougher treatment of the church than anything it suffered in recent years at the hands of the "anti-clerical" Third Republic. After the armistice the Catholic authorities as a whole supported Pétain, in the belief that he would restore France to Christianity. Now they are discovering that a totalitarian regime, which brooks no rival authority, is a more dangerous opponent than a lay democracy. Reports from Vatican circles received via Switzerland indicate that the French clergy are being encouraged to maintain their present stand by the Pope himself. Moreover, it is said, the return to Rome of Myron C. Taylor, Mr. Roosevelt's personal envoy to Pius XII, occurred on the initiative of the Vatican. The subjects under discussion are believed to include not only the position of the Jews in France but the possibility of some action in favor of oppressed religious minorities in occupied countries. \*

SIR SAMUEL HOARE IS LOOSE AGAIN. THE appeaser and former colleague of Laval in the proposed vivisection of Abyssinia is back from his ambassadorial palace in Madrid for a visit to London, and is telling his much-bombed Chelsea constituents that "variety, not monotony, is what we desire in the new Europe, and freedom for each country to choose its own form of government." Not the "monotony" of democracy, in other words, but variety, a pleasant mixture—some democracy here, some fascism there—is what Sir Samuel advocates for post-war Europe. This is especially calculated to please the ears of his Spanish reactionary friends, and perhaps the words are also designed to reach across the border to Vichy, where his old friend Laval operates. The doctrine that each country may choose its own form of government sounds very democratic and is written into Article Three of the Roosevelt-Churchill Atlantic Charter. But suppose countries choose to be fascist? Suppose a defeated Germany chooses to be fascist? The political character of a country's regime is not merely a domestic matter; it is a matter of world concern. Fascism at home inevitably means aggression abroad. That is what the appeasers were so late in recognizing. Hoare and his like do not realize it yet. But those who are fight-

ing this war to defeat fascism will see to it that victory does not mean the continued existence of fascist governments in Europe or anywhere else. Otherwise, victory would be hollow indeed—and temporary.

• ★

OUR NEWS FROM INDIA IS INADEQUATE because of the British censorship there. We had suspected it, but now we have definite confirmation from London. In his article in *The Nation* of September 5, Louis Fischer said that 50,000 Indian workingmen went on strike on August 21 at the Tata munitions works and demanded the release of Gandhi. "This," Mr. Fischer wrote, "has not been reported by the press anywhere." Graham Stanford, the London *Daily Mail's* New Delhi correspondent, has now reported it to his paper, where it appeared on September 18. "The Sheffield of India closed down suddenly in the war effort when workers of the great Tata steel company were seduced into striking," Stanford telegraphed. Apparently the American correspondents in India are pretty sore at not being allowed to wire their papers about such important developments. For Mr. Stanford adds (see the New York *Herald Tribune* of September 19) that "American newspapermen [in India] have complained bitterly regarding the government's policy of not allowing them to cable the facts as they occurred. It would have helped the Japanese; hence I think the American newspapermen were wrong." The real question is: Who helps the Japanese more—the American correspondents by wishing to report the truth on India, or the British by arresting India's national leaders, or Mr. Churchill by his crudely imperialistic speech of last week, when he said that the Gandhi civil-disobedience movement had resulted in "only 500 dead"?

★

VICE-PRESIDENT WALLACE, ADDRESSING A Mexican-American audience in Los Angeles, has just delivered a speech the general effect of which will be to strengthen good-neighborly feeling between this country and Mexico. Certain of Mr. Wallace's remarks, however, may easily be misunderstood in the sister republic. "The Mexican people," he said, "have a profound belief in the Four Freedoms. . . . But if I understand their history and feelings correctly they would add three more freedoms: first, the freedom to buy land at a reasonable price; second, the freedom to borrow money at a reasonable rate of interest; and third, the freedom to establish schools which teach the realities of life." We do not know just what Mr. Wallace means by the second of these points, but there is a danger that the first and third may be regarded as good-natured but unwanted advice on how to sterilize the Mexican revolution. Religious education is prohibited by Mexican law. Nevertheless, it would have been better had the Vice-President praised



the very great achievements of recent Mexican governments in the building of schools. Similarly, close students of Mexican politics would be hard pressed to discover any fervent desire among the peasantry to purchase land. But the least attentive know that the Mexican agrarian reform has granted millions of acres of land in usufruct to peasants who could not have bought even a garden plot. At present when both the form and substance of that reform are under quiet but systematic attack from the Mexican right and center, the Mexican left—the most sincerely anti-fascist section of Mexican opinion—may mistakenly believe that Washington sides with their opponents. It would be a pity if this opinion were allowed to grow, for Mexicans are very likely to remember that we have made no democratic suggestions to the semi-fascist dictatorships of Brazil and Peru.

★

IT NOW APPEARS LIKELY THAT CONGRESS will grant the President's request for power to curb inflation by the October 1 deadline. Major differences between the House and Senate versions of the bill have been ironed out. Although the farm bloc has not yet abandoned its efforts to protect farm interests, the House Committee on Banking and Currency deleted, on the President's insistence, the clause providing for a recalculation of parity prices. Both the House and Senate bills direct the President to stabilize farm prices and wage rates at approximately their present levels, but are sufficiently flexible in language to enable the President and the Price Administrator to meet most contingencies. The House bill permits a 15 per cent upward adjustments in wages to meet the advance in the cost of living since January 1, 1941, but the Senate committee has rejected the "Little Steel formula" as too rigid. Undoubtedly the President will obtain the necessary power over farm prices, but the prospects on the other vital sector of the anti-inflation struggle—the tax bill—remain extremely gloomy. According to Treasury estimates, the Senate tax bill falls short by at least \$6,000,000,000 of the amount needed to eliminate the excessive purchasing power created by the war. Secretary Morgenthau has urged that the Senate Finance Committee reconsider either the proposed tax on spending or a plan for compulsory savings, but the committee seems more interested in shaving down taxes imposed by the House than in doing its share to avert inflation.

★

ACTION ON THE CRUCIAL MAN-POWER front was further delayed last week when the Special House Committee on Defense Migration, after a week's hearings, concluded that no legislation is needed at present for the compulsory placement of labor. The responsible authorities in Washington are becoming more and

more concerned over the almost complete anarchy in our man-power policy. Paul McNutt, chairman of the War Manpower Commission, has declared that strict government control over the distribution of labor is inevitable; and Wesley Lund, division chief under McNutt, has asserted that the country is in danger until the government works out a realistic policy for the division of available man-power between the armed services and the essential war industries. At least part of the responsibility for the existing chaos rests with Congress. Selective Service under General Hershey is set up on a local and state basis by law and is virtually autonomous in its operations. Although in theory "essential men" in war industries may be exempted from military service, actually thousands of key men are being drafted each week regardless of the effect on war production. The War Manpower Commission has assumed complete control over the 2,300,000 federal employees and has "frozen" the jobs of 200,000 loggers and miners in twelve Western states, but it lacks power comparable to that of Selective Service for placing men and women in the jobs where they can best serve the war effort. Congressional leaders may be justified in hoping that this can be achieved largely through voluntary measures. It is inexcusable negligence, however, to fail to provide the War Manpower Commission with the powers needed to meet any emergency requirements of our war industries.

## *Dangerous Indifference*

IN THE 35 states in which primaries have been held, more than 42,000,000 voters were entitled to cast ballots. Less than 15,000,000 were both able and sufficiently interested to do so. One result of this close to record-breaking apathy is that the local party organizations, powerful enough in any case, had things almost entirely their own way. A corollary result is that a Congress of supreme historical importance will be chosen from a field of nominees selected largely by default. Genuine issues bobbed up here and there, but only rarely were they decisive at the polls. An incumbent's voting record on foreign policy before Pearl Harbor should logically have decided his fate in the primaries, and in some cases it did, but taken as a whole, the primaries tested nothing but the candidates' patronage record and the power of local machines.

In the circumstances the net results are a great deal better than they might have been. Among the seventeen Democratic incumbents relieved of their seats by way of defeat in the primaries are such arch-foes of the President as Moser of Pennsylvania, his colleague Martin Sweeney, the pro-Coughlinite Representative from Ohio, and Senator Bulow of North Dakota, a consistent isolationist. Among the Republicans the outstanding victims



of their own isolationist records are Paddock of Illinois, Jarrett of Pennsylvania, Oliver of Maine, Robertson of North Dakota, Youngdahl of Minnesota, and Jenks of New Hampshire.

The severest losses on the Administration side are Tom Eliot of Massachusetts, whose district was gerrymandered from under him and presented to former Governor James Curley, and Luther Patrick, one of the best of the Southern liberals. The retirement of Representatives Faddis of Pennsylvania and Coffee of Nebraska, who tried unsuccessfully for a Senatorial nomination, may be rated as clear gains for the Administration. So is the failure of Leland Ford to grab nomination by both parties in California, a trick he has successfully turned in the past.

Among the hopeful new entries for the November run-off are Will Rogers, Jr., who without campaigning deprived Ford of the Democratic nomination in the Los Angeles district and is an odds-on favorite to win; Dorothy Roosevelt, widow of Eleanor Roosevelt's brother and the choice of Michigan Democrats to oppose the violently anti-Administration George Dondero; Michael Feighan, who took Sweeney's measure in Cleveland; and Daniel Ellison, Baltimore's technically Republican and thoroughly liberal candidate for Congress. The volatile Clare Booth Luce will oppose a tried friend of the Administration in Leroy Downs, who has the backing of labor in Connecticut's industrial Fourth Congressional District.

All told, only twenty-three incumbents were eliminated in the primaries. This means that the all-too-great number of Coxes, Woodruffs, and Hoffmans who have discredited Congress will have another fling in November. Probably the most ominous of these renomination victories are those of Lee O'Daniel, the Texas menace, and Hamilton Fish, whose personal machine outweighed the intra-party opposition of both Willkie and Dewey. The Republican Senatorial primary in Michigan likewise rates high for sheer ugliness. Victory went to Judge Homer Ferguson, but it is a chilling thought that more than 100,000 Michigan Republicans cast ballots for Gerald L. K. Smith.

Balancing these dismal developments are the defeats of Talmadge of Georgia and Blease of South Carolina; Blease tried to oust Burnet R. Maybank from his seat in the Senate by a campaign of racial incitement almost as blatant as the Georgia demagogue's. As much to the credit of Georgia voters as the retirement of "Our Gene," incidentally, is the renomination of Representative Ramspeck.

The absence of men in the armed services, migration of workers in war industries, and gasoline rationing, all played a part in keeping down the primary vote, but combined they could never have reduced it to a third of its potential strength. It took an alarming indifference

to politics to do that. If this indifference persists through the campaign we face the possibility of a Seventy-eighth Congress that might paralyze the President at the height of the war or break him at the peace.

## *A Cure for Complacency*

A CAREFUL reading of the President's sixth lend-lease report should cure any complacency about the aid we are furnishing our allies. Total authorizations are astronomical, but actual exports are puny. Almost \$63 billion in aid has been authorized by Congress, but the total of lend-lease aid in the eighteen months ending August 31 is less than \$6.5 billion. Of this sum, the value of goods transferred and services rendered amounts to little more than \$5 billion. This is the equivalent of one month's expenditure at the present rate of our war production.

It is a humbling experience to examine that \$5 billion more closely. More than \$1 billion is for "services rendered." This includes repairs to shipping, the expense of training British airmen here, and the cost of plant expansions to meet lend-lease orders. The last, probably the most considerable item, adds to our arms-making facilities and is as much help to ourselves as to our allies. The rest of the \$5 billion is "goods transferred," but goods transferred means goods transferred to warehouses in this country as well as abroad. Actual lend-lease exports in eighteen months amounted to \$3,525,000,000, an average of less than \$200,000,000 a month. This is chicken feed in a war of these proportions, a war in which Germany is reputed to be getting production at the rate of \$3 billion a month out of the Reich and occupied Europe.

Consider, too, that this \$3,525,000,000 had to be divided among thirty-five countries and the British Commonwealth of Nations. All the Latin American countries, including the Argentine, are among the beneficiaries of lend-lease. "Currently," the report says, about 35 per cent is going to the Soviet Union, another 35 per cent to the United Kingdom, and 30 per cent to the Middle East, Australia, and other areas. This gives the British Empire several helpings but does not leave much for the Chinese. We do not know what "currently" means, but the talk in Washington, whether true or not, is that very little is going to the Soviet Union because of shipping difficulties and that much material has been shifted to Britain for the opening of that second front, when and if.

It is important for the American people to realize that so far their lend-lease program is pretty small potatoes and that it behooves each and every one of us in any way connected with war work to do our part to speed the flow of aid. Our Washington letter this week



touches on one aspect of the undercover forces that delay aid not only to the Soviet Union but to other allies as well. Every popular organization can do its part by protesting to Congress and other agencies about the conditions disclosed in I. F. Stone's dispatch.

## Stalingrad and Dieppe

BY FRED A KIRCHWEY

CHILDREN in later days will read about Stalingrad as they do now about Thermopylae or Hastings or Waterloo. But only persons alive today can sense, even faintly, the reality of that fierce epic. Many of the houses of Stalingrad are new and had neat front yards; four hundred gray-green Nazi bodies were seen the other day sprawled in the front yards along a single block. Every house is a stronghold concealing Russian fighters; every person fights who can shoot or throw a hand grenade. Homes are stormed like forts; taken, lost, retaken, blown to pieces. Business blocks provide ambush for defending forces; guerrillas can operate almost as well as in forests and mountains. The city becomes a labyrinth of fortifications—flimsy, compared to the real thing, but possible to defend to the last brick, to the last heartbeat.

Stalingrad still holds out as this issue goes to press. And the agony of the Russian resistance begins to touch the nerves of men and women as nothing has done since the siege of Madrid. Some stories of courage and death can be read with detachment, only half believed, pushed out of the mind. Stalingrad cannot be forgotten by any but the most obtuse. The unrelenting ferocity of the attack; the resistance of the Russians that persists beyond all imagining; the knowledge that if Stalingrad falls, much more than a battle is lost—all this has helped break down the emotional defenses of the watching world. Stalingrad has ceased to be the name of a steel town in the Volga valley; it is Manchester, Chicago, Kansas City. Its body-strewn yards are our own; its desperate, valiant people—are they as we? Could we fight so strongly, die so well? We may have a chance to find out. Especially if Stalingrad falls.

A full appreciation of the towering importance of Russia's struggle to the Allied cause has grown slowly. If it had existed a year ago, a second front in Europe would probably have been opened last spring, when the Nazi drive to the east began. Today a second front seems likely to be put off till next spring. Where will the Nazi armies be then? If Stalingrad falls, the Germans will try to find a stopping place for the winter; they will try to stabilize the line and begin to mop up the conquered land. Last year the Russians held them in a bloody embrace and gave them no rest. Will the Red Army have the strength to do the same thing this year?

Russia will not surrender; nor will it make peace. But who can guarantee that it can go on fighting with the ferocity of these past weeks? If Stalingrad falls and no second front seems imminent, the Red Army may be as glad as the German army to accept a *de facto* temporary armistice; to dig in until its supplies are replenished, its troops refreshed and reinforced, and—most important of all—until its Allies begin to fight Hitler in Europe. That such a respite would aid the enemy no one can doubt. It would give Hitler time, too, to reorganize his depleted forces. It would permit him to move masses of men to the west. But at the worst it would be better than the total defeat of Russia, and if Stalingrad falls, a period of relative inaction may be the only alternative to defeat.

The full and frank report of the Canadian government on the Battle of Dieppe throws new light on the problems involved in launching a full-fledged invasion of Europe. The report does not balance gains and losses, but it leaves the impression that the net result was a debit. Among the Canadians, who made up five-sixths of the land forces engaged, there were 3,350 casualties. More than two-thirds were listed as missing; of these a majority are probably prisoners.

The expedition suffered bad luck in a chance encounter with a German convoy which delayed the force scheduled to land east of Dieppe until after daybreak. The troops going ashore at Pourville, two miles west of the town, were able to drive some miles inland before they withdrew. If the expedition had been the spearhead of an invasion, instead of a reconnaissance, a beachhead might have been established at that point and reinforcements landed in numbers, making possible a flanking attack on Dieppe, which proved to be strongly defended against frontal assault.

The raid on Dieppe, however, should not lead to the conclusion that an invasion force would necessarily suffer proportionately heavy losses. Major General Russell P. Hartle, commander of the American troops in Ulster, was quoted in the *New York Sun* on September 18 as saying: "Right now, say in October, we might storm the Continent and lose a couple of corps in doing so, but we would be there and we would push ahead." A couple of corps would mean nearly 100,000 men—a heavy price for a landing. But a second front is not to be had without cost, and the loss of life in the west would be balanced by lives saved in the east, where for more than a year Russian blood has been poured out in unstinting measure.

The question to be asked is not how many men would be killed if an invasion were launched this fall, but rather, would the cost not be still greater and the chance of success still smaller next spring when Hitler may have stabilized the Russian front and shifted a large part of his army to the west?



# Why Cripps Failed

BY LOUIS FISCHER

[In the first half of this article Louis Fischer discussed the withdrawal of Cripps's original promise of a responsible Cabinet government for India and the reluctance of the Indians to consider plans for the future before arriving at a satisfactory settlement for the present.

—EDITORS THE NATION.]

## II

IT WAS to these questions of the present that Congress and Cripps addressed themselves very soon after Cripps arrived in India. Cripps had promised the Congress leaders a real national government. But since the power of such a government would depend on the extent to which it participated in defense activities, this subject was the first to be discussed in detail. Difficulties appeared immediately. In talking of the post-war future Cripps was free from the inhibition of practical considerations. But in implementing Article E\* during the war he had to consult with the Viceroy and General Wavell. On March 30 Cripps wrote a letter to President Azad which began: "I had the opportunity of a short talk with H. E. the Viceroy last night; during which he discussed with me his views as to the implementation of Clause E of the draft declaration."

This had an ominous ring. The rest of the letter bears that out. "The Viceroy," Cripps went on, "would be prepared to consult with Indian leaders on this basis to see whether it were possible to designate an Indian to some office connected with the Government of India's defense responsibilities without in any way impinging upon the functions and duties of the Commander-in-Chief. . . ." This was offensively vague. Apparently matters were being taken out of Cripps's hands. On April 1 Cripps wrote another letter to Azad suggesting that he and Nehru meet with General Wavell. Meanwhile Cripps had decided to go back to England on April 6, but on April 2 he told his press conference that he had postponed his departure for a few days. On the same occasion he denied that he had been faced with the resignation of three British generals if he agreed to the demand for an Indian as defense member of the government. He likewise categorically denied the report that the Viceroy was raising difficulties. The *Hindustan Times* of April 3 declared editorially that "Sir Stafford Cripps's decision to postpone his departure by a few days will be heartily welcomed in this country." The *Hindustan Times* is edited by Devadas Gandhi, Mahatma Gandhi's son, and financed by G. Birla, a rich Indian capitalist at

whose home in New Delhi the Congress Working Committee sat permanently during the Cripps negotiations. "No one who has the interests of the country at heart," the *Hindustan Times* continued, "wants to wreck Sir Stafford Cripps's mission."

General Wavell, General Sir Alan Hartley, and Major General Molesworth, deputy chief of staff of the British army in India, met Azad and Nehru in Wavell's house on April 4 for half an hour. Four of the participants in that interview have described it to me; it was a complete fiasco.

Cripps wired London. The fruit of these and other consultations was the plan submitted by Cripps to Congress in a letter dated April 7. It proposed that "an Indian representative member would be added to the Viceroy's executives"; this Indian "would take over those sections of the Department of Defense which can organizationally be separated immediately from the Commander-in-Chief's War Department." These sections were specified in an "annexure." What were the sections which would be taken away from Wavell and handed to a representative Indian? They were "public relations," "demobilization and post-war reconstruction," the distribution of petrol, "amenities" for the troops, "all canteen organizations," "certain non-technical educational institutions," "stationery, printing, and forms for the army," the reception of foreign missions, evacuation of civilians from threatened areas, economic warfare, and signals coordination.

The Indians laughed. "They were ready to trust us with canteens and the printing of stationery," a well-known Indian leader scoffed. The Congress Working Committee denounced this defense formula as "totally insufficient."

Again the threat of a breakdown. At this stage Colonel Louis Johnson, who had just arrived in India as President Roosevelt's personal representative, entered upon the scene on the invitation of Sir Stafford Cripps. Louis Johnson conferred with Lord Linlithgow, the Viceroy, and with Wavell, Cripps, and Nehru. He finally evolved a second formula, by which "the Defense Department shall be placed in charge of a representative Indian member with the exception of functions to be exercised by the Commander-in-Chief as War Member of the Executive Council. A War Department will be constituted which will take over such functions of the Defense Department as are not retained by the defense member. A list of all the retained functions has been

\* The clause providing for the defense of India in the present war.



agreed. . . ." This formula made it possible for the negotiations to go on.

When the Congress Working Committee received Johnson's formula, it amended it slightly to read as follows:

The Defense Department shall be placed in the charge of a representative Indian member, but certain functions relating to the conduct of the war will be exercised, for the duration of war, by the Commander-in-Chief, who will be in control of the war activities of the armed forces in India, and who will be an extraordinary member of the National Cabinet for that purpose.

A War Department will be constituted under the Commander-in-Chief. This department will take over such functions as are to be exercised by the Commander-in-Chief. A list of such functions has been prepared and is attached.

The Defense Member shall be in charge of all other matters relating to defense, including those now dealt with by the Defense Coordination Department.

With this formula the Congress Working Committee sent along a letter stating that "in view of the war and the obvious necessity of allowing full scope for war operations to the Commander-in-Chief, functions relating to the conduct of the war are delegated to him and are to be exercised by him for the duration of the war. He will, in effect, have full control of these operations and of the war activities of the armed forces in India."

On April 8 Cripps introduced a few changes in this formula and delivered it to the Working Committee. Cripps's formula read:

The Defense Department shall be placed in the charge of a representative Indian member, but certain functions relating to the conduct of the war will be exercised, until the new constitution comes into operation, by the Commander-in-Chief, who will be in control of the armed forces in India, and who will be a member of the Executive Council for that purpose.

A War Department will be constituted under the Commander-in-Chief. This department will take over such functions as are to be exercised by the Commander-in-Chief. A list of such functions has been prepared and is attached.

The Defense Member shall be in charge of all other matters relating to defense in the Defense Department and those now dealt with by the Defense Coordination Department in addition to other important matters closely related to defense.

In the event of any new functions failing to be discharged in relation to defense or any dispute arising as to the allocation of any old functions, it shall be decided by His Majesty's Government.

It will be seen that the two formulas were very close. Whereas the Congress formula provided that the Commander-in-Chief would exercise his functions "for the

duration of the war," Cripps made it "until the new constitution comes into operation." The Congress formula called the Commander-in-Chief "an extraordinary member of the National Cabinet," whereas Cripps called him "a member of the [Viceroy's] Executive Council." As a matter of fact, however, Cripps attached no list of functions. And everything depended on the list. Despite this lapse, the general atmosphere at New Delhi improved, and it appeared that a settlement was near. In fact, press reports went out to America and other countries that a settlement had been reached. Indians and foreigners in New Delhi were optimistic.

At lunch time on April 9 Colonel Louis Johnson helped to arrange an appointment for Azad and Nehru with Cripps at five-thirty that afternoon. It was expected that Cripps would be able to announce to them an agreement on the defense formula. Instead he informed them in a brief interview that India could not have a national government and that he was going home. This was the break.

What had happened?

While in India, Cripps told members of his staff and non-Englishmen too that before he left England he had asked Winston Churchill to remove the Viceroy from office. He had apparently anticipated trouble from the Viceroy. Churchill, according to Cripps, replied that such a step would be inconvenient, and that the Viceroy would not interfere with the negotiations, although Wavell did have the final word on defense questions. Cripps maintained, however, that he had full authority to set up a real Cabinet government in India. On April 9 this authority was specifically withdrawn in new instructions to Cripps cabled from London. Cripps was told therein that he could not go beyond the text of the British government's draft declaration unless he obtained the consent of the Viceroy and Wavell. That explains the collapse of the Cripps mission. The same evening Cripps said that his enemies had defeated him.

Cripps packed his bags. One more important effort was made to retrieve the situation. Throughout the month of February, 1942, watching Japan advance in the Far East, President Roosevelt had taken a lively interest in the Indian question, and when the British Cabinet finally decided to send the Cripps mission to India, the White House dispatched to Churchill a proposal for the solution of the Indian problem. President Roosevelt followed every step of the Cripps negotiations, and when the break came on April 9, he tried to persuade Churchill to keep Cripps in India and resume the talks. But Cripps did not stay.

On April 10, before Cripps's departure, President Azad wrote Cripps a solemn letter. The Congress Party, he said, was "prepared to do without any assurances for this uncertain future" after the war, but Article E regarding the immediate war effort was vague. "When



this vagueness was pointed out," Azad wrote, "you said that this was deliberate so as to give you freedom to determine these changes in consultation with others. In our talks you gave us to understand that you envisaged a national government which would deal with all matters except defense." "But," Azad argued, "the chief functions of a national government must necessarily be to organize defense both intensively and on the widest popular basis and to create a mass psychology of resistance to an invader. . . . Popular resistance must have a national background, and both the soldier and the civilian must feel that they are fighting for their country's freedom under national leadership." Congress had been conciliatory, Azad contended:

With a view to arriving at a settlement, we were prepared to accept certain limitations on the normal powers of the Defense Minister. We had no desire to upset in the middle of the war the present military organization or arrangements. We accepted also that the higher strategy of the war should be controlled by the War Cabinet in London, which would have an Indian member. The immediate object before us was to make the defense of India more effective, to strengthen it, to broad base it on the popular will, and to reduce all red tape, delay, and inefficiency from it. There was no question of our interfering with the technical and operational sides. One thing, of course, was of paramount importance to us—India's safety and defense. Subject to this primary consideration, there was no reason why there should be any difficulty in finding a way out of the present impasse in accordance with the unanimous desire of the Indian people, for in this matter there are no differences among us.

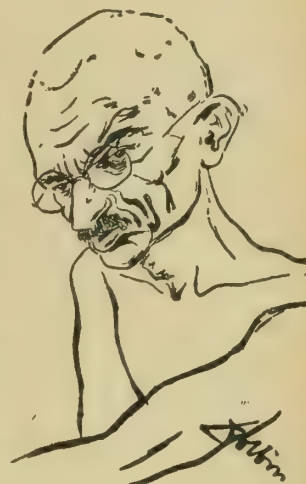
It is clear from the negotiations on the defense formula that the Indians wished to do more for the defense of their country than the British were ready to allow them to do. Gandhi's pacifism did not enter into it. Azad, Nehru, Rajagopalachari, and other Congress leaders are not pacifists, and Gandhi knows it. They wanted to fight the war. Instead, they were told they could run the canteens, print forms, and conduct economic warfare.

Cripps replied to Azad on April 11 stating that Indians would be in charge of internal order, police, war finance, railways, supplies for all the forces, armunitions, propaganda, A. R. P., and labor. But "nothing further could have been done by way of giving responsibility for defense services to representative Indian members. . . . This defense is, as you know, a paramount duty and responsibility of His Majesty's Government. . . ."

"The real substance of your refusal to take part in a national government," he said, "is that the form of government suggested is not such as would enable you to rally the Indian people as you desire." Cripps argued that "a Cabinet government" would require constitu-

tional changes which are impossible in war time and that such a Cabinet, "nominated presumably by the major political organizations, would be responsible to no one but itself, could not be removed, and would, in fact, constitute an absolute dictatorship of the majority."

Cripps was thus introducing the Hindu-Moslem issue into the negotiations. This issue had never previously been discussed in the talks on the immediate war-time arrangements, and it did not have to be discussed. As Cripps himself said, the Cabinet government would consist of persons nominated by "the major political organizations," in other words, Congress and the Moslem League, and if this constituted an "absolute dictatorship of the majority," that is, the Hindu majority, how could you ever get any Indian government in India? For the Hindus are the majority in India, a majority of three Hindus to one Moslem. Cripps was in fact saying that India could never be free and united. He was in fact im-



Mahatma Gandhi

plying that India had to be divided. This is the logical conclusion of what he and many British imperialists have been saying in recent months.

Cripps's other objection was that there could be no Indian national government without far-reaching constitutional changes which would have to be voted by the British Parliament in London. He suggested as a substitute an Indianized Viceroy's Executive Council. But in his first press interview in New Delhi on March 29 Cripps was quoted by the entire press of India as saying that "a good deal could be done by changing the conventions or adopting new ones—he particularly mentioned that the Executive Council could become a Cabinet."

Professor Reginald Coupland, who went out to India in the autumn of 1941 to study its constitutional problems and then joined the Cripps mission, writes in his book on the mission that "the Viceroy alone could determine the composition of a Council with which he would have to work. But it was generally believed that the Viceroy was willing to consider an all-Indian Council," with himself and the British Commander-in-Chief as members. Even this, Coupland states, would require an act of Parliament. But the Viceroy, he continues, "is specifically entitled by the Act [of India, 1935] to dissent from the majority opinion of his Council."

To meet the constitutional difficulty, some British and Indian moderates suggested, and Congress leaders



agreed, that the Viceroy might, if he could be prevailed upon to do so, enter into a gentleman's agreement not to exercise his veto. Professor Coupland, however, declares that such "an undertaking not to use the overriding power would be a breach of the law." When Cripps encountered difficulties in the setting up of a national government he tried to convince Congress that "ultimately there was always the possibility of the members of the Executive Council resigning or threatening to resign if they disagreed with the Viceroy." Congress felt that this was an unhealthy and impossible arrangement by which to conduct serious war-time business. If the party representatives resigned owing to disagreement with the Viceroy, that would be the end of the scheme that Cripps brought to India, and then the Viceroy could appoint a new Executive Council consisting of his own Indian puppets.

It has been argued that such a Cabinet would be irremovable. That is correct. But by whom is the Viceroy's Executive Council removable? Not by the Indian people or any Indian party. Is Churchill removable? In principle, yes; in fact, it would be very difficult. Every majority is irksome to the minority.

The realistic answer to all the constitutional quibbling is this: As Gandhi and everybody else in India agrees, the British armed forces and the American armed forces must stay in India to fight this war. If the British allowed an Indian government to be set up in these circumstances, that government would not exercise complete power. The British would retain a great deal of power, and certainly enough to prevent chaos or a separate peace. The best time for the British to begin the transfer of political power to the Indians is in war time when so much of the physical control of the country remains in British hands. But the British do not see it that way: it is not a matter of legalisms; the will is simply not there.

The Cripps mission, accordingly, boils down to this: Sir Stafford offered the Indians a post-war settlement which they all rejected. For the war, he offered them participation in a Viceroy's Council similar in power to the Council which already existed and in which the Viceroy's voice was stronger than that of its Indian membership. He offered them very limited tasks, such as canteens, etc., in the defense of their country. Congress would have none of it because it was convinced that on this basis the enthusiasm and cooperation of the Indian masses for the war could not be enlisted.

If this is all that Sir Stafford Cripps carried to India, why did he go at all?

I think that Sir Stafford had two hopes. First, that his old friendship with Jawaharlal Nehru and his record as an exponent of Indian freedom would prevail over all practical difficulties. Second, that the gravity of Britain's

military position in the Far East would pry the reactionary imperialists loose from their traditional intransigent attitude toward Indian freedom and enable him to go beyond the text of his offer. So he told the Congress leaders that they could have a real national government not subject to the Viceroy's veto. He told the princes that after the war England would surely get out of India and that they would have to trim their royal sails to the new wind of freedom. He told a deputation of British business men in India which included R. R. Haddow, president of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, Sir J. H. Richardson, leader of the European group in the Central Legislative Assembly, and C. P. Lawson, chairman of the European Association, that their long day in India was done and that in the future free India they would not enjoy special privileges. These British business men protested to British officials in New Delhi and, by cable, to Winston Churchill. The princes likewise stormed. British officials in India and elsewhere refused to countenance a real Indian national government. All these forces pulled wires and brought their influence to bear against Sir Stafford's success.

Cripps knows this better than I do.

Then how explain Cripps's behavior after the collapse of his mission to India?

Cripps's article in the *New York Times* of August 23, 1942, contains innumerable statements which are demonstrably misleading. Like other recent utterances by Cripps, it repeats many of the ancient imperialist arguments which Cripps castigated in his non-official past. Cripps, for instance, now stresses the difficulties created by the Moslem League's position. But when he returned from his non-official visit to India in 1940 he wrote as follows (See "Stafford Cripps, Prophetic Rebel" by Eric Estorick):

The controllers of the Moslem League are drawn almost entirely from the professional, landlord, or industrial class of well-to-do Moslems, whose interests are quite different from those of the Moslem masses. . . . They would like to see the return of the Moslem domination in India, . . . but as this is impossible they have regarded the continuation of British rule as on the whole the lesser of two evil alternatives. The other is the government of India by peasants and workers through adult suffrage and a democratic Indian constitution. They fear this latter alternative even more than they dislike British rule. It is for this reason that they have refused to support the demands of Congress. . . . We must ask ourselves whether the 250 million Hindus are to be denied self-government because 80 million Moslems either are afraid of it or put forward an impractical suggestion for the division of India. . . . In truth, if the 80 million Moslems were left to make their own political decision without any injection of communal animosity, the great majority of them would support the Congress Party's program. In fact, many of them do



today. . . . The attitude that is being adopted today by the British government is that they can and will do nothing further until the Hindus and the Moslems settle their differences. This gives the reactionary leaders of the Moslem League the power to prevent the people of India getting self-government almost indefinitely. It is this attitude that the British government is in fact encouraging whether consciously or unconsciously.

Where is the fine, humane Stafford who wrote those words in 1940? He is in the British government and doing the same wrong to India which he then charged against the British government. For me, this is the saddest phase of the entire Cripps mission. If Cripps had failed and remained the old Cripps, the tragedy would have been much smaller than it is.

I do not know what happened inside the heart and mind of Cripps. I can easily imagine the torment through which he passed. What alternatives were open to him after his failure in India? He might have resigned and attacked the Churchill government. That is a difficult

decision to take in war time. Churchill would undoubtedly have won the battle. Cripps would have been branded a dangerous non-conformist who would not submit to discipline in the Labor Party and who now breaks discipline as a member of the British War Cabinet. He would have been called a bad soldier and a bad loser. It would have been said that he went beyond his written instructions. His immediate usefulness might have been destroyed. His official career might have been cut short—at least for a time. He apparently preferred to stay inside to toe the line. I believe deeply that by doing so he harmed himself and his country. He was the possible alternative to Churchill and the hope of England. He may still be—perhaps this is the star that guided his action. India diminished his chances. But one might understand what he did—without justifying it—if he had at least kept quiet and refrained from adopting all the threadbare, obsolete phrases about India which his dihard colleagues have been using for decades. What a victory they must be celebrating!

## *European Travelogue—1942*

BY ARTHUR MANDELBAUM



AND what's that?" The man with the rough haircut looks maliciously at me, and the swastika in his buttonhole glitters. He pulls one of my wife's gowns out of the trunk, raises it to his nose, sniffs, rips a seam, and says, "You can't take it with you; it's a new one."

My wife tries to explain to him that the gown is not new, but used and altered. He doesn't pay any attention.

The scene is not in Germany, but at the little frontier railway station of Eaux-Vives on the outskirts of Geneva, in "free" Switzerland. Since the main railway lines from Geneva go through occupied France, which can be entered only with the special permission of the German military authorities, that little station is the only door leading from Central Europe out into the world.

Passengers leaving Switzerland have to go through a rigorous German customs clearance. Only used clothing, food for twenty-four hours, a small piece of soap, and twenty cigarettes may be taken across the frontier—no new things or articles that could be used in war.

The Swiss customs official who is ransacking my trunk takes my little amateur camera and gives it to the German officer. The Nazi examines the lens contemptuously and puts the camera back into my trunk. The Swiss soldier on duty at the station, who is helping my wife to repack the trunks, says in a loud voice, "Take it easy, Madame! This will not continue much longer."

A young girl accompanied by a nurse has a box of ten small tubes of medicine. "Not allowed," says the German officer. "But it is absolutely necessary for her," the nurse tries to persuade him. "She needs it once a day; she cannot live without it." The Nazi does not listen.

Somebody has the idea of calling up the German embassy at Berne. After a short hesitation the voice at the other end of the line gives the necessary permission. "But," it says, "one more question: Is she a Jewess?" Having received an affirmative answer, the voice says, "In that case, I can't help. She must leave the medicine here." At that moment the Swiss customs official seizes the box from the hand of the German and without saying a word puts it resolutely into the girl's bag.

What now? everybody asks himself anxiously. But the Nazi acts as though nothing had happened and seems to be very busy with another passenger's trunk.

Our train is the express to the Spanish frontier. Because of the shortage of coal it goes only twice a week instead of three times a day as before the war and for the 500 miles takes eighteen hours instead of seven. Tickets have to be reserved two weeks in advance.

The man at the window in the corridor took part in the Battle of Belgium as a lieutenant in the infantry. "Do you see these men?" He points to a group of young soldiers standing on the platform of a little station. Their uniforms are ragged, their shoes torn. (I saw similar



groups at nearly every railway station.) "They are going to Provence. A new army is going to be assembled there. France has not spoken her last word in this war, yet."

"And the Germans?"

"The *Boches*? They know they have lost the game since they began the Russian adventure. I was told so by many of them. They don't believe in their cause anymore. And how can you carry on with soldiers who have lost faith? France can testify to that. We are only waiting for the right time. And for arms, too."

"What do you think about your government?"

"I'll tell you a story about what happened recently in our town. A young woman who had lost her job was allowed to earn her living by singing patriotic songs in the streets. She stood at a corner of the main street and sang a new song:

Comme la France est belle  
Quand Pétain y règne!

But she did it so apathetically and sadly that she was arrested a few days later."

"Do all Frenchmen feel as you do?"

"The people, yes. But there are beneficiaries of the present regime in every town."

We approach the Spanish frontier, through Argeles, Rivesaltes, and other places well known since the tragic retreat of the Spanish Republican army, hardly three years ago. The concentration camps are still there, filled with Spanish Republicans, anti-fascists, and Jewish refugees.

At Cerbère, the frontier station, the inspection is over quickly. My wife gives the woman inspector some of our sandwiches. She takes them and apologizes, "Only for my children. And please excuse me. When you come back, the war will be over. Then I shall not be here, neither I nor the inspection. Good luck to you in the meantime!"

Children and dogs! They never leave you all through Spain. They creep out of the ruins of houses and look dumbly up at the windows of the train. A little girl lifts her dirty shirt and says proudly, "Can you count my ribs?" The dog at her side seems to ask the same question.

Hunger over Spain! Three ounces of bread a day, yellow corn bread, tasteless, like sand between the teeth. Close-cropped, black-dressed women sit at the street corners, with arms outstretched apathetically, the signs of typhus on their gaunt cheeks, the fever still flaring in their eyes. Hunger next to plenty; in the windows of the luxury delicatessen stores is the finest food—meat, cheese, cookies, candy, chocolate, and wonderful white bread. This is no black market; it is legal to buy as much as you want, at exorbitant prices. A pound of bread, for instance, costs ten pesetas (one dollar). All these marvelous things are under the protection of armed soldiers,

inside and outside the stores. Guards are in every large shop, hotel, and bank. In the foyer of the travel office I saw eight men with fixed bayonets.

In Barcelona we learn that we have to wait some days for our train to Madrid. There is only one train a day, and all seats are taken for several days. In Barcelona in the evening the crowds walk up and down the Ramblas as in happier times. But something has changed. What has become of the gaiety which always resounded in the streets? One meets many crippled young men, victims of the recent war. Franco's men got newsstands and lottery booths. The Republicans may go begging, if they are not confined in one of the numerous concentration camps.

We are ten in the dirty compartment of the train—workmen, peasants, merchants. They amuse themselves by guessing our nationality. And when they discover that we aren't Germans but have been expelled by the Nazis from our country, they compete in showing us their sympathy. In Switzerland we were told to keep our cigarettes for Spain, for the whole of Spain could be bought for a couple of them. But these poor workmen give us their last bit of tobacco so we can roll a cigarette. At the stations they run out to bring us fresh water, lemonade, and fruit. "We are as unhappy as you," they tell us again and again.

One of them asks me when I think the war will be over—this year or next?

"I don't know; in two or three years perhaps."

He bursts out laughing. "Two or three years? No, already it is over. They have lost it."

"Who, the Germans?"

"Sure, no doubt about it."

Suddenly a word runs through the train, from mouth to mouth—Guadalajara! Everybody rushes to the windows. A young man explains: "Here we were, and there was the enemy." The trenches are quite easy to recognize on both sides of the railroad. The man tells simply but impressively about the progress of the battle. "It was here where I was wounded. By an Italian bullet."

Later my wife asks him, "And now? Have you forgotten for what you fought?" And he says, with a delicate smile, but proudly, "Madame, that cannot be forgotten. That is not finished yet." And again, "That cannot be forgotten." The old peasant who has not said a word till now turns to my wife and says, shaking his head, "No, young lady, that will not be forgotten, ever."

It grows silent in our compartment after these words. Everybody is absorbed in his thoughts.

Finally, after eighteen hours, we arrive at Madrid. There seems to be a riot in front of the station. In the confusion the man with my luggage disappears. The policeman whom I ask to help me shrugs his shoulders. "There are plenty of thieves. All these people would



gladly carry your trunks and disappear like your man. Wait here; I'll see what I can do."

Somebody pulls me by the sleeve: my man! He gives me the luggage ticket. "No, Señor, I am not a thief. They are all out of work. And everyone is looking for an occasional job." He asks me whether we have rooms. No, we haven't. "Then come with me. My brother-in-law has a small boarding-house; we can reach it in a few minutes. The hotels are overcrowded. Tomorrow the Caliph of Morocco will be here, and the day after there will be the parade of the Blue Legion, just returned from Russia."

On the way he talks about his family. He is married and has four children.

"Why are you out of work?"

"I was a militia man, and since the war I cannot get a job."

"Are there still reprisals?"

"There are no more mass executions, but if a personal enemy denounces you for having done this or that, they do what they did to my brother a few months ago. They took him out of his bed, and in the morning a police car picked up his body in one of the public parks."

"Do you regret what you have done?"

"Regret it? Never! If it should begin again tomorrow, I would do exactly the same thing as in 1936."

The parade of the Blue Legion was the great event of the summer season in Madrid. In the evening when the soldiers lingered about the town, I had the opportunity to speak to one of them, a young man of twenty-five.

"It was terrible, Señor. The 1,400 boys you saw in the

parade are the remnant of 5,000 who marched out of here last fall."

"You are volunteers, aren't you?"

"Volunteers?" He laughs bitterly. "They picked us from different regiments, a company here, a company there. Nobody asked us whether we agreed or not." Suddenly, without saying a word, he turns away and disappears among the crowd. I look around; two men of the military police are watching me suspiciously.

On the way to Lisbon we have a second-class compartment together with an older couple and their daughter. He is an aristocrat and landed proprietor.

"Yes, Germany will lose this war. Not so soon, but there is no other possible outcome. You see, they are enemies of the church. And the church has always been victorious over her enemies, exactly as in our civil war. I told them, 'You may change everything you want but don't touch the church.'"

"But Russia is an irreligious country, and nevertheless it is fighting against Germany?"

"The Russian government may be irreligious, but the Russian people were always religious and still are. Germany is the Antichrist."

"But your government is helping the Antichrist?"

"We have to pay our debts, Señor. We pay them with blood and food."

And after a while: "Yes, Señor, it is a real shame."

The next day we are in Portugal, a land of abundance. For the first time in years, we can eat our fill.

## Russian Lives and Oil Patents

BY I. F. STONE

*Washington, September 20*

I AM ashamed to report that while the Russians have been fighting heroically in defense of our country as well as their own, we have been giving them a run-around. They have been trying for more than a year to obtain the use of certain American processes and facilities in order to build new plants in the Soviet Union for the production of aviation gas and other oil products. These are especially important now after the losses suffered in the Caucasus. While the Russians give lives, we haggle over oil patents. Months ago they picked some broken-down refineries in Texas and arranged to buy them. They wanted to dismantle them and, with some new equipment, set them up again in the Soviet Union. But many patents are involved in the refining operations of these plants, and many other complications seemed to spring up in the negotiations. The deal has

been hanging fire for months. It is "about to be concluded any day now."

The basic obstacle, in my opinion, is that the big oil companies, while ready enough to sell Russia oil, are unwilling to allow it to use their patents and processes. They fear—so narrow are their horizons in the greatest war of history—that these processes may enable the Soviet Union to sell more oil on the world market after the war is over. Most of our difficulties here arise from just this kind of post-war planning, a subject which seems to interest many sections of big business much more than the war itself. One of the principal instruments of the big oil companies in postponing and delaying this important form of aid to our Soviet ally has been the State Department.

Soviet negotiations for these oil processes began back in January, 1941. At that time the State Department and



the Board of Economic Warfare objected on the ground that the Soviet Union was Hitler's "ally." After June 22, 1941, at least three directives were issued by the President in as many months instructing subordinate officials to give the Russians all possible aid in this field. The State Department, nevertheless, continued to interpose objections. The officials who figure in this anti-Soviet episode are Max W. Thornburg, the department's adviser on international oil matters; A. A. Berle; and Loy W. Henderson. They doubted the Soviet Union's competence in oil production, a field in which it has won the respect of the American oil industry. They questioned whether we could spare the materials the Russians wanted. They suggested that an "expert" be sent to the Soviet Union to investigate. Thornburg is a State Department dollar-a-year man from Bahrein Petroleum, the Persian Gulf subsidiary of the Texas Company and Standard Oil of California.

In the meantime, I. G. Farben's past collaborators in this country and in England seem to have taken over strategic posts in the negotiations. The companies to which I refer are Standard of New Jersey, Shell, Texas, Standard of Indiana, Universal Oil Products, and the M. W. Kellogg Company. They have been slow to help the Soviet Union but quick to take advantage of its necessities. These companies figure in the patent pools dissolved by the consent decree in the I. G. Farben cartel case. On the excuse that joint action is required to do business with the Russians, these companies have pooled the same patent processes involved in that case in a new company called the International Catalytic Oil Processes Corporation. On the same excuse they got clearance from the Department of Justice last fall. In March of this year, just a few days before the I. G. Farben consent decree was filed, they obtained the blessing of Deputy Petroleum Coordinator Ralph K. Davies, a Standard of California man. The Petroleum Coordinator's Office issues "recommendations." "Recommendation No. 42" provides for "cooperative development" of processes by this pool "so that the developments and improvements" may be made available to the Soviet Union! Clever folk, these oil men.

The cast of characters is interesting. Early last fall an adviser was appointed to help the Petroleum Coordinator's Office on Russian affairs. He turned out to be Frank A. Howard, vice-president of Standard Oil of New Jersey. Howard was one of the three defendants in the cartel case. One of the counts to which he pleaded *nolo contendere*, the equivalent in New York and most jurisdictions of guilty, is relevant here. Standard, Shell, and I. G. Farben agreed that "no license for production of petroleum products from coal should be given to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics." It would be too bad, from Hitler's point of view, if the Russians, now that the Caucasus is endangered, had a few plants

beyond the Urals for making synthetic petroleum from coal.

One of Howard's employees has obtained leave of absence to act as associate director of the foreign division of the Petroleum Coordinator's Office. He is William D. Crampton, formerly Standard's representative in France. His name appeared in the documents in the I. G. Farben case dealing with the attempt of the Germans to obtain synthetic-oil rights for occupied France from a patent company jointly owned by Standard, Shell, and I. G. The head of that foreign division is James T. Duce of the California Arabian Oil Company, also a joint enterprise of Standard of California and the Texas Company. All exports of refining facilities and processes, whether by Lend-Lease or the Board of Economic Warfare, must clear through this division. I have no evidence that this power has been abused, and Crampton has on at least one occasion helped speed an oil shipment to the Soviet Union. The one point which can fairly be made is that power over exports has been placed in the hands of men from one particular oil group.

These men, in passing on proposed exports, decide whether the materials can be spared from this country and whether they are technically sound and useful. A Standard Oil or Texas Company man might honestly think some independent process of little value. In this connection it must be noted that independent oil companies with valuable processes have complained to the anti-trust division of the Department of Justice that they could not get clearance on exports to our allies. One process mentioned was a well-known device for reclaiming aviation lubricants. The oil-trust crowd has done its best to discourage its use in this country and does not care to have it shipped abroad. It cuts down the sale of lubricating oil.

When the Senate Patents Committee went into the files of the Petroleum Coordinator's Office, it found a gap between Howard's appointment as Russian adviser and an angry letter received from Harry Hopkins in March asking why there was so much delay on the Russian request for oil facilities. Since then there has been long haggling over royalties and patent rights. The President, Hopkins, Morgenthau, Ickes, Stettinius, and Hull are the top officials involved. All but Hull have shown themselves sincerely anxious to speed aid to the Russians, but that does not seem enough. Some ten years ago H. G. Wells interviewed Stalin. In the course of the discussion, as I remember the story, Stalin said, "In my country the state controls the economy; in yours the economy controls the state." I hope the Soviets will forgive us. The same forces which impede aid to them also impede aid to ourselves. This, if they remember their Marxist primers, is how monopoly capitalism operates in war.



IN STARTING this section our purpose is very simple. We intend to underline the revolutionary character of the war and help develop a political strategy through which the democratic elements in all countries may overcome the forces of reaction and capitulation, and free the peoples of the world from the tragic conflict of fighting under colors not their own.

The section will be a weapon in this political war. It will be turned against the confusions and hesitations of democratic policy as well as against the horrors of Axis rule; against the Quislings who do Hitler's bidding in Oslo and Brussels and Vichy, but also against the potential Quislings concealed in Washington and London and Buenos Aires; against all theories of national dominance, whether of Nazi or Anglo-Saxon origin, which betray the hope of a democratic victory and a people's peace.

Behind this department will be no single personality. It will serve its political purpose only if it succeeds in rallying all people who really understand the character of the present war. We count on them for suggestions and information.—J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO.

## *How to Help France*

BY ANTONIO HUERTA

IT IS impossible for anyone living in a normal political atmosphere to understand the kind of political struggle going on in Europe today—a Europe occupied or threatened by Nazi armies. For more than a year and a half—since the fall of Paris—I have lived the tragedy of France. I might have escaped sooner; I remained partly out of loyalty to other Spanish refugees but even more because of my intense desire to see France slowly awakening to revolt.

To begin with, certain distinctions must be made. Since I came to the New World, I have read much about the divisions within France. From my own observation and the reports of men still working there, I believe that present-day France can be divided into four groups.

There is, first, the group of collaborationists, centered in Paris with a few offshoots in Vichy, Marseilles, Toulon, in that order of importance. In numbers they constitute an insignificant group, perhaps not more than 2 per cent of the entire population of France, but they have at their disposal all the resources of power in the occupied zone and almost all in the unoccupied zone. To this group belong those who have been bought by the Germans, "racists" of every shade, the advocates of the 1940 capitulation, and all those who hate England because it stands for traditional liberalism and parliamentary democracy in Europe. It is a group of captains without soldiers, a collection ranging from Laval to Maurras, and taking in along the way Darlan, De Brinon, Laure, Doriot, Deloncle, Déat, Vallat, and their acolytes Dumoulin, Marion, Delbeque, Luchaire, and company.

Second, there are those whose only policy is to stall for time, who, though they would prefer not to fall completely under German hegemony, are only really interested in remaining in power, and so waver between a half no and a final inevitable yes. This is the group that centers around Pétain; it is not much stronger than the first in spite of the prominent position held by its chief.

Third, there are those who want a victory for the democracies because it seems to them the only chance for a national rebirth of France. This is a large group in which are found army officers, monarchists, and former members of the Croix de Feu. It includes roughly 25 per cent of the population in the occupied zone and some 10 per cent in the unoccupied. Its representative figure is General de la Laurencie, now under arrest. From this section were drawn originally, just after the fall of France, the main elements of resistance.

Fourth, the group that wants an Allied victory in order to reestablish an independent France, but also because victory means, for some, a restoration of freedom, for others, defeat of the hated *Boche*. This group embraces three-fourths of the French population in both zones. In the beginning it did not furnish many recruits for the underground movement; now it supplies them in greater number than the third group.

In the fight against Hitler, what counts are groups three and four. It is to them that Allied propaganda and political action must be directed. And that being the case, it is easy to see why so much of what they have had so far seems absurd and exasperating. No Frenchman from those two groups, which are in active opposition



to Hitler, needs to hear anyone from the United States or England or Canada sing the praises of democracy; for some of them democracy has no meaning, others are fully aware of it. And they do not need to be told in general terms how terrible and cruel the Gestapo is; they know that at first hand. What Berlin delivers in action London does not need to explain in words. The Frenchman who can be mobilized against Hitlerism knows perfectly well where his interests and his duty lie. If he does not seem to act accordingly, it is because he lacks three things—confidence in himself, confidence in the democracies, and arms.

Two years after the signing of the armistice the average Frenchman is still overwhelmed by the collapse of France. It is not so easy to recover from the bewilderment of seeing one's country converted in the space of a few weeks from a great power to a dependency of a most hated neighbor.

Servile Vichy has been quick to take advantage of that despair. Every day it hammers into the heads of Frenchmen these three affirmations: (1) France has been decisively vanquished; (2) France and its allies were responsible for the war; (3) France and its allies must pay for it. On this score little can be done from abroad. The best cure is the ability to pass from depression to action. Once a Frenchman fully joins the illegal movement, he automatically abandons introspection. The best way to help is to make the French understand that their country's heroic effort to become itself again is known and appreciated abroad, to record in broadcasts to France every act of sabotage, to approve and encour-

age declarations of men like Herriot and Jeanneney.

One must know how to talk to France. Many of the addresses that move the speakers in New York and London move nobody in France. That fact should be taken into consideration, especially by the French refugees. They should remember that since they left their country in the summer of 1940 France has traveled a long road. The best thing they can do is to show that they too have learned, that they too recognize their mistakes, and that they are working to build the France of tomorrow.

In general, the propaganda by radio and by leaflet should be abundant in information and chary of commentary. Instead, for instance, of philosophizing on the wickedness of Hitler, it should provide all possible facts of German rapacity and cruelty in France or at the expense of Frenchmen. Give as many facts as possible about Nazi atrocities and about resistance to the Nazis in other occupied countries. Keep in mind that no news reaches France from Norway, from Czecho-Slovakia, from Poland, from the other victims of Hitler. Particularly stress the seizures of food in France for shipment to Germany, because this arouses the indignation of the citizen and, what is more important, the distrust of the peasant. Tell France that this is the principal reason why food was not sent them from America when there was greater possibility of shipping, and that even now it remains the real reason. Deal fully with the matter of the French prisoners, insisting that neither Vichy or Berlin has any real interest in sending the prisoners back to France, because experience has proved that the first thing



TOTAL VICTORY



most of the released prisoners do—even before going home—is to join the illegal movement.

The propaganda must be courageous. It must breathe absolute confidence in victory. And it must denounce unworthy Frenchmen, whatever their rank or position. There must be no vague references to politicians or writers who are working for Vichy; they must be named.

Frenchmen risking their lives for freedom want to know that they have the democracies of the world with them, not in spirit only but in action. The most significant action the United States could take would be to break finally with Vichy and recognize the Fighting French. I deny the validity of the statement that continuing relations with Vichy helps the French people. Vichy alone profits by these relations. Vichy can boast that the most powerful democracy on earth, in spite of being at war with Germany, still considers the government of Pétain the government of the French nation.

Confidence in the democracies will be restored in the measure that they can convince the French people of the straightforwardness of their policy and their willingness to strike in its defense. What France is waiting for is to see the Allies launch an invasion of Europe.

Do Americans know what really impressed the French people about the famous meeting of Roosevelt and Churchill on the Atlantic? I talked with leaders of the illegal movement, people on the street, army officers, and politicians. The Atlantic Charter itself they found a generous document, a little too old-fashioned perhaps, not corresponding to the revolutionary trend of the war, but not bad, after all. But what really impressed them was to see the two great chiefs of the two most powerful democracies meeting in the open sea, surrounded by battleships and cruisers. *There* was strength and hope.

The reactions to the speeches of the war leaders show the same kind of thinking. The leader who exercises the greatest influence in France is Roosevelt. When they speak of "the President," they refer not to Pétain or Laval but to Roosevelt. It is as if they saw in him the President of the world. Well, of all his speeches, the one which most moved the people of France while I was there was the speech of September 11, 1941, announcing that he had ordered the fleet to shoot without warning any submarine or raider discovered within the zone of American security. There again, strength and hope.

The final thing the French need, and lack, is arms. In Paris they shoot anyone found carrying a knife with a blade longer than seven centimeters. But no active Frenchman cares about risks when he has a weapon of his own. He likes to feel in his pocket the gun or the bomb with which he can destroy the *boche* or traitor who tries to search him for arms. Some guns and explosives were dropped from the air by the British and distributed while I was there. But they were so few! Arms must be provided, plenty of them, and soon.

### Warning!

*The Nazi propaganda machine is already preparing for a new blitz following the fall of Stalingrad. Always extremely precise in its objectives, its efforts in the coming weeks will be concentrated on praising the heroism of the Russians and scoring the inability of the democracies to come to their aid. The purpose will be to split the United Nations front on the Russian issue. Already from Buenos Aires comes news that Nazi agents operating in left circles are spreading this line: "Russia is finished. The British and the Americans have allowed it to be murdered. So to hell with the war—let Wall Street and the City do the fighting for Roosevelt and Churchill!"*

## More Power to Himmler

THE introduction of a compulsory labor system in France is intended—so says an article in the Europa Press, a German news agency—"to procure workers for Germany." Actually, the decree is not motivated exclusively by the need for solving the Reich's critical labor shortage. Compulsory labor is a chief instrument of the political war being waged by the Nazis against the labor movement of Europe, which Hitler recognizes as potentially the greatest obstacle in his road to world domination.

Heinrich Himmler, head of the Gestapo, anticipated this plan by more than a year on the occasion of his official visit to Madrid. At that time some of the Francoist officers complained that since the end of the Spanish war sabotage by Spanish workers had reached a point where it was threatening the success of the regime's "recovery" plans. The Gestapo chief replied, "Send them to us. We will teach them to work."

Himmler's aim is twofold: to increase war production in the Reich, and ruthlessly to stamp out sabotage and slow-ups in the factories of the occupied countries now producing for the German war machine. The recent Vichy decree may be considered a prelude to the mass deportation of foreign labor to Germany which will take place in the next few months. Already there have been rumors that the Spanish refugees in France who have not been sent to North Africa to work on the Trans-Sahara railroad are soon to be shipped to Germany. And it is interesting to note that one of the clauses of the Vichy decree applies specifically to foreign workers in France. Moreover, Himmler has been authorized to create a number of special Gestapo brigades whose job it will be to control the foreign workers sent into Germany. The



new brigades will be added to the fifty divisions now under the command of the Gestapo leader inside Germany and in the occupied countries.

As always Himmler has taken advantage of difficulties arising in the Reich to increase his own prestige and personal powers. Just a few months ago, when the demoralizing effects of the British raids on Cologne and Essen began to make themselves felt, Himmler brought forth a "plan for the protection of the civilian population" that overnight put him in command of the *Luftschutz* (air-raid wardens). The *Luftschutz* is a powerful organization started in 1933 partly on the initiative of two German industrialists who were engaged in the manufacture of gas masks and saw in such an organization a way of reaping a tidy profit. By seizing the *Luftschutz* Himmler obtained control of the substantial treasury built up by the organization over a period of eight years, and at the same time found a new way of invading the homes of the citizens of the Third Reich. Today Himmler can send his innocent-looking civilian *Luftschutz* members into any home in Germany without awakening the suspicion that the Gestapo uniform inspires. Under the pretense of instructing the household about air-raid precautions they have an opportunity to do whatever detective work Himmler may require.

Utilizing these devious means, Himmler has made himself the real power in every important department by placing his agents in strategic posts. In the Ministry of the Interior it is Himmler's man, Stuckart, third secretary of state, who makes decisions. In the Ministry of Finance the old Junker Count Schwerin von Krosigk has been replaced for all practical purposes by Secretary of State Reinhardt, who answers directly to Himmler. He is charged with the task of seeing that the Gestapo's treasury is well supplied. To counterbalance Goebbels's influence in the Ministry of Propaganda Himmler has managed to install Dietrich as chief of the press division. Dietrich is one of Hitler's most constant companions and serves as liaison officer between the Führer and Himmler. Similarly Himmler has found places for two of his lieutenants in the Ministry of Education: Amann holds the post of Reich Youth Leader, and Scheel that of Reich Student Leader. And so it goes for all the other branches of the government.

Now through the formation of brigades to oversee the foreign labor being sent to Germany Himmler reaches into a new department, that of Robert Ley, Minister of Labor, whose recent defeatist speeches may well have displeased the head of the Gestapo. Twice lately Ley has departed from his usual pronouncements about "victory" to talk of "the determination of the German people not to capitulate."

Thus Himmler has become the real Minister of Political Warfare in Germany itself as well as in the occupied countries.

## Benes's Achievement

ON THE heels of the British repudiation of the Munich agreement comes word that the Czecho-Slovak German Social Democratic Party, through its members in Great Britain, has taken similar action. In a resolution voiding the stipulations of Munich the party hails Anthony Eden's action of August 5 as a measure affording fresh hope and encouragement to the struggle for Czech liberation.

The resolution points to the fact that Czecho-Slovak German Social Democrats have consistently pronounced the restoration of Czecho-Slovakia's pre-Munich frontiers to be one of their primary political aims. Now, by virtue of the exchange of notes on August 5 between Masaryk and Eden, the problem of the German Czechs has become one with that of all Czecho-Slovakia.

Another group of German Czechs, the German Democratic Liberal Party, in a letter to President Benes, states that the joint declaration of Eden and Masaryk gives "great satisfaction" to all progressive, anti-fascist Czechs, regardless of their mother tongue. The same position has been taken by the Czecho-Slovak German Communists. The fact that these three groups have joined in a common stand is a tribute to the success of Dr. Benes in achieving complete cooperation among the Czech anti-fascist forces.

Such assurances that the German Czechs will not demand frontiers in conflict with the program of the Czech government should level one high hurdle on the cluttered road of post-war planning.

## American "Censorship"

SPANISH Republicans are almost automatically refused visas by the American State Department. Franco Spaniards find little difficulty in entering the United States. A recent arrival from Madrid is the correspondent of the official Franco news agency, E. F. E. He was held briefly at Ellis Island but released after pressure was put on the State Department by Ambassador Cárdenas.

His activities here and his cabled opinions of the United States can best be followed by listening to German broadcasts to Latin America. Recently the Berlin radio announced that the new E. F. E. correspondent in New York had reported his disgust "at what is called freedom of the press" in America. There is no such thing, he said; all you get are official hand-outs and they are full of lies. In Germany, on the contrary, the Franquist reporter continued, he had complete freedom to collect information and to write and send anything he pleased.

Why—in spite of the brutal censorship of which he complains—America's fascist guest is permitted to cable home lying attacks to be broadcast as Nazi propaganda is a question for our own agencies of propaganda to answer. Must continued diplomatic relations with Franco expose the United States to the unchecked activities of his agents working in behalf of Hitler? That such a question needs to be asked at all is a revealing comment on American concepts of political warfare.



# *Fighting for White Folks?*

BY HORACE R. CAYTON

ANY discussion of the problem of Negro morale must start with the paradoxical role which the Negro plays in American life. The position of the Negro in the social structure of the country varies from region to region. In the deep South he is a member of a caste whose status is scarcely in harmony with democratic theory; in the urban North he is set apart to the extent that he usually does not participate in white social activities and a ceiling is placed upon his opportunities to compete in economic and political life. In the North the Negro does enjoy, however, some of the rights, privileges, and protection of the law in common with white citizens. The major difference between the North and the South is that in the deep South the present social order depends upon the subordination of the Negro, while in the North he is an incidental minority problem.

The subordination of persons in a society because of race, religion, or culture is of course nothing new. Many societies, that of India, for example, have existed for centuries under a system in which a person's position is determined at birth. These societies have usually assigned people to a higher or lower position on the basis of certain absolute values. Thus in India when the caste system operated effectively, it did so because the religion which regulated society was accepted by both the higher and the lower groups. The paradox of the Negro in America is that he has a relatively fixed, caste-like status in a society based upon the political principle of democracy.

The slave Negro was not included in the democratic tradition. He was not permitted to be a part of the social and cultural democracy of the new nation born in 1776. This forced cultural isolation prevented the Negro then from identifying himself with the whole society and continued to prevent him, even after his emancipation, from entering that society on an equal footing with the whites. With his increased education and the increased social consciousness of white persons, he has, of course, come to share more and more in the fruits of citizenship.

On the other hand, the Negro's conception of himself and his expectations from the total society have always been in advance of what the social structure would permit. The more educated Negroes have been keenly aware of the contradiction between democracy and racialism. Each increment in education, each rise in status, has brought home to Negroes the discrepancy between these two forces in American life and as a result has heightened the racial consciousness of the

group as a whole and produced frustration, cynicism, and bitterness in many individuals.

This situation has fundamental implications for the problem of morale among Negroes. One of the prime factors in morale is the identification of the individual with the collective enterprise. Having been denied many of the rights and privileges of American citizenship, Negroes are not now psychologically prepared to accept responsibility for the acts of the collective society from which they have always felt isolated. Their attitude is illustrated by the story of the old share-cropper who came to the "Big House" to get his ration of corn meal and fat-back. After receiving his supplies, and just before leaving, he looked at the plantation owner and said, "By the way, Captain, I hear the Japs done declared war on you white folks!" Then there is the story of a small Negro community in the backwoods of Mississippi, none of whose inhabitants could read or write. Not knowing much about the war and being timid about asking white people to explain it, they sent one of their men to a nearby town to see if he could discover, without asking direct questions, what it was all about. After standing around all day and hearing many references to the attempted rape of Hawaii, he returned to his community and reported that Uncle Sam and the Japs were fighting about an "old whore" called Pearl Harbor. This feeling of being alien, of being isolated from the interests of the total society, can be noted among all classes of Negroes. Even those who are more aware of the international issues of the World War share, nevertheless, a deep-seated resentment against their cultural isolation.

Not many Negroes have any strong conviction that the present struggle will improve their status, and without such a conviction morale is necessarily low. As Professor Louis Wirth, the University of Chicago sociologist, has pointed out, "to make great sacrifices willingly a group must have an unambiguous cause for which to struggle. They must be imbued with the feeling that their cause is right, that something desirable will result or something undesirable will be abolished through their collective action." Even the war effort has been marked by many specific instances of discrimination—segregation in the armed forces, segregation of Negro blood in the Red Cross blood banks, the shooting and killing of Negro soldiers in uniform by military and civilian police, and especially the discrimination against Negroes in defense industries. All these things contribute to the



disaffection of the Negro toward the war effort. He compares them constantly with the avowed objectives of the war and recalls his own disillusionment with the results of the First World War. As a matter of fact, in many regions the more frequently the slogans of democracy are raised for the general population the lower falls Negro morale. The general bitterness was summed up by a young Negro who, on being inducted into the army, said, "Just carve on my tombstone, 'Here lies a black man killed fighting a yellow man for the protection of a white man.'" Another Negro boy expressed the same feeling when he said he was going to get his eyes slanted so that the next time a white man shoved him around he could fight back.

Such statements reveal the resentment which has been generated by the Negro's isolation and indicate his lack of identification with the purposes and privileges of the majority group, his growing tendency toward psychological identification with other non-white people, and his hope for a change. The growing identification of the American Negro with non-white people all over the world is no figment of Nazi propaganda. A recent issue of a Negro weekly contained five articles and an editorial on colored people outside of America. One article was on the African trade unions in South Africa; two

were on the Indian situation; one was on Churchill's statement that the Atlantic Charter was not to be applied to colonies held by the United Nations; and one was on Negroes in South America. It may seem odd to hear India discussed in poolrooms on South State Street in Chicago, but India and the possibility of the Indians obtaining their freedom from England by any means have captured the imagination of the American Negro. The feeling throughout the colored world is that there is going to be a change in the status of non-white people, and there is little fear that the change could be for the worse. Whereas for years Negroes have felt that their position was isolated and unalterable, some of them are now beginning to feel that dark people throughout the world will soon be on the march.

The real danger does not lie in the agitation of some Negro leaders or in the very vocal Negro press. In the main Negroes in the United States are a disorganized, leaderless group. The N. A. A. C. P. is made up of a handful of Negro intellectuals and professionals and has no mass following. The church has lost its control over the majority of the urban Negro population. But inspired by the feeling that a change in status for the Negro is imminent, black America is ready for a nationalistic movement such as Garvey's when the right

## WOMEN IN WAR INDUSTRIES



30,000,000



9,400,000



5,500,000



1,750,000



U. S. A.

GREAT BRITAIN

GERMANY

U. S. S. R.

GRAPHIC BY PICK-S



demagogic leadership presents itself.\* In such a contingency the present leaders, even though they were convinced that all demands should be held in abeyance for the duration and were willing to preach this to the Negro masses, would be incapable of exercising any real control over the masses.

Last year, in an article in *Opportunity*, the writer made the following prophecy concerning the problem of building Negro morale:

The problem of maintaining Negro morale will increase in importance as we move closer to the actual war situation. It will doubtless be met by the development of propaganda rather than by any fundamental attempt to change the Negro's social and economic position. . . . The attempt to propagandize the Negro will be fumbling. It will be fumbling because, to my notion, it has not been necessary before for Americans to spend much time and energy meeting the discontent of a large racial minority.

This prediction has been pretty well carried out. Some concrete gains for the Negro are on record—the appointment of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices, the establishment of an aviation unit at Tuskegee and of a naval unit at the Great Lakes Training Station (though they are Jim Crow). These achievements, however, have not done much to improve Negro morale, for traditional American race feeling, plus the fact that the national Administration is supported in its foreign policy by a Congress controlled by Southern politicians, has not only maintained the Southern pattern of rigid segregation but extended it to many fields of social life in the North. Rules of segregation have frequently been enforced as a war emergency where they did not obtain in civilian life before the war.

In the armed forces and to a large extent in industry the Administration has taken the position that a relaxation of the color line would destroy the morale of the majority group. What might be considered the realistic white point of view was expressed in a letter from William A. Krauss, published in *Common Sense* last June. Replying to an article by A. Clayton Powell, Mr. Krauss wrote:

I think that very few white Americans are made happy by the knowledge that they—the majority—are discriminating against a Negro minority. They will agree up to the hilt with Mr. Powell that the condition is lamentable, but they will not agree to what he seems to be driving at: that is, free, full, and cheerful social equality for the American Negro.

Full social acceptance of the Negro is an idea that simply doesn't occur to the white majority. And social

acceptance means far more, of course, than having the Negro in for dinner or inviting him to join the club. . . . Whether in a model world or model army this should or should not be so is, obviously, unprofitable for me or for Mr. Powell to argue—the fact is that in the United States today it is so. It cannot be otherwise, it will not be otherwise, while the majority see the Negro as different.

The very acts which will insure morale for one group may, it is thought, destroy it for another. A large group of white persons in America do not wish to change the position of the Negro. Just as there is a feeling in the non-white world that things are changing, that this is the time to press for gains, so there is a feeling among whites that their position of dominance is being challenged and that they must resist any encroachment on their prerogatives. The problem of building Negro morale, therefore, is one of maintaining the color line—which is considered necessary for the morale of white soldiers, workers, and civilians—while appeasing the rising Negro public opinion with verbal and token gains whenever the tension becomes too great. This difficult task is complicated by the conflict between those who wish to stimulate Negroes from coast to coast to demand complete equality now and those who suggest the organization of a League to Maintain White Supremacy.

Propaganda to raise Negro morale has had little success during the past year. Most of the federal propaganda agencies have been too much in fear of a reactionary, Southern-dominated Congress to devise any adequate approach to the problem. The old Office of Facts and Figures, in order to stimulate Negro morale, produced an all-Negro movie short showing a Negro labor battalion singing while they marched and worked. The film simply antagonized Negroes, since it showed them as laborers rather than fighters, conformed to the stereotype of singing Negroes, and emphasized their Jim Crow position in the army. It would have been much better for Negro morale if the film had not been made. Another federal agency worked on a de luxe and expensive edition of a book about the American Negro, illustrated with color photography, designed to counteract the Japanese propaganda that democracy necessarily means white supremacy. The book, however, could not be circulated in the United States because it might offend Southern Congressmen.

The need for more skilful propaganda and more effective action becomes imperative as the position of the American Negro in American democracy gains global importance. There is a close relationship between the interracial tensions within the United Nations and the course of international events. The present crisis in India is raising the expectations of American Negroes. On the other hand, every bid for status by the non-white people of the United Nations—and every military victory of

\* There has been a revival of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, the old Garvey movement, which focused the attention of several million Negroes on a program glorifying the colored races. Its recent national convention, the first for several years, held in Cleveland in August, was attended by more than 400 delegates. This was the largest convention since the peak of the movement. Considerable attention was given to the application of the Atlantic Charter to Africa.



the Japanese—evokes among the majority group the response of fear and the determination to keep down the dark races.

The problem of the American Negro might be met by force if the Negroes' insistence on equal participation exceeded the willingness of the total society to grant these demands, but in using force the United States, and in fact the United Nations, would lose one of their most powerful weapons—the loyalty of the peoples seeking freedom, regardless of color. Under these circumstances it is difficult to conceive how this country can deal with growing Negro claims without planning a program of concessions. It is true that in the daily press and on the air the Negro is getting more attention than he has enjoyed since the old Abolitionist days. And there is a growing awareness on the part of labor that the Negro problem requires action. In normal conditions all these things would be considered gains for the Negro. But they are sporadic and unintegrated and are insufficient to counteract the apparent inability of the government to set up a comprehensive plan.

Any real change in the morale of Negroes will come only with a real change in the position of the Negro in the social structure of the country. Such a change will involve, especially in the South, a complete revamping of the social relations between the races. That is something which this country will not voluntarily undertake. Unless we are to maintain a society which Edwin Embree has described as "half Nazi, half democrat," the government must intervene with a rational plan. The shape of things to come—the new pattern of race relations—will be worked out on a global basis and will necessitate tremendous internal changes in many countries.

## In the Wind

NOT LONG AGO the *Chicago Tribune*, in answer to critics who accused it of attributing ideas of its own invention to "Washington sources," asserted that the practice of falsifying date lines and authorities has long been accepted in the newspaper business. Leo A. Lerner, a Chicago newspaperman, took the *Tribune's* statement as a challenge and polled editors throughout the country on their attitude toward the practice. Of 410 leading editors who received the questionnaire, 132 responded. Four agreed with the *Tribune* and admitted that their papers often falsified the origins of stories. Two disagreed in principle, but confessed that they occasionally used false date lines. Three returned ambiguously worded answers, and 123 replied that they disagreed with the *Tribune* and never followed the practice.

WASHINGTON OBSERVERS (real ones) believe that the State Department is withholding from the press its knowledge of an agreement between Laval and Hitler to have thousands of Negroes from French colonies in Africa con-

scripted for labor in the Ruhr valley. It is said that a large number of French Senegalese have already been sent to Germany.

CAMPAIGN NOTES: James E. Curley, former governor of Massachusetts, who last week defeated Representative Thomas Eliot in the Democratic primaries, brought a Negro into a Boston bar shortly before the voting and announced, "Gentlemen, here is my opponent." . . . Citizens eager to unseat Representative J. Parnell Thomas, an enthusiastic member of the Dies committee, were faced with an unhappy dilemma in last week's Republican primaries in New Jersey. Thomas's opponent campaigned on a simple platform. He wanted to start impeachment proceedings against the President and then retire to the join the armed forces.

LAST MONTH'S *Harper's Bazaar*, in its "Where Shall We Go?" column, recommends a French restaurant in New York by saying, "Not even in Paris could you get finer food."

THE *LIVING AGE*, which until last June was run on money supplied by the Japanese government, was revealed after the last war to have been a beneficiary of German funds.

A NOTE of revealing frankness appeared in the July 30 issue of *Kritisk Ugerevue*, a Nazi-subsidized Danish weekly. "In order to defeat Russia," it says, "it is not sufficient to conquer territories. The farther the German army penetrates into Russia the greater the demands made on the transport of materials, a fact already noticed in regard to Germany's transport of goods to adjoining European countries. For every 100 kilometers the army penetrates, more locomotives and trucks are demanded."

A NEW EFFORT to combine serious political journalism with tabloid sensationalism will appear on October 7. Amster Spiro, former city editor of the *New York Journal*, is the editor of the new publishing venture, a picture weekly to be called *Graphic*.

WESTBROOK PEGLER continues to refer at least once a week to the American Newspaper Guild as a Communist-controlled organization, completely ignoring the fact that it is now more than a year since "Communist control" was the issue in a Guild national election. Those who were accused by their fellow-guildsmen of being influenced by the Communist Party were voted out of office and a national administration of known anti-Communists was installed.

RUSSEL BIRDWELL, a Hollywood publicity man formerly in the employ of Howard Hughes, is now press agent for Henry J. Kaiser, presumably part of the deal that made Hughes and Kaiser partners. Birdwell is largely responsible for the hundreds of "personality stories" about Kaiser that have recently appeared in the press.

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of \$5 will be awarded each month for the best item.—EDITORS THE NATION.]



# BOOKS and the ARTS

## The Italians at Their Best

*THE REAL ITALIANS: A STUDY IN EUROPEAN PSYCHOLOGY.* By Carlo Sforza. Columbia University Press. \$2.

THE Italians have experienced many strokes of good fortune and many disasters, many glories and many shames during the twenty-five centuries of their written history. Their record embraces Caesar and Punchinello, St. Francis of Assisi and Casanova, Dante and Cagliostro. The most disgraceful of their misfortunes, the most humiliating of their shames, has come with Mussolini: to be subjected at home and represented abroad by a senseless, cruel, and pompous demagogue who, with swelled chest, arms akimbo, jutting jaw, and eyes rolling out of their sockets, has occupied the front pages of the world's newspapers for the past twenty years. And since not a few Italians have been strutting about aping their Duce, the opinion has spread that all Italians are like Mussolini and that Mussolini, as a German scholar would put it, embodies the Italian *Volksgeist*.

In writing his charming book Sforza has been haunted by Mussolini's shadow. When describing the "real Italians," Sforza describes those who are the very opposite of what servile foreign correspondents from Rome and empty-headed, stuffed-shirt visitors have made the Italians out to be.

His book ought to be read not only by the casual reader but by those who wish to devote themselves to Italian studies. There is no page that does not sparkle with flashes of insight and cogent remarks that give the lie to much of the misinformation current on the nature of the Italian people. Whoever has lived in Italy long enough to come in touch with peasants, fishermen, and the common folk of the towns will visualize the men and women that Sforza loves, respects, and describes. It is especially among the Italian women of all classes that Sforza's "real Italians" are to be found.

And yet, not "all" Italians are like Sforza's "real Italians." The "other" Italians also—the Italians of Mussolini's type—whom Sforza tries but does not succeed in ignoring, are "real." They form a large section of the population, especially of those "intellectual" classes that are called intellectual because they have been educated beyond their intelligence and have been made stupid by education. There are among the Italians, as among all other peoples, different streams: angels and devils, men and beasts, heroes and cowards, Toscaninis and Mussolinis. Those whom Sforza calls the "real Italians" are "the Italians at their best." Had they been the only "real" Italians, Sforza would be living in Rome and not in New York.

A chapter on the Italians in America has been added to the American edition of this book, which was first published in France in 1936 and in a second French edition last year in Canada. Sforza would like the generations of Italian

descent in America to be absolutely loyal to their new country but to maintain "cultural and spiritual bonds with the old." "You cannot make a good citizen out of a man who is intellectually and spiritually impoverished by being cut off from the only past he has had. If you do this, he becomes a savage, a bastard, a robot." Sforza will abandon this theory as soon as he realizes that all Americans have had a European past from which they have been or will be cut off.

The "cultural and spiritual bonds" of immigrants can but grow looser and looser from the first to the second, and from the second to the third and fourth generations. They remain firm only among the cultivated classes. What kind of "cultural and spiritual bonds" could ever be maintained in 1942 by an American high-school boy whose grandfather was an illiterate Italian peasant who emigrated to America in 1880?

Cultural and spiritual bonds result in political loyalties only in minds incapable of unraveling the tangled skein of thought and feeling. People who have not been trained for subtle analysis are apt to undergo serious and dangerous moral crises when cultural and spiritual bonds clash with political loyalties. What is happening in this country among the Italian-born citizens and residents, and even among large sections of the younger generation, teaches us that if certain tragedies cannot be avoided today, we ought not to multiply and perpetuate them by keeping alive forever and ever, not only among the cultivated but also among the non-cultivated classes, bonds that might endanger the deepest moral structure of a man.

If all those who have come from Europe to America, that is to say, all Americans, had maintained their "cultural and spiritual bonds" with the country from which they had come, America could never have developed a civilization of its own. It would be a mosaic of disconnected and conflicting "racial minorities," linked not only by "cultural and spiritual" but also by "political" bonds to their European fatherlands rather than to the country where they have settled permanently.

The older generation that came from Italy and is unable to break away from ancestral traditions may be disturbed by the new spiritual features which develop in their children under the impact of the new environment. But they are wrong and the youngsters are right. And men like Sforza ought to tell them so.

I trust that Sforza's book will have many readers. But I also hope that, in his good sense and generosity, he will in further editions elaborate his statements on this point in such a way as to make them worthy of a "real Italian." Let him tell the American citizens of Italian origin that they have no reason to be ashamed of their Italian origin, their muscatel wine, or their spaghetti. Let him tell them that they should inherit and keep alive what is more important than food: the stoical endurance of their fathers under toil, sorrow, and pain, and the humble, sweet, yet



heroic virtues of their mothers. This would be their most precious contribution to the American way of life. However, since they have made this country their permanent home, they ought to become American in culture and in spirit, and the sooner the better. GAETANO SALVEMINI

## Out of Bataan

*THEY WERE EXPENDABLE.* By W. L. White. Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$2.

**T**HEY," in the title of this admirable little book, refers to the seventy men of Motor Torpedo Boat Squadron Three which fought in the Philippines last winter until nothing was left of it. Five men came back and the rest were "expendable." You realize you're expendable, as one of the men explains, when the captain takes you to a machine-gun post and tells you to hold this position, and you ask for how long, and he says, never mind, just hold it.

William L. White, who did some excellent work covering the war in Europe, got the story from the lips of four of the young officers of M. T. B. Squadron 3 who returned, and he tells it in the form of a conversation: their commander, Lieutenant John Bulkeley, talks for a while about their adventures in the waters off Bataan, then his second in command, Lieutenant Robert B. Kelly, cuts in, and so on. It makes about as exciting an evening's reading as one could ask for. With Bulkeley you look up into the Manila sky at the neat, unhurried Japanese bombers and wonder where in hell our fighter planes are, and later you find out where—smashed on the ground by the enemy, just as were those of Poland and France; we had not learned. You go along that midnight when two of the little torpedo boats raid the Japanese fleet in Subic Bay; at first it is utterly black, then there is plenty of light from enemy searchlights and tracer bullets and the flashes of their shore guns—all aimed at you—and by this light you find your way to an enemy cruiser and send a torpedo into her.

The six raiders probably sank a hundred times their own combined tonnage in enemy warships before their gasoline and their torpedoes and their crews and the boats themselves were expended. The men were spending themselves recklessly, heroically, to delay the Japanese even by minutes until our reinforcements should arrive, which they never did. "You don't mind it until you come back here where people waste hours and days and sometimes weeks . . ." one of the young officers started to say, but Bulkeley interrupted him: "People don't like to hear about that." There is not another word in the book about the need of America's waking up, but the tale itself, simply and skilfully put together by Mr. White, is a powerful arouser. People who cheat on gasoline rations or who vote themselves fat bonuses out of war profits should be compelled to read it.

The last three boats of the M. T. B. squadron carried General MacArthur and some other non-expendables to Mindanao, whence they were flown out of the Philippines to Australia. You go along on that ghastly, furtive ride from Bataan down the islands. General MacArthur doesn't look very impressive on the trip, but what seasick general would?

MARCUS DUFFIELD

## The New Siberia

*SOVIET ASIA: DEMOCRACY'S FIRST LINE OF DEFENSE.* By Raymond Arthur Davies and Andrew J. Steiger. The Dial Press. \$3.

**A** BOOK describing modern Soviet Asia is a welcome event in an America where many people still think of Siberia as a place of exile for the political prisoners of the czars.

The authors have given a fairly accurate picture of this rapidly developing area, though the descriptions of natural resources, railroads, new towns, and industrial plants all reflect a political orientation 100 per cent in line with official Soviet policy; most Soviet newspapers point out more shortcomings in the operation of Soviet industry and agriculture and are more frank about difficulties and privations than are Messrs. Steiger and Davies. Their tendency to give the Soviet Union the benefit of any doubt leads in some cases to major inaccuracies. For example, the economic map—a beautiful job of draftsmanship—shows the roads connecting Yakutsk with Okhotsk, Magadan with Verkhne-Kolymsk, and many others as "highroads," whereas the most up-to-date Soviet maps and such literature as is available in the Soviet Union all describe these roads as *gruntovye dorogi*—dirt roads. A certain naivete combines with this enthusiasm to produce such statements as that on page 273: "Were the Soviet Far East to have a population of 20,000,000 instead of the present 6,000,000, Japan would think three times instead of twice before attacking the Soviet Union."

However, after the reader has discounted the enthusiasm and made allowance for the naivete he will find much to enjoy in this survey of a fascinating portion of the earth's surface—a territory as large as the United States, Mexico, and Canada, thirty-five times as large as Germany, almost entirely undeveloped and much of it completely wild. Almost every stage of economic development is to be found somewhere in this vast terrain, which stretches from the Arctic to the sub-tropics. In the Trans-Baikal area crayfish dug out of the permanently frozen subsoil, where they have lain for millenniums, have been restored to life in the laboratory. In Wirkhizia the women used to hatch silkworm cocoons in small bags suspended between their breasts. In Tadzikistan falconry is still the accepted method of hunting small game. The book abounds in such exotic grace notes to its twin themes of industrialization and sovietization.

Mr. Steiger has had unusual opportunities to observe the development of Soviet Asia. He has traveled over large parts of it himself. When he came to Magnitogorsk in 1934, I met him at a May Day banquet for foreign workers. After numerous speeches and vodkas he expressed a desire to see the blast furnaces, whereupon he and I and a burners' brigadier who worked in my gang set out for the plant some time after midnight. We climbed one of the blast furnaces, had a good look at the lights of the construction job, and were descending when we were picked up by an armed guard. Taken to the local GPU station and closely questioned for an hour or so, we were relieved of all our documents and sent home with instructions to appear the next morning at the city GPU office. We presented ourselves somewhat sheepishly at the appointed time. A taciturn offi-



cial returned our documents, after satisfying himself that we were neither saboteurs nor spies, and sent us home with an admonition not to visit the plant after any more banquets. I don't know whether Mr. Steiger got into trouble in any of the other centers of Soviet Asia which he visited, but I feel certain that he made the most of his opportunities; and I imagine that his report is more complete than that of any other Westerner who has tried to do a general book on this subject.

JOHN SCOTT

## The Case for Appeasement

*HOW WAR CAME: AN AMERICAN WHITE PAPER; FROM THE FALL OF FRANCE TO PEARL HARBOR.* By Forrest Davis and Ernest K. Lindley. Simon and Schuster. \$2.50.

THIS book," says the publisher's blurb, "tells the inside story of American foreign policy and covers one of the most critical periods in American history, when our State Department used every weapon in the armory of diplomacy to fight a delaying action on a global scale against the conquering Axis powers." With all respect to the publishers and the authors, this reviewer begs to dissent.

Messrs. Davis and Lindley are distinguished journalists and biographers. They have written a corking good tale which deserves wide reading. It is a true story. But it is not the whole story. This they grant. Its lacunae, however, are larger than they admit. They set out, no doubt, to write an "inside" narrative which would be, in the language of their Foreword, "an independent venture, critical, unofficial, and bearing no imprimatur." But those who write current history from official sources as yet unpublished have only two alternatives: to apply critical judgment to the record revealed to them by a cooperating officialdom and thereby run risks of offending their friends and shutting themselves off from further access to secrets; or to write an uncritical apologia which will demonstrate the rectitude of all decisions made and be highly flattering to those who made them. The authors of "How War Came" chose the second alternative.

This choice does not vitiate the value of their work. But it is not openly acknowledged. The reader must therefore beware. To help convince the American public of the essential rightness of its government's course is a wholly commendable enterprise. Such a task has been frankly undertaken and carried forward to brilliant success in the recent little "White Book of the United States Foreign Policy, 1932-1942," issued by the Committee for National Morale. But to undertake such a task under the guise of a critical, unofficial, and objective evaluation is not quite cricket. Neither can it be regarded as altogether helpful by those who attach more importance for winning the war to the exposure and correction of past mistakes than to the vindication of past decisions which have been right.

"How War Came" is nevertheless an extraordinarily valuable document—especially if read in conjunction, say, with Robert Bendiner's "The Riddle of the State Department"—for it comes very close to representing the most elaborate and adequate justification thus far put forward by the State Department in defense of its record. The "scoops" and

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"revelations" are secondary to the reasoned case in support of a given pattern of policy. It is interesting, but scarcely vital, to know various bits of gossip connected with crucial events—for example, that Stalin convinced Hopkins in early August, 1941, that Russia would hold; that Mrs. Roosevelt didn't know where the President was going when he sailed to meet Churchill; that Churchill, soapy in his tub, said "That should do it" when the President suggested the phrase "United Nations." More important are the revelations that Welles, as early as January, 1941, began warning Oumansky of Nazi invasion in June and that Berlin had long pressed Tokyo toward the policy which found expression at Pearl Harbor. The accounts of Anglo-American relations, of early Administration moves against the Axis, and of the protracted Japanese-American negotiations of 1941 are well done, but add less to what was already public knowledge than some other chapters of the book.

The real value of these pages lies in their able defense of the State Department. There is no full examination of alternative courses of action and few suggestions that the department ever was or could be wrong. Apart from occasional references to "blind spots" and such statements—intended as praise—as "Mr. Hull's world was that of the orderly nineteenth century," there is no unfavorable criticism at any point. Even the Atlantic Charter, with all its shortcomings, is misnamed a "written alliance," staunchly defended as a masterpiece of statesmanship, and compared with Wilson's Fourteen Points to the disadvantage of the latter—a comparison which will be convincing only to those who fail to reread the Fourteen Points and to recall their immediate psychological and military effects. The case for the department, however, as presented by Defense Attorneys Lindley and Davis is a strong one and merits serious consideration.

The case rests upon sundry and somewhat shifting arguments. America was militarily unprepared. The President could not commit the country to action—for example, to keep Indo-China out of Japanese hands or to join Britain in warning Tokyo—without Congressional approval, although this is very close to what he did in the naval base-destroyer deal. Critics of appeasement were "without responsibility." To appease Japan was to buy time. As late as November, 1941, Hull and Welles were ready to "unfreeze" assets and resume gasoline shipments, but Hu Shih and T. V. Soong

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raised such a furor at this new betrayal of China that the proposal was dropped. On policy toward Fascist Spain the book is silent. Concerning Vichy France it dwells on the "personal honor" of the Vichymen, on the touching friendship between Pétain and Leahy, and on the success of Washington in keeping the fleet and the colonies out of Axis hands through "an inexpensive form of insurance." Only Churchill's veto, incidentally, seems to have prevented Hull from insisting on Free French evacuation of St. Pierre and Miquelon. A pro-De Gaulle policy would have been "doctrinaire," "heroic," but "less useful." All appeasement was brilliantly successful and therefore justified.

Leaving aside the moral imponderables, which may well be decisive in this kind of war, and considering only the criteria of an amoral *Realpolitik*, there is but one flaw in the case: time is the ally only of those who know how to use it. The time bought by appeasing Japan was not used by London and Washington to strengthen China or buttress effectively their own defenses in the Pacific but was used by Tokyo to grab Indo-China and prepare the way for the conquest of all eastern Asia. The time gained in appeasing Franco has been used by the Axis to spread its gospel throughout Spain and Latin America. The time won in appeasing Vichy has been used by its beneficiaries to strengthen the Reich and Japan, to attempt the delivery of Syria and Madagascar to the foe, to support Rommel, and to prepare for worse to come. The time now won in appeasing Mannerheim will be used to prepare the complete severance of the Murmansk supply line. So long as the enemy is constantly enabled by grants of time to enhance his power for future attack and to weaken our power for either attack or defense, the purchase of time by the payment of successive instalments of decency, honor, and self-respect, to the delight of all foes and the despair of all friends, remains today what it has been for a decade—a formula for defeat.

The case, in short, is not good enough. It was not enough for the President to explain before Pearl Harbor that the policy of appeasing Japan had "worked for two years." It will not be enough, when Vichy and Madrid join the Axis in open war against us, to explain that the policy of appeasing them "worked" for a time in allegedly delaying their entry into the struggle. It is not enough to say that the Administration had no alternative. Only the gullible will accept such explanations. All others will know that it has been precisely because of the pursuit of such policies by London and Washington year after year that the forces of fascism have been able to conquer most of Europe and Asia and are still today winning the war, with large reserves of "appeased" allies to call upon if the tide of battle begins to turn against them.

Messrs. Davis and Lindley, and the officials for whom they speak, understand Washington. They do not understand Hitler and Hirohito. Despite years of observation, they still do not comprehend the technique whereby the fascist Caesars, with their dupes and stooges in all the puppet states, win victory after victory with the unwitting aid of their enemies. They do not see that appeasement, far from being an answer to this technique, is the *sina qua non* of the technique itself. To this record of tragedy the words of Jeremiah still apply: "A shocking and horrid thing has been

committed in the land; the prophets prophesy falsely, and the priests administer to them, and my people love to have it so. But what will you do in the end thereof?"

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN

## Refinements on a Journal

*WINTER OF ARTIFICE.* By Anaïs Nin. Copper Engravings by Ian Hugo. New York: Gotham Book Mart, Distributors. \$3.

THE father of Anaïs Nin was an elegant, spoiled Spanish musician and composer whom some authorities set in an artistic category above Manuel da Falla's. In her twelfth year he brought her, his wife, and his small sons to New York and deserted them. The little girl was in love or fancied herself in love with her father, possibly because she had received little understanding from him. His brutality profoundly shocked her. To help make the desolation of life endurable she began keeping a journal. She has told us that it was a monologue or dialogue dedicated to him, inspired by the superabundance of thoughts and feelings caused by the pain of his leaving. In her own words, "little by little she shut herself up within the walls of her diary. She talked to it, addressed it by name as though it were a living person, her own self, perhaps. . . . Only in her diary could she reveal her true self, her true feelings. What she really desired was to be left alone with her diary and her dreams of her father. In solitude she was happy."

The diary grew, persisted in the process of her development. It is said actually to comprise fifty-odd sections or notebooks. Fragments which have been circulated suggest that despite monotonies it belongs to literature more thoroughly than does the famous journal of Marie Bashkirtseff. Romantic posturing, narcissistic self-portraiture seem fairly absent here. One feels the effort of truth in the face of curious reticences and obscurities. The vast congeries of prose is lyrically expressive of certain feminine, in instances almost imperceptible, feelings connected with an aesthetic world mainly that of decadent Paris; expressive even more of a feminine self-consciousness strangely enamored of the very state of feeling, yet singularly perceptive of the subliminal and marvelous. The element of the irrational, germane to all lyricism, is included in the style: it is prevalently surrealist. Audaciously it exploits the connotative power of language while presenting the unseen through wild, often far-flung analogies. Still many of these analogies are remarkably exact: that, for example, which reveals the semi-conscious rhythmic unity of feeling between two intimates—almost on the musical level—through an image of orchestral sonorities; or that shadowing forth neurotic conflicts with the symbol of the high strain and hubbub of a giant New York hotel. Taste, indeed, remains in evidence throughout: plainly in the style's refusal, for all its periodic exaltation, to violate the genius of prose, the tone of speech, and fully commit oratory or prose-poetry.

Frequently in these years, we feel, the author must have entertained an impulse to improve on her lyrical diary in the way of unification and impersonality by recasting some of its material in narrative shape, with herself as the center



of an epical event. As frequently, we guess, she must have had moments which revealed not only the growing difference between the imago who was the recipient of her confidences and her actual father but the former's steady tendency to sublimation. Both hunches are corroborated by "Winter of Artifice," the present little volume—sensuously so attractive with its shapely typography, good ink, softly toned paper, and the delicate line engravings by Ian Hugo. With the disposition of some of the material of the journal at a certain distance from her own center of gravity, it exhibits—awkwardly at times but altogether fluently and touchingly—two of these moments of revelation. The first was incidental to her seductive parent's long-looked-for reappearance in her life. In the course of an effective portrait of him we see Joaquin Nin take her to stay in the south of France and her conception of a temporary feeling that he is the person closest to herself. Shortly the disharmony which always had existed between their ways of living grows plain. She becomes aware that she has outgrown her need of him.

The second experience reaches us in the course of an ingenious account of a psychoanalysis. We grasp the event of the partial transference to the physician and the patient's discovery of her own poles of warmth and coldness under different feminine names. We see her new enjoyment of her own body and final disinclination or inability to dissolve her early fixation and completely accept normality in the orthodox sense. The final charmingly imaginative pages tragically reidentify the fixated being who imperiously and jealously holds her allegiance in torment and bliss, in living and keeping her journal. She calls it "the dream": it wears the look of her own individuality, in which as if it were a shell she hears the murmur of life. The suspicion that from the first Anaïs Nin was both something of an artist and a solitary, that her "*beata solitudo, sola beatitudo*" in keeping a journal made her more of both, is inevitable. Journals famously are a resource in solitude, a means of breathing in the desert. Fatally they also are its co-creators.

PAUL ROSENFELD

## A Poet

*ELEVEN POEMS ON THE SAME THEME.* By Robert Penn Warren. New Directions. \$1.

THIS is by far the most distinguished collection of new poems yet issued in James Laughlin's "Poet of the Month" series, and one of the most heartening utterances in poetry altogether for a long time. Warren, as is his custom, reasserts the poet's ancient sovereign right to present himself primarily as a unique individual, implying rather than insisting that he is a creature of his time. Obsession with the peculiar terror that is this century's chief contribution to history has given rise to some great poetry; but it is possible to meet one's own fears too often, however strikingly they may be clad. Warren speaks from a rich memory of his craft and an imagination able to sever itself from the clutch of time and circumstance. This freedom is not laxity: the tone and rhythm are strict, austere, and penetrating as the spirit. Throughout we hear the refrain of apprehension, potential guilt, the social break-up into uneasy atoms—but distilled,

often muted, perceptible through a harmonious personal music. It is conveyed especially well in the four love poems of this collection: less dramatic but subtler, more insinuating, than Auden's on the same theme. Auden makes frustrating circumstance the protagonist; Warren, preserving the context of love, suggests the frustration by a glowing meditative tenderness.

The other seven poems are less moving, though they are equally impressive verbally. Those on general issues verge nearer rhetoric, and a reminiscence of boyhood, otherwise poignant, becomes diffuse toward the end. But all shine with the power that springs from intense emotion controlled by first-rate creative knowledge. This should assure Warren a continuing decent obscurity as long as the making of poets' reputations rests with the established arbiters of bad taste.

FRANK JONES

## CONTRIBUTORS

ARTHUR MANDELBAUM, after leaving Germany, lived and worked in Geneva before coming to this country. He has written for English and American publications.

ANTONIO HUERTA, a member of the executive committee of the Spanish Socialist Party, arrived in Mexico from France on the last ship bringing Spanish refugees.

HORACE R. CAYTON, well-known Negro writer, is the labor editor of the Pittsburgh *Courier*.

GAETANO SALVEMINI is Lauro de Bosis lecturer on the history of Italian civilization at Harvard University and the author of "Historian and Scientist: An Essay on the Nature of History and the Social Sciences."

MARCUS DUFFIELD is a New York newspaperman.

JOHN SCOTT worked as a welder in Magnitogorsk for several years and then became Moscow correspondent of the London *News-Chronicle*. He is the author of "Behind the Urals: An American Worker in Russia's City of Steel."

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN, Woodrow Wilson professor of government at Williams College, is the author of "Night Over Europe: The Diplomacy of Nemesis."

FRANK JONES is teaching classics at Yale. He has contributed articles, poems, and reviews to the *Partisan Review* and the *New Republic*.

PAUL ROSENFELD, well-known critic of art and literature, was one of the editors of "The American Caravan."

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## IN BRIEF

*SUN IN CAPRICORN.* By Hamilton Basso. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.50.

The memory of Huey Long lingers on in an oddly dated little novel about violent politics in Louisiana. If it can happen again, and Mr. Basso must think it can or he wouldn't be writing a book about it, this isn't the novel to warn, terrify, or arm you for the future—perhaps because the bitter pill of political tyranny is too sugarcoated with Southern gentility. But it is pleasant to meet a decent liberal as the hero of a Southern novel, even though his resolution to kill Gilgo Slade, Mr. Basso's fictional Kingfish, isn't entirely convincing.

*DOLLAR COTTON.* By John Faulkner. Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$2.50.

In a novel about a self-made cotton king, Otis Town, John Faulkner runs his brother William a close second for unpleasantness. Town came to the Delta when land was 90 cents an acre; he stayed to amass, and lose, a fortune and become quite a figure in the community as well as in his author's affections. A monomaniac about cotton, he allowed himself only minor pleasures—cheating his field hands, murdering a Negro who objected to being cheated, taking the murdered man's wife. A jolly little monster, and the madness, suicide, and lynching that shortly precede his death put the last bright touches on this portrait of an American pioneer, Faulkner variety.

## DRAMA

**Business—but Not as Usual**

**D**URING the past six months or so the standard cocktail-party, dinner-table question addressed to drama critics has naturally been concerned with the effect of the war on the theater. Making the very dangerous assumption that such polite queries are not merely polite, I generally reply that insufficient evidence has so far been gathered, but that out of the depths of my special knowledge and accumulated wisdom I can draw a prediction: the war will be good for business and bad for art—at least so far as the actual war years themselves are concerned. And if I really haven't yet a great deal to go on, I have at least as much as

the military experts who balance probabilities about Russian resistance or the second front, and I cannot very well go much further wrong.

Take, for example, the case of the first two plays of the new season which are good enough to make a hopeful bid for success. No doubt the years of peace and plenty saw a certain number of serious plays as tepidly laudable as "Morning Star" at the Morosco Theater and a certain number of farces not more subtle or original than the moderately amusing "Janie" at the Henry Miller. But if the fact that they are the most hopeful productions so far be taken together with last year's record, there is some justification for an attempt to find a trend. Both concern themselves directly with war-time conditions; both are rather broad and obvious; both appear to find audiences rather more willing to be pleased than similar plays would have found them a few years ago. Of all this a little more a little later.

"Morning Star" is by the Anglo-Welsh actor Emlyn Williams, who was first introduced to New York as the author of the excellent theatrical thriller called "Night Must Fall" and who later revealed his more earnest side in "The Corn Is Green." It is the writer of the second, not the writer of the first, who is recognizable in the new play, but "Morning Star" is, nevertheless, not nearly so good as "The Corn Is Green." Probably the explanation is simple enough. In "The Corn Is Green" Mr. Williams was concerning himself with a group and a milieu which he knew more intimately than most people know them, and he had, accordingly, something of his own to say. In "Morning Star" he is concerned in a very general way with England's reaction to the war, about which he can neither say anything particularly original nor feel anything more poignant than most of us have already felt. It is all very well to say that a great writer ought to deal with great themes important to many men. But the greater the theme and the more generally people have felt a concern with it the more necessary it is that one who handles it should really be a great writer, and the more obvious it becomes that the mere determination to deal with great themes does not make him one. The big scene of the present play is an air raid which we have now had presented four separate times as the big scene of a war play. The main story, which, by the way, is not any too well integrated with the rest of the action, has to do

with the rather obscure emotional reactions of a brilliant research physician who first resents the war's interference with his work, then tries to find a use for that work in the war, and finally becomes reconciled to the necessity of submerging himself in the general effort. Characters who are interesting chiefly because they are supposed to have just written a great book or made a stupendous scientific discovery are for some reason or other seldom very easy to believe in on the stage, and Mr. Williams's researcher is no exception. More important is the author's purely negative failure to rise either intellectually or emotionally to the occasion. He is certainly not insincere. Neither is his play, as war plays of twenty years ago sometimes were, cheap or facile. It is merely unoriginal and inadequate. The fact that most spectators will probably remember longest and with most pleasure Wendy Barrie as the congenital tart who does her dubious bit by providing solace to bureaucrats in their off hours is in part a tribute to Miss Barrie's good looks and talent. It is also, since the role is a pretty familiar one, a commentary on the failure of the play as a whole.

"Janie" has to do with the misadventures of a Junior Miss in war time. Though (of course) pure in heart, her sophisticated vocabulary and penchant for petting parties raise certain doubts in the minds of her parents. And despite the fact that her father has just written in the small-town paper of which he is proprietor a thoughtful editorial on the necessity of keeping soldiers away from high-school girls, she stages in his absence a party which gets very decidedly out of hand. Once the action is well started, the piece is rather frenetically lively and is often laughable enough if one is in no very critical mood, but though it is obviously inspired by last year's "Junior Miss" it bears, so far as atmosphere and characterization are concerned, about the same relation to that play that a comic strip does to one of Miss Benson's sketches.

The indications are that the present war, like the last one, will greatly increase the public appetite for the easier forms of amusement and provide certain sections of it with a greater than normal ability to pay for them. This, probably means not only a certain prosperity for the so-called illegitimate forms of theatrical entertainment but also, I suspect, some additions to the usually very restricted group of chronic



playgoers. Perhaps, then, it is not merely imagination which leads me to suspect in "Janie," as well as in other recent plays, a deliberate broadening of methods calculated to appeal to a group probably no less intelligent than the usual Broadway audience but with considerably less theatrical sophistication. One also notes that 1942 is much more interested than 1917 was in professedly serious plays about the war. So far, however, such plays have not, for the most part, been conspicuously good ones.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

## RECORDS

COLUMBIA issued one of the great sets of the year (509, \$3.68) in July: Mozart's Symphony K. 504 ("Prague") performed by Beecham with the London Philharmonic. The work offers Mozart's powers at their height—in the long, dramatic introduction, the exuberantly brilliant first movement with its opening theme and later details that are uniquely Mozartian in their exquisitely wrought poignancy, the similarly brilliant finale, and between these two movements the wonderful Andante in which the Mozartian poignancy is exquisitely wrought at length. The performance offers Beecham's sharply, powerfully inflected Mozart style at its most effective. And the recorded sound is excellent, but with balance tipped heavily toward the bass.

One hears sharp, powerful inflection also in Schnabel's playing of Mozart; and it gives the phrases of the piano in the Concerto K. 595 the contours, character, life, significance which they lack as they are rattled off smoothly by Casadesu in the performance of this superb work in Columbia's June set (490, \$4.75). Moreover, even the recorded sound of the piano is lifeless, as well as gritty and rattly not only with the wide-range Brush pick-up but with the limited-range Astatic; the recorded sound of the orchestra is muffled with the Brush, brighter with the Astatic; some of the surfaces of the copy I heard were very bad with the Brush, cleaner with the Astatic; and the pitch wavered on side 4.

Also on Columbia's June list was Mussorgsky's "Within Four Walls" (71367-D, \$1.05) from the "Sunless" cycle, an affecting example of Mussorgsky's subtle recitative-like style in this genre. It is sung by Robeson with vocal magnificence and impressive feeling, though without the richness of inflection

of Rudinov's singing in the Gamut set of the entire cycle. Robeson sings it first in English, then in Russian; and the effect is better with the Russian words.

Another June release by Columbia offered the Overture, Nocturne, Scherzo, Wedding March, and less frequently heard Intermezzo from Mendelssohn's "Midsummer Night's Dream" music, well performed by Rodzinski with the Cleveland Orchestra, and apparently—from the way it sounded on a limited-range machine—well recorded (Set 504, \$4.73).

On Columbia's May list was the fine Prelude in C minor for organ—previously recorded with its Fugue by Schweitzer in Columbia's Set 320—well played now by Commette on a single disc (71366-D, \$1.05). On the limited-range machines on which I heard it the recorded sound of the performance was brighter than that of Schweitzer's, but massive passages were unclear. And two excerpts from Gluck's "Orfeo"—the best known "Che faro senza Euridice" and the lovely "Che puro ciel"—are well sung by Risé Stevens (71365-D, \$1.05).

As for September, Columbia offers Sibelius's Symphony No. 5 (Set 514, \$4.73)—a work that is not without the Sibelius mannerisms and formulas and empty pretensions at profundity, but that is for the most part enjoyable. Rodzinski's performance with the Cleveland Orchestra is the best I recall hearing; and its recorded sound is very good except for a weakness in the lower range that makes kettledrums and string basses often inaudible.

Then there is Chopin's Piano Concerto Op. 11, one of his most beautiful works, which has been available in the magnificent performance by Rubinstein on Victor records, and which Columbia offers now recorded by Kilenyi with the Minneapolis Symphony under Mitropoulos (Set 515, \$4.73). Kilenyi's playing is wholly without distinction and grace; and its clumsiness is made worse by faulty recording, which in addition badly distorts the sound of the orchestra.

The Theme and Variations from Tchaikovsky's Suite No. 3 has some good pages, but is a lesser work of Tchaikovsky. It is brashly performed by Barbiroli with the New York Philharmonic-Symphony, and brashly recorded (X-226, \$2.63). The recorded sound of Reiner's performance of the concert version of "Forest Murmurs" from Wagner's "Siegfried" with the Pittsburgh Symphony (11831-D, \$1.05)

is better; but Reiner makes two cuts, and his treatment of the music is mannered and unsatisfying.

Mendelssohn's "On Wings of Song" and "Morning Greeting" are well sung by Lehmann (17344-D, \$.79).

"Mozart's K. 400," in the first paragraph of last week's column, should have been "Mozart's K. 499."

B. H. HAGGIN

## RECENTLY PUBLISHED

*Americans vs. Germans: The First A. E. F. in Action.* Written by American Soldiers. Penguin. 25 cents.

*The American Way of Life.* By Harry Elmer Barnes and Oreen Ruedi. Prentice-Hall. \$.5.

*Rebels and Gentlemen: Philadelphia in the Age of Franklin.* By Carl and Jessica Bridenbaugh. Reynal and Hitchcock. \$.35.

*A Layman's Guide to Naval Strategy.* By Bernard Brodie. Princeton. \$.25.

*We're in This with Russia.* By Wallace Carroll. Houghton Mifflin. \$.2.

*The Army Means Business.* By Herbert Corey. Bobbs-Merrill. \$.275.

*Fiscal Planning for Total War.* By William Leonard Crum, John F. Fennelly, and Lawrence Howard Seltzer. National Bureau of Economic Research. \$.3.

*Virginia Woolf.* By E. M. Forster. Harcourt, Brace. \$.1.

*So Your Husband's Gone to War.* By Ethel Gorham. Doubleday, Doran. \$.2.

*Frontier by Air.* By Alice Rogers Hager. Macmillan. \$.35.

*4,000 Years of Television: The Story of Seeing at a Distance.* By Richard W. Hubbell. Putnam's. \$.225.

*Santa Fe, New Mexico.* By Ernest Knee. Hastings House. \$.2.

*Poems of This War by Younger Poets.* Edited by Patricia Ledward and Colin Strang. Cambridge University-Macmillan. \$.175.

*Desert Challenge: An Interpretation of Nevada.* By Richard G. Lillard. Knopf. \$.4

*Frank Norris: A Study.* By Ernest Marchand. Stanford University. \$.3.

*Chemical Elements.* By I. Nechaev. Coward-McCann. \$.25.

*The Jews in Spain: Their Social, Political, and Cultural Life During the Middle Ages.* By Abraham A. Neuman. Jewish Publication Society. 2 vols. \$.5 set.

*Sabotage! The Secret War Against America.* By Michael Sayers and Albert E. Kahn. Harper. \$.25.

*A Treasury of Great Poems English and American.* Selected and Integrated by Louis Untermeyer. Simon and Schuster. \$.375.

*The Right Book for the Right Child.* Edited by Carleton Washburne, Miriam Snow, and Mabel Morphett. John Day. \$.3.

*The Death of the Moth and Other Essays.* By Virginia Woolf. Harcourt, Brace. \$.3.



# Letters to the Editors

## We Must Tighten Our Belts

*Dear Sirs:* It seems to me that one important segment of the population has been overlooked in the discussion of new taxes, namely, the white-collar workers and certain professional people, such as social workers, teachers, and clergymen in smaller congregations. The increase in taxes, as I understand it, is for the purpose, in part, of curbing purchasing power. Among certain groups wages have sky-rocketed. Among the first-mentioned they have been almost static.

I am a social worker, and this year my income is about 11 per cent higher than last year. Living expenses are more than 30 per cent higher; anticipated income tax almost 100 per cent more than last year. I'm going to find it terribly difficult to pay, even as a single man, and still live halfway decently. I have already reluctantly cut my contributions to charity, bought no clothes this year, curtailed my war-bond buying, and I still have to reduce my food and rent budget, which was never more than enough for comfort.

Isn't this a point worth considering? What will the white-collar and professional worker do if taxes grow heavier and heavier?

B. H. N.

Dayton, Ohio, September 16

## Unity Before Freedom

*Dear Sirs:* I hope that you will allow me some space in your paper in connection with Louis Fischer's articles on India.

The present crisis in India has for some time been poisoning American opinion against the British. The common belief is that there is a nation of people called the Indians who are clamoring for their independence but who are forcibly kept in bondage by the British. And in the popular imagination Mr. Gandhi is a saint, a hero, and a martyr, manfully struggling against the British "oppressors." This belief is almost entirely false and absurd, and it is a falsehood which tends to have disastrous effects upon Anglo-American relations. Mr. Fischer has, I expect, no intention of confirming and bolstering such ideas, but that, I predict, will be the actual effect of his articles.

I worked for twenty years as a British

civil servant in Ceylon before I became a professor in America. Let me state a few facts. There is no such thing as the "Indian nation." There are an immense number of races in India and over 200 different languages. A Tamil from South India has less in common with a Punjabi than an Englishman has with a Hungarian. Next, there has never been in all history a united, self-governing, free India. Unification has come only once or twice, and only by force of conquest—the British unification and the unification under such Moslem conquerors as the Emperor Akbar. It follows that to create now a free, independent, united India—which is Mr. Gandhi's demand—is a problem of the same order as that of creating a United States of Europe under one free government.

A common delusion in this country is to suppose that Mr. Gandhi's demands are the "demands of India." Mr. Gandhi no more represents the views of the whole Indian continent than some powerful party leader in the United States represents the views of the whole Western Hemisphere. Mr. Gandhi's party represents only the Hindus of British India.

In the light of these facts, what do the Congress Party's demands actually mean? The British are to go. Very well. But they cannot leave the country without any government at all. They must hand over power to someone. To whom? There is no governmental organization in existence to hand over to. The problem of India is the problem of creating one. And the Congress demands that it be a single government of a united India.

Someone will say: Why not leave the creation of the new government to the Indians themselves? To Mr. Gandhi and the Congress? But to let the Congress set up its government would be equivalent to forcing the 94 million Moslems, the 45 million Untouchables, the 6 million Sikhs, and the population of the 562 native states under a government which they detest and which—in the case of the Moslems at least—would probably be resisted with violence, bloodshed, and civil war.

Thus the British cannot solve the problem by capitulating to the Congress. There is only one way that a

solution can be reached. This is by the various Indian parties—Hindus, Moslems, and the rest—getting together and hammering out a form of government on which they will all agree. The collapse of all negotiations so far comes not from an unwillingness of the British to hand over power but from the stiff-necked obstinacy of the Indian parties themselves, particularly the Congress, either to accept any program which the British suggest or to get together and agree on a program among themselves.

In these circumstances there is nothing that the British government can do except preserve order and wait for a more propitious time. It has been suggested that America, or President Roosevelt, should "mediate." I see no objection, though I should have little hope of anything coming of it. But if such mediation is tried, let one thing be clear. It is not mediation between the British and the Indians which is wanted—for the British have already agreed to grant any form of independence the Indians ask for, provided they agree among themselves. The mediation would have to be between the Congress on the one hand and the Moslems and other minorities on the other.

In all this, it is true, I have ignored the issue whether independence should come now or after the war. This is played up by the newspapers and by the Congress leaders themselves, but it is, in my view, a minor question. The real difficulty is to get an agreement among the Indian parties about the form of government. If this were solved, the question of the date would fade into insignificance, would probably resolve itself.

W. T. STACE

Princeton, N. J., September 15

## "Only One Haggin"

*Dear Sirs:* B. H. Haggin's magnificent discussion of the Shostakovich "Lenin-grad Symphony" compels me to write what I have been meaning to write these many years—a fan letter. Subscribers often ask me why I do not include a music column in *Common Sense*, and the answer I give them is always the same: "We can't be satisfied with second best; there is only one Haggin."

SELDEN RODMAN

New York, September 10



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## *The Shape of Things*

WHEN WE SAW THE STATEMENT BY WENDELL Willkie demanding a second front in Europe "at the earliest moment our military leaders will approve" and adding that "perhaps some of them will need some public prodding," we were tempted into one wild moment of unreasoning optimism. "How could Willkie," we asked ourselves, "a personal envoy of the President, traveling with two representatives of the Office of War Information—how could he make so strong a statement if it didn't fit in with American policy?" We put little things together: Churchill's desire that the second-front statement issued after Molotov's visit be modified and Roosevelt's refusal; the obvious eagerness of certain American military men for early action in the west. And it was easy to argue that the President might welcome just the sort of "public prodding" Willkie's remarks, and the worldwide reaction to them, provided. They would strengthen his hand with the British and show the Russians that important Americans are ready to speak out without regard to official hesitations. And the Russians played up magnificently, putting on a show for the American visitor that has never been offered to any other emissary. Would Stalin have sent Willkie to the front and given him information withheld from everyone else if he had not believed Willkie's word carried official weight?

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AND NOW THESE HOPEFUL ARGUMENTS have found astonishing support in the London *Times*, which for the first time comes out clearly for a second front, agreeing with Willkie that continued delay will mean time lost, not gained. This is an impressive change from its previous cautious reserve. It insists upon a second front while the Russian first front still holds. It praises Russia's magnificent tenacity but brushes aside the complacent theory that the Red Army can hold without help from the west. Here again is an "unofficial" opinion which may carry official weight. And it is reinforced by the recent urgent warning issued by the British Broadcasting Company to the French people to evacuate the coastal areas because an "offensive of the United Nations is being prepared." We can imagine with what desperate attention the Russians are studying



these omens and perhaps, like ourselves, allowing themselves the luxury of hope. But all this has happened before. We must remind ourselves that signs, particularly in the political sky, are notoriously unreliable. If Stalin-grad falls and no second front appears to be in preparation, all the encouragement drawn from the words of leaders and the press will be distilled into bitterness. The Russian people will feel that they have been betrayed, and relations between Russia and the West will have been dangerously impaired.

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IN THE ATMOSPHERE OF VICHY INTRIGUE and treachery breed like flies on a dunghill. It is not surprising therefore that Laval, who has made a career of disloyalty to his country and his colleagues, should find his subordinates plotting to supplant him. The story has come to light through the dismissal of Jacques Benoist-Mechin, one of the secretaries of state attached to the office of the Chief of Government, who appears to have been sounding out the Germans with a view to forming with Jacques Doriot and Admiral Platon a triumvirate which would take over the Vichy government. The Admiral, also a secretary of state, apparently was not personally involved in the plot, or perhaps acted as informer, since he is being retained in office. In an interview Laval has declared that his government is "very solid" and will continue its task to the end. But he must recall his own maneuvers to displace Pétain and the way in which he was protected and kept in cold storage by the Nazis until they were ready to insist on his reinstatement. And he must wonder how long it will be before history repeats itself. In order to stave off this evil day he is working hard to satisfy the inordinate German appetite for man-power. Particulars have just been released about an agreement between Vichy and the Nazi authorities for the recruiting of 150,000 French specialists in exchange for the release of 50,000 prisoners of war. Only 20,000 of these specialists have so far been rounded up, and in an effort to induce more volunteers to come forward they are being promised half their French salaries in addition to "generous remuneration" in Germany. Those who fail to respond to government appeals are threatened with mobilization under the new compulsory-service law and warned that this will mean far less favorable conditions.

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THE BLUNT AND UNQUALIFIED ASSERTION of Ralph A. Bard, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, that "we are still losing the war . . . and we should damn well understand it" has struck home as few statements have done since the outbreak of the war. Most Americans know in their hearts that Mr. Bard is dead right. We have been at war nearly ten months. During that time we have undertaken just one offensive action, the recapture of the southern Solomons. The United Nations have

lost the Philippines, Wake, Guam, Singapore, the East Indies, Burma, Kiska, Tobruk, the Crimea, and nearly the whole of the North Caucasus, and are in imminent danger of losing the Volga Valley. Perhaps, as Wavell recently declared, the military situation is nearly stabilized today, but stabilization of present conditions means defeat. The situation on the home front, as Mr. Bard points out, is fully as alarming as on the battlefield. The ten months since Pearl Harbor have not even produced adequate tax legislation: the bill now before the Senate will bring in only about one-third of the revenue needed to prevent inflation. Congress has consistently dodged its responsibility on anti-inflation legislation, the drafting of eighteen- and nineteen-year-old boys, general man-power policy, and many other matters of urgent importance in the war effort. About all that we have to cheer about are the heroic exploits of the Russians and the Chinese, and we have done very little to help either of these courageous peoples.

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THE SILVER BLOC HAS FOR SO LONG HAD its snout comfortably inside the Treasury fence that it is genuinely shocked to find a conflicting interest trying to haul it out by the tail. This situation has arisen because the whole supply of foreign silver, now priced at 45 cents per ounce against the legal floor on domestic silver of 71.11 cents, is being diverted to essential war industries. Jewelers and silverware manufacturers have thus been left in the cold just at the moment when rising incomes have led to a new demand for their products. Senator Green of Rhode Island, a silver-manufacturing center, has therefore introduced a bill to permit the sale of Treasury "free silver"—that is, metal which has not been monetized—at current market prices or the price at which it was purchased, whichever is the higher. The sternest opposition to this proposal is promised by the Western silver interests, whose chief spokesman, Senator McCarran of Nevada, has been brazen enough to suggest counter-legislation raising the legal silver purchase price to \$1.29, its full theoretical monetary value. The obvious effect of such a step would be to increase the profits of the mines and divert still more man-power and materials from the war effort. At the same time we see no particular reason to encourage the manufacture of jewelry and other luxury goods, which must also be regarded as non-essential under present circumstances. We believe, therefore, that Representative Celler of New York, who has introduced a bill for outright repeal of the Silver Purchase Act, is nearer a solution of the problem than Senator Green. If this could be achieved, the Treasury would be freed from its obligation to buy domestic silver and would be enabled to release its hoards, which are probably large enough to fill all the needs of the war industries.



THE INFANT MORTALITY RATE AMONG serious journals is enormous, and for a new magazine to survive a year is not only an accomplishment in itself but a promise of longevity. *Free World*, which published its first issue just a year ago, has already established itself as an outstanding American exponent of the democratic cause. The journal, together with the Free World Association, has won the adherence of a notable group of American and foreign experts and leaders, many of whom contribute greetings to *Free World's* first anniversary issue. *The Nation*, which had the privilege of supporting the idea of the new journal even before it appeared, is happy to add its congratulations to the rest. *Free World* embodies the hopes and ideals for which *The Nation* has always fought; when we wish it long life and success, we are really expressing our desire for a democratic victory and a people's peace. The anniversary number carries among other outstanding articles a discussion of the technical aspects of the second front by Tom Wintringham.

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OBSERVERS WHO NOTED THE FURROWED brow of Henry L. Stimson last Thursday night have concluded that the Secretary of War was jittery over the precarious position of Stalingrad. But the Secretary had a tougher nut to crack. He had promised to decide in forty-eight hours whether or not to permit Sergeant Joe Louis and Corporal Billy Conn to fight a title bout at the Yankee Stadium. The decision called for more than snap judgment. Permission had already been granted once, with the understanding that all receipts were to go to the Army Emergency Relief Fund. But Louis, it turned out, had, after the fashion of fighters and authors, drawn heavily on promoter Mike Jacobs against future profits. So had Conn. Louis also owed his manager, John Roxborough, some \$40,000 and back income taxes amounting to \$117,000. Having already turned over the proceeds of two of his title bouts to army and navy relief, Louis not unreasonably wanted some of the forthcoming receipts to apply against his indebtedness. Whether or not he specifically made the request, officials at Fort Riley promised him just that arrangement. Moreover, War Boxing, Inc., a group of sports writers picked to run the fight, voted after a row to award the fighters at least the amount of their indebtedness to Jacobs and Roxborough, who, incidentally, hadn't asked for anything. Thereupon hell broke loose. Representative O'Toole of New York threatened a Congressional investigation, and Stimson, seeing the handiwork of his subordinates, announced he was shocked. The moral appears to be that a matter of such weight should never have been intrusted to generals and colonels. The Secretary should have seen it through from the weighing in to the final count. Or perhaps the President himself should have taken over.

## Prices and Politics

THE danger of price inflation as an ever-growing segment of our economy was converted to war production was thoroughly recognized more than a year ago. In the fall of 1941 a bill was introduced in Congress giving the Administration power to control prices, but its passage was delayed while the farm bloc battled to secure specially favorable treatment. As a result, when the bill was finally presented to the President, it included a complicated formula which in effect prohibited the setting of ceilings on farm prices at below the level of 110 per cent of parity.

Mr. Roosevelt signed the bill, although not without many misgivings, and shortly afterward the general maximum-price order was put into effect. This action proved very effective in the case of commodities which it was able to bring under control, but owing to the wide margin that still remained for the upward readjustment of most farm prices, it failed to prevent a slow but steady increase in the cost of living. Throughout the summer the President was urged from all quarters to take new measures. Then on Labor Day he sent a message to Congress asking for a revision of the Price Control Act providing him with authority to stabilize farm prices at not less than 100 per cent of parity and warning that, in default of legislative action by October 1, he would have to tackle the problem under his general war powers.

There is no reason why Congress should have rubber-stamped the President's proposals; if it could have concocted a better formula for checking the drift to inflation its proposals would have been warmly welcomed by the public. But what it had no right to do was to yield to the pressure of special interests and put forward a bill which, purporting to stabilize prices, positively encouraged inflation. This is exactly the effect—indeed, it is hard not to say the intention—of the amendment approved in the House by a vote of 205 to 172. For while ostensibly adhering to the President's 100-per-cent-of-parity formula, the amendment orders a recalculation of parity so as to include not merely the wages paid to hired farm labor but the theoretical wages paid to the farmer's family and his computed managerial compensation. The result would be an effective increase in the present parity level to 112 per cent and an increase in the national food bill, according to OPA estimates, of from \$3 billion to \$3½ billion annually. Nor would this be the end, for such an increase in the cost of living would require widespread wage increases and thus automatically bring about a further rise in parity prices.

In the Senate the farm bloc was all ready to push through the same amendment, but the majority leadership beat a tactical retreat and secured a postponement



of the vote. At the time of writing it appears likely, thanks largely to a very courageous speech by Senator Prentice M. Brown of Michigan warning against the dangers of a head-on collision between the President and Congress, that a compromise will be adopted giving the Price Administrator authority to adjust ceilings to allow for increased farm wages. If the voice of that forgotten man, the ordinary consumer, can be raised loudly enough to reach Capitol Hill, the House may also be induced to reverse itself.

But although the situation looks less dangerous than it seemed a few days ago, it is still worth while to consider the forces which have been egging on Congress to flout the national will. The ingenious formula for the recalculation of parity is generally recognized as the work of the "Big Four" farm organizations, which mobilized their Washington lobby a few days after Mr. Roosevelt sent his message to Congress. Foremost of these organizations is the American Farm Bureau Federation headed by Edward A. O'Neal. Allied with it are the National Grange, the National Council of Farmer Cooperatives, and the National Cooperative Milk Producers Federation. By and large they represent and are controlled by the bigger farmers and Southern plantation owners. Once they were willing to play ball with the Administration, but they have bitterly resented the Department of Agriculture's efforts to help the small farmer through the Farm Security Administration.

In their present fight these organizations have received help from an unexpected quarter—the United States Chamber of Commerce, whose president, Eric A. Johnston, told *PM* that it had passed a resolution approving the inclusion of labor costs in reckoning parity. Mr. Johnston is said, also, to have taken part in the policy meetings of the farm lobby. The Chamber of Commerce is a business men's organization, and hitherto no business spokesman has, publicly at least, attacked the general principle of price control. Why, then, should the Chamber back a measure which must hamstring price control and promote inflation? Is it pushing the farmers forward because it dare not openly attack the OPA? Or is its motive to harass the Administration by inflaming relations between the farmers and the New Deal and between the farmers and labor?

This curious tie-up, together with the fact that the supporters of the House amendment included a number of non-farm Representatives distinguished chiefly for their bitter enmity toward the President, suggests that the Congressional "revolt" has been inspired at least as much by politics as by a desire to grab for agriculture a larger share of the diminishing national cake. And the fact that it has achieved some measure of success indicates a criminal lack of responsibility on the part of many members of Congress which we trust will be duly punished on November 3.

## 14 Months and 18 Minutes

IN EIGHTEEN minutes Secretaries Morgenthau and Ickes have finally cleared a letter of intent on an aviation-gas plant for the Soviet Union. Russian efforts to obtain facilities of this kind, as I. F. Stone revealed in last week's *Nation*, had been stalled for fourteen months. Publication of the facts seems to have had an effect. It is shocking to learn that after all these months orders have only now been given for the engineering and architectural blueprints required and that something—perhaps continued haggling over patent royalties—is still holding up Russian efforts to buy two second-hand Texas refineries for shipment to the Soviet Union. The deal for these plants, long shut down, has been hanging fire for many months and is still in the vague "any-day-now" stage. This run-around given the Russians has become a major Washington scandal, and we hope the subterranean anti-Soviet and monopolistic influences responsible will be cleaned out of the government as a result. Drew Pearson, William L. Shirer, and Walter Winchell have given the story publicity over the air, and the charges have been taken up by *PM*. In a follow-up article for that newspaper, Mr. Stone has added new and sensational details.

The most shocking of these disclose the part played by officials in the WPB, the Petroleum Coordinator's Office, the Navy Department, and the State Department in ignoring the orders issued by the President. On July 25, 1941, and again on August 18, 1941, Mr. Roosevelt issued detailed instructions to his subordinates specifying exactly what facilities the Russians wanted and ordering immediate action on these requests. By November subordinate officials had succeeded in shelving the whole program and substituting one calling for second-hand rather than new refining equipment. Even the contracts for these have yet to be completed as we go to press, though fourteen months have passed since the President's original directives were issued.

To the list of obstructionists given in last week's *Nation*, Mr. Stone has added the names of Dean Acheson and Charles Bunn in the State Department; of Ernest W. Reid, the Mellon Institute dollar-a-year man who is chief of the chemicals branch in WPB; of Alex I. Henderson, a lawyer formerly with Cravath, de Gersdorff, Swaine, and Wood who is head of the materials division in WPB; and of Ralph K. Davies and Wright W. Gary in the Petroleum Coordinator's Office. Davies, formerly with Standard Oil of California, is Deputy Coordinator; Gary, formerly of the M. W. Kellogg Company, was until a few weeks ago director of refining in that office. Mr. Stone also charged that E. J. Sadler of Standard Oil of New Jersey succeeded in convincing



Admirals Stark, Reeves, and Stuart that it was unwise to grant the Russian requests. Those who favored the Russians, at least until the barrage of technical objections grew too heavy, were Harry L. Hopkins, Lease-Lend Administrator Edward N. Stettinius, Jr. (who seems to have crumpled most easily), Donald M. Nelson, and William L. Batt. Earl Petty, the oil expert who accompanied the Harriman mission to Russia, and John N. Hazard, in charge of Russian aid at Lend-Lease, deserve commendation for their efforts to help our Soviet ally.

Some of the men who opposed action to grant the Russian requests did so, no doubt, from the best of motives. There were honest differences of opinion as to whether we could spare certain oil facilities, though these objections take on a sardonic grimness in view of all the Russians have managed to spare in lives and wealth in the war against our common enemy. "The shocking thing," as Mr. Stone said in *PM*, "is that these subordinate officials took it upon themselves to substitute their judgment for the President's."

Behind these questions of supply and the technical points raised were considerations of a frankly commercial character. They were expressed by Reid and Henderson at the WPB, by Thornburg at the State Department, and by the Standard Oil official who won the backing of the three admirals. These considerations almost certainly played a major part in the curious reluctance and lack of interest shown by the oil men who dominate the Petroleum Coordinator's Office. Thornburg, a former executive of a company jointly owned by Standard of California and the Texas Company, expressed the suspicion that the Russians were only using the war as an excuse to obtain the precious secrets of the oil companies. (Most of them were long ago made available, through the Standard-I. G. Farben cartel, to Germany, Italy, and Japan.) Reid said frankly that the chemical branch of the WPB opposed the giving of such processes to either the British or the Russians because they would use them to compete with us after the war.

We think this whole affair calls for a complete and thorough investigation by a Senate committee and for the discharge of some at least of the officials concerned. We think Loy Henderson should be recalled from Moscow. We believe that Thornburg should be replaced by an independent man as international oil adviser to the State Department. Reid and Alex Henderson have demonstrated their incapacity at the WPB in many domestic matters, as well as in this affair. Berle has sufficiently shown his anti-Soviet animus to be kept out of negotiations affecting the U. S. S. R. A house-cleaning by Secretary Ickes has been long overdue in the Petroleum Coordinator's Office. A shake-up would show the Russians that forces genuinely friendly to them are dominant in the Administration.

Aside from this punitive action, we think it time a

United Nations joint committee was formed with full power to commandeer and exchange all technical and scientific information. The first job of such a committee should be to give the Russians any and all processes they need as the Axis cuts one supply line after another.

## The Dies "Front"

MARTIN DIES must have seen advance notices of *The Nation's* supplement on Martin Dies, inclosed in this week's issue, for he has just announced, again, that he is about to expose the Nazi "front" groups in this country. It should be easy, in one way, for him to deliver the long-delayed goods, since he himself has been associated with some of the outstanding organizations and individuals which belong in the category of Nazi or at least pro-Nazi fronts. It would be hard, in another way, because his most ardent admirers and supporters have included George Sylvester Viereck, Fritz Kuhn, William Dudley Pelley (since summarily removed by FBI indictments), Gerald L. K. Smith, George Deatherage, and Father Coughlin. There is, however, one new element in Dies's most recent repetition of his old promise to expose fascism. He offers in advance an extenuation for membership in Nazi "front" organizations that he has never allowed in his exposures of Communist "fronts"—and to him the whole New Deal is such a front. Mr. Dies says that "many members of these organizations are neither Nazis nor Nazi sympathizers but have been duped into joining because some of the ostensible principles of the organizations appealed to them." Many of the groups, he goes on, protesting too much, were formed for "ostensibly laudable purposes and to accomplish so-called patriotic objectives."

Frankly we don't believe Dies can or will tell us anything new about fascist fronts, and *The Nation* supplement explains why. There is nothing in his record as a seeker of publicity to show that he would hesitate to denounce his friends or former friends and platform mates if that seemed the only way of continuing his career. What the record of his point of view, his associates, and his activities does show is that Dies is so close to being a fascist himself that he is incapable of recognizing a William Dudley Pelley as a menace until the FBI labels him one by putting him in jail. To Dies, the believer in white supremacy, the hater of labor and aliens, the enemy of the New Deal, Pelley's purposes probably seemed laudable and his aims patriotic.

It is all too characteristic that Dies's vague new promise to expose the Nazi fronts came two days after another of his specific attacks, complete with names, on nineteen government employees who, he says, are subversive. As usual his evidence consists of his assertion



that they are members of groups under the control of the Communist Party. One at least of those named is no longer a government employee. Many of the others are known to be strongly anti-Communist. Some of them, to judge by Dies's previous performances, are probably guilty of no more than being on a mailing list; it is just possible that a few were "duped into joining because some of the ostensible principles of the organizations appealed to them." To Dies all are guilty—and stand publicly branded—until they are proved innocent, though he carefully explains that members of Nazi "fronts" must be considered innocent until they are proved guilty.

How much longer is the Congress of the United States going to finance the political maneuvers of a man who is pro-fascist in the deepest and most dangerous sense of the word?

## *The Man-Power Crisis*

THE long-anticipated crisis in man-power is at hand. Secretary Wickard has warned the House Agriculture Committee that the United States faces a serious food shortage unless prompt action is taken to solve the critical farm-labor problem. Paul V. McNutt, chairman of the War Manpower Commission, has declared that a general labor shortage already exists in thirty-five of the country's war-production centers. The Selective Service quotas during the past few months have been much higher than was anticipated six months ago, and may continue to rise. Employment during July, after making allowances for the armed services, totaled 57,200,000. This was 3,600,000 higher than the figure for July, 1941, and nearly 10,000,000 higher than July, 1940. And in many war industries production is just beginning to get under way. In the automotive industry, for example, the July employment of 824,000 was only 59 per cent of the expected total of 1,400,000. Shipbuilding and airplane production—as evidenced by the recent labor demands of the H. J. Kaiser organization—are still expanding rapidly. It is probable that the demand for man-power for war purposes will expand by another four million before the early months of 1943.

If this demand is to be filled so that our war-production program can continue without interruption, at least four things must be done. First, steps must be taken to use our existing supply of man-power more efficiently. Much of the demand for labor today is concentrated in a few centers, while the supply is scattered over the whole country. Some employers are "hoarding" skilled workers that are badly needed elsewhere. Despite restrictions, "pirating" of skilled labor continues. Where there is no pirating, labor turnover is often high because of the lack of housing. Faulty schedules of production and the irregular flow of materials often cause lay-

offs and undermine morale. Finally, the man-power shortage is aggravated by illegal discrimination against Negroes and other minority groups. The War Manpower Commission has attempted to remedy many of these maladjustments—its most drastic action being the "freezing" of workers in the lumber and metal industries of the West. But, despite its efforts, most of the difficulties remain.

Second, a clear policy is needed on the draft deferment of essential men in war production. Although measures have been taken to prevent the voluntary enlistment of men in classes 2-a, 2-b, and 3-b, we have as yet nothing approaching a national policy for protecting vital industries and agriculture against unwarranted losses. Nor have we an over-all policy balancing the total man-power demands of the army and navy against the crucial requirements of the war industries, which must supply not only our own demands for munitions but those of the other United Nations.

In the third place, a good deal more preparation must be made for the employment of women. Margaret Hickey, chairman of the newly formed Women's Policy Commission, recently asserted that five million women not now employed must be recruited and placed in war industries before the end of 1943. So far most of the newly employed women have been either single or without young children. But if five million additional women are to be drawn into employment in the next year, many young married women with children will have to be included. This will require the establishment of thousands of day nurseries, arrangements for part-time work, and special provisions for the care of school-age children during working hours. Little has been done in this direction.

All these steps are necessary whether we use compulsion or continue to give workers full freedom in selecting jobs. At the same time it is clear that to solve the man-power problem a fourth step must be taken—conscription. The pressure of war needs makes it increasingly difficult for the individual to decide for himself where he can make the maximum contribution, but unfortunately no machinery exists at present for deciding this for him. Local Selective Service boards do not have the information which would enable them to place registrants in civilian jobs. The United States Employment Service has the technical background for the task but has not the power or the necessary staff. Congress has delayed setting up the machinery for a labor draft on the plea that immediate needs could be met without compulsion. This has doubtless been true so far. But the remaining months of 1942 are bound to see a serious aggravation of the problem, and this period will be all too short for the organization of an adequate system of labor selection. Further delay will imperil the entire war effort.



# Capital Thoughts on a Second Front

BY I. F. STONE

*Washington, September 26*

THERE are only three persons in Washington who can speak with authority on the question of the second front—the President, General Marshall, and Harry Hopkins. None of the three is in a chatty mood. At the other end of the scale there is a wide variety of "confidential information" of the kind that enlivens the capital's better dinner parties. Even the actual date—several of them—when the second front is to be opened is available. Six weeks ago persons "in the know" had a date in September; gossip has now postponed the second front until the spring.

In between the three who really know and those who merely talk is an area in which a more reliable brand of information is obtainable. There are persons whose jobs enable them to catch the rumblings of the mighty at first or second hand. There are members of Congress whose committee assignments keep them in touch with the main direction of military and diplomatic thinking. There are reporters who specialize in covering a single government department, and who are sometimes willing to pass on what they themselves, for one reason or another, cannot write. In this area, too, talkativeness is in inverse ratio to authoritativeness.

By interviewing a good many people of this kind one can obtain a few scraps of information that have some value. One can also obtain a cross-section of opinion on the second front within official circles. This is useful because it enables one to understand more clearly the men who must make the actual decisions about the second front and the subconscious motivations which flicker dimly behind their elaborate arguments.

The most interesting bit of fact I have picked up, and I think my source reliable, is that the Canadians have spoken up vigorously for an early second front at official military discussions of the problem here. This may help to explain why Dieppe was so predominantly a Canadian affair. It looks as though the British said, "Well, if you're so anxious for a second front, go and try one." On Dieppe itself opinion is divided. Some point to the terrific ratio of losses as an argument for delaying a second front. Others feel that the casualties suffered by the first wave of an invasion must necessarily be high, and that the losses prove only that a large-scale foray is much too costly to be staged at all unless it is fully intended to establish a beachhead and follow it up immediately.

The weirdest notion I picked up came from an im-

portant elected official whose work necessitates constant contact with the military. He himself is a man of superior insight, with a courageous and progressive record. He would talk only in general terms, and much of what he said is incorporated in other sections of this letter. One statement he made left me a little breathless. It was an argument against the second front, and I gather that it reflected what he had been told by military men and that he himself did not know whether to be impressed by the argument or to laugh at it. "We've got to keep ourselves in readiness to strike with full force," he said, "wherever the Axis weakens. *Suppose, for example, the Dutch were suddenly to rise against their oppressors, and we did not have sufficient military force to support them.*" If we intend to wait for the Dutch or some other conquered people to take the initiative, we may have to wait a long time.

This chance remark may be unimportant as a clue to official policy, but it is revelatory of mental attitudes. Though both Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill are men of great vitality who have shown capacity for daring and imagination, they seem to be surrounded by too many men who suffer from spiritual arterio-sclerosis. Behind Anglo-American policy in recent years there has been a constant tendency to play a waiting game, and this out of inertia rather than restraint. Military and diplomatic leaders in too many cases have been men who feared risk, hoped for miracles, were content to wait for something to turn up.

This is not Mr. Roosevelt's temperament nor is it Mr. Churchill's, but the latter is haunted still by Gallipoli and the former dare not interfere too much with his military advisers. Some persons close to the President feel that he has already gone farther than any predecessor in overruling the generals and the admirals. These persons say this in approval, but they also feel that there is a limit beyond which he cannot go unless he is to shake up whole strata of personnel and not merely override specific decisions.

The President's military and naval advisers may be right in saying that no second front can be opened now. No civilian official of any importance has the temerity publicly to contradict them. The opinion of these military and naval advisers is none the less being evaluated in the light of more general considerations, and in that light their judgment does not inspire too much confidence. The first of these considerations is that this same military-naval leadership in both Britain and Amer-



ica has yet to show any capacity for bold thinking or acting; had it done so, more reliance could be placed on its verdict that the second front is not yet possible. The second is a growing distrust of the established official experts in every field, industrial as well as governmental. The war has deflated one great reputation after another, exploded one solemn and authoritative judgment after another. Some civilian officials resent the tendency to place military matters in a separate and sacred category. They regard these matters as technical questions in the same way that the supply of aluminum, the best way to make synthetic rubber, or the problem of conversion is a technical question. They feel that the "experts" may be as wrong on the second front as their civilian counterparts were on industrial questions. In other fields these civilians see that the best results are being achieved, as in shipping, by fresh men and fresh ideas. They are in no mood to accept the verdict of the generals and the admirals without question.

The second front is, of course, a military problem, but it is also, in many ways, a political problem. Here is one way, as explained by one of the most intelligent observers here, a man who occupies an important position in the government. He is in favor of a second front, and no doubt that colors his reasoning, but here it is: No general or admiral wants to advise an attack that may not be successful and may be fatal to that general's or that admiral's reputation and career. There are circumstances nevertheless in which it may be necessary, for political reasons, deliberately to take a risk that is unwise from a military point of view. This official feels that both the good-will of the Russian people and the morale of the Anglo-American peoples call for a second front. It may be a gamble but sometimes the greatest gamble in a war is not to gamble at all. He feels that the risk may be great but that not to take it is to resign ourselves to years of armed stalemate. Political decisions are involved here, difficult to make against the advice of the military, especially since it would be dangerous to attempt a second-front expedition under the command of persons who felt from the start that it was doomed to failure. The imponderables of will, drive and faith are an army's best regiments, but there is a half-hearted streak evident in sections of British and American leadership. This also is in part political.

It would be doing an injustice to a great many conservatives in the army and navy higher ranks and in the war-production bureaucracy to oversimplify this aspect of the second front. Yet there is some measure of accuracy in the rough observation that the strongest desire for the second front is found among the New Dealers, the least among the big-business crowd. This takes a lot of qualifying. There are a few New Dealers so tangled up in their own emotional and political differences with the Communists that they can't see straight on the war.

There are big business men like William L. Batt, W. Averell Harriman, Edward N. Stettinius, Jr., Donald M. Nelson, who sincerely want to do everything in their power to help the Russians, though I don't know how many of them are actually for a second front soon. This is also true among the Wall Streeters so conspicuous in the top civilian layers of the War and Navy departments. In a sense, almost everyone here is for the Russians, even Jesse Jones, though at the Joseph E. Davies reception last week all that Jones could think of to praise them for was that they paid their bills and loans on time.

Vague sympathy is one thing; decisive action another. There is an undercurrent of doubt and hostility which makes itself felt whenever any government agency gets down to brass tacks on a problem of aid to the Soviets. How much risk a man will take, how much sacrifice he will make, depends on how deeply he feels. The survival of the world's one socialist country is a cause most business men and conservatives are supporting, but not until our own country is hit on our own continental soil and our need for all and any allies is apparent to save our own homes will they really become accustomed to this—for them—rather odd alliance. By that time, unless we act more vigorously now, that ally may not be there or may be so reduced in strength as to be ineffective.

I came across an extreme form of reluctance to make sacrifices for the Soviet Union while working on my Russian oil story for last week's letter. Some of the oil men involved put forward the argument, "Why give the Russians our oil trade secrets, when they'll probably make a separate peace soon anyway?" This is wishful thinking of a mad variety: the same people last fall were saying, "Why give the Russians these processes, they'll soon be licked anyway?" They feel that if the Russians were out of the war, these sacrifices would be unnecessary. As the war grows less and less profitable and calls for more and more sacrifice, there will be more defeatism of this kind in some circles of big business, though in others there will be more genuine patriotism.

Another factor must be touched upon. There is a very small minority of conscious fascists here. There is a somewhat larger group which feels hampered domestically by the Russian alliance. A whole-hearted attack on the American left is impossible so long as even the Communists must be treated tactfully. The Dies gang would like to see Russia out of the war. There are others who, without going that far, are fearful of social changes arising from the war. In an emergency, when quick action and complete decision are necessary, one need only waver a little to be lost. These more or less subconscious waverings play their part here in the question of the second front, as in every other fundamental issue of the war. Only popular pressure can put an end to them. Fight for a second front.



# The Return of Heinrich Fromm

BY FELIZIA SEYD

*[Heinrich stumbled across my path last week. He had a message for a friend from her family in Berlin. What he told her about conditions there is rendered faithfully in what follows. Not a fact has been altered, nor the spirit in which the story was told. Names of persons and certain places in the United States are of course fictitious.—F. S.]*

HE WAS born some fifty years ago in a small town near Madison, Wisconsin, where his father ran a cheese factory. The family was well-to-do, and its male members were smart, hard-driving business men with the exception of Heinrich, who was not very bright. Heinrich hung on to his family for many years until the sheer pressure of his father's and brothers' contempt drove him away. He held odd jobs all over the country, sometimes as a mechanic, for he was skilful with his hands, but most of the time as an elevator man or a night watchman or something that allowed him to think on his job. Not that he had anything particular to think about. He just liked the leisure to think.

After the depression he came to New York and lived in Yorkville, where he acquired a circle of friends, people like him who talked a lot and thought in vague terms and never acted much. His best friends were Willi, the baker, and Mr. Biedermann, who had been a reserve officer in the Kaiser's Germany and tried to organize a *Stahlhelm*, or veterans' group, in Yorkville. But the *Stahlhelm* did not take in Yorkville, and as Mr. Biedermann found the Bund slightly alien to his taste, he had given up organizing. He vented his enthusiasm in talks about the old country. He and his friends bragged about the super-race the Germans were. Hadn't they created a new industrial and military machine second to none? Everybody had jobs and everybody was getting rich under Hitler. And they bathed in the glow of this success and felt an inflated sense of their own importance, even Heinrich, who was so shy, modest, and inhibited. Yes, Heinrich began to square his shoulders and think of himself as a cross between Siegfried and Lohengrin, and all of a sudden he decided to go to Germany and get a job.

His cronies admired him for this decision, which they would like to have taken themselves. But they had jobs and families and interests here, and it couldn't be done. Heinrich, on the other hand, was footloose and had the courage to go. They were so thrilled that they collected the money for him to sail to Bremen on the *Europa*. That was in 1939. "Won't the family be surprised to hear of

my roaming the world like this," thought Heinrich, and felt like a Viking.

Now it must be said he was fifty-five by now and no Viking at all. His gray hair was thin, his face small and lined; his shoulders were so bent that he seemed to scan the sidewalk like a stumblebum. But Heinrich felt proud and strong inside.

He arrived in Germany, was shoved through the different party agencies, and found himself with a job at Siemens, the huge industrial plant northwest of Berlin. They did not give him heavy work to do—just made him develop blueprints, and paid him eighty-five pfennigs an hour. The workers teased him for having given up the land of Armour beef and Swift bacon for so meager a compensation. But Heinrich could go without the bacon because he was a vegetarian. And didn't he get culture and equality instead? He went to the opera, the theater, and the educational films on cheap strength-through-joy tickets. He also attended the plant's social evenings, where you might happen to sit next to one of the foremen, who would talk to you like a brother. He liked the opera best, though one evening when he attended a performance at the Charlottenburg theater he was nearly killed by a beer bottle that fell from the balcony. It was that kind of crowd. He thrilled over some of the war films and thought it was fine that there were people in the world who could do such tremendous things.

For himself he was content to develop prints. He was not up to any great physical effort because rations were getting smaller from month to month. He lost weight. True, you could get a pork chop once a week, but Heinrich ate no meat on account of his delicate stomach, and he gave his meat rations to people who would give him their bread. The bread gave him indigestion. Of course there were vegetables enough, at least in summer, but they tasted of the artificial manure with which they were forced—yes, and that might be the cause of his eczema. Actually he hadn't money enough to feed himself adequately; his pay was about 115 marks a month after insurance, taxes, and so on were deducted, and there were the winter-relief contributions twice a month and other labor-front matters which cost money. Even with the little he ate he needed about twenty-five marks a week for food, which left him about fifteen marks to pay his rent with. You can't get a room for fifteen marks, so you had to cut down on your food.

However, it wasn't right to complain. All this was



only temporary. At least people said so. The few burgher families that invited him to their houses, because he was *ein gebildeter Mann* and had traveled, were all staunch supporters of the Führer. They were making out pretty well in their businesses and occupations. They said that the war would last another three years, during which the Germans and Japs would lick the world. Then the Germans would be able to live on the fat of the land. They said that after Pearl Harbor.

But the men at the plant spoke differently. In the three years that Heinrich had worked there the crowd around him had shifted considerably. A lot of women had come in, young and old, who jabbered about food, ration points, kids, or men, while the men complained about the wage rates, the hours, and the discrimination in ration cards. If you weren't a party member you had less to eat and wear. Some 50 per cent of the workers were foreigners now, and at least 40 per cent were women. But of course the German worker had to fight in Russia and win the war. Sometimes Heinrich wondered whether they wouldn't all be dead when the war was over.

That winter after Pearl Harbor was bitter because it was so cold. Heinrich's old threadbare overcoat from America wasn't much of a protection. So he went to the relief center and applied for another one. The official there said, "Let me see your old overcoat." He looked at it, shoved it back across the counter, and said, "You keep this. It's far better than anything you can get in exchange." That was a disappointment. Another was that he could not get a new glass bowl when he broke the one he developed his prints in. You could not even buy a cup in the stores.

It was a lonely and meager life though fairly safe. Siemens was bombed once, but only one man lost his leg. The walls of the factory were a yard thick. You needed a 2,000-pound bomber to do damage here.

But there were other worries. His eczema became worse, he had dizzy spells, and his weight was down to ninety-five pounds. He had given up going to the opera because it was so dark at night. One night a man accidentally shoved him into the gutter, and he sprained his ankle.

He might have consoled himself with an affair of the heart. Many maturer men were getting married. But Heinrich had been afraid of women all his life and could not visualize himself having an affair with any of the fresh young things around him. At times he rested an admiring eye on Erika, who was a beautiful blonde of twenty-five, reputed to have a good dowry. But Erika probably aspired to an army man or storm trooper; at least she never looked at him. As for his marrying an old woman—that would make him feel twice as old.

Had he really planned to settle in Germany for good? Not that he remembered. No, he was here just for ad-

venture. It was a grand adventure, but his father had a cheese factory in Wisconsin—though probably they would not want him there—and there were Willi and Mr. Biedermann and the Cafe Hindenburg on Eighty-sixth Street in Yorkville. Also there were butter and plenty of oranges in the stores on First Avenue. The German people mocked him when he told them about it. America was no better off than Germany. Persons over fourteen could not get any fruit whatever. They had it from the radio. He laughed and shrugged, and the more he discussed and argued the clearer he visualized his native land and its generous, informal, natural ways. After all, America had a war too, and maybe they would need him there as a carpenter or a welder, provided he could get his strength back.

He went to the Swiss legation, which handles American affairs in Germany, and was told that the American government would pay his passage back on the Drottningholm. When he told this to his fellow-workers they sat back on their haunches and gaped. The foreign workers treated him with new deference; the Germans slapped him on the back and called him lucky dog. But the women did the most extraordinary thing. They all wanted to marry him, and among them was the lovely blond Erika. She went down on her knees to beg him to take her with him to the United States. "I am so sick of this rotten life," she sobbed. He was glad he could not do anything about it. He was still afraid of women, particularly of Erika.

He had a jolly time on board the boat watching his fellow-passengers. He was too shy to form any but the most modest acquaintances. But he admired those who strutted about—young, arrogant, rich-looking. Like this fellow Bahr, for instance, who paced the ship scanning the sea with his binoculars.

When the ship landed in New York, Heinrich stayed aboard for quite awhile. Then he had six or seven weeks at Ellis Island. I think it must have been utterly exhausting to the authorities to question Heinrich, who never with the best of will could give a concise picture of anything, though he loved to talk. His friends in Yorkville had the same trouble in talking with him. They were a bit shocked by his appearance, too. He had never looked so poor, so thin, so humble and helpless.

Didn't he like Germany? Why did he come back?

Well, after all, America was his home country.

Didn't he get enough to eat?

He could have had pork chops once a week.

What about fish?

Once he went to Aschinger's, a cheap chain restaurant, and they had something that was called fish soup, but only once.

What about chicken, for instance?

Chicken? Heinrich looked vague, as if he could not remember the word.



Willi, Biedermann, and Heinrich drank beer together in the evening.

"What about the good wine and beer in Germany?" asked Biedermann, smacking his lips.

Heinrich's eyes lighted up. "Oh, yes, we had all the beer and wine we wanted—on New Year's Eve."

They gave up. They talked of other things. It was painful to talk of Germany when you had Heinrich before your eyes.

Biedermann, who owned an apartment house, gave

him a job as an elevator man and lent him money so that he could buy some clothes. Heinrich had brought back one suit and had washed it himself at Ellis Island. It didn't look like much after that. Heinrich is happy with his elevator job. When he feels better he hopes to be a welder and work in some defense industry.

When there is little to do he sits on his chair in the basement and chuckles to himself. He must tell his family what a traveled man he is. He might even tell them about Erika. He could have married her, you know.

## *Mr. Petrillo's Hopeless War*

BY CHARLES WILLIAMS

**P**ETRILLO Obstructs War Effort," "Petrillo Perils Free Business," "Petrillo Hits at Heart of Radio"—these and other similar headlines, heavily laden with menace but also having an unwitting note of burlesque, have been appearing regularly on newspaper front pages. They reveal that James Caesar Petrillo, president of the American Federation of Musicians, has succeeded John L. Lewis, at least temporarily, as labor's chief inciter of editorial frenzy.

Petrillo, a cocky Chicago labor politician with a great disdain for public opinion, provoked these outbursts, and also a Congressional investigation, by forbidding his musicians to make recordings for radio stations and juke boxes. He forbade them on the ground that his "boys," the 138,000 members of the musicians' union, were suffering seriously from unemployment. By making recordings, he said, musicians simply were pushing themselves out of jobs. When Elmer Davis, as director of the Office of War Information, protested that lack of recorded music would cripple many small radio stations essential to our national communications system, Petrillo told him that he was "absolutely misinformed" and refused to rescind the ban. Aside from the results already mentioned, his recalcitrance has brought forth a Department of Justice charge of "wrongful and unlawful combination and conspiracy in restraint of trade and commerce in phonograph records, electrical transcriptions, and radio broadcasting."

Actually the ban on recordings, which has been in effect since August 1, was not altogether the act of a "dictator." It was sanctioned by the union's executive board and represents a desperate but probably futile effort to stave off the effects of technological advance. The country's 500,000 juke boxes and the use of "canned" music by hundreds of radio stations have destroyed employment opportunities for thousands of musicians. Many taverns and hotels which formerly em-

ployed small bands now use the juke box; it costs less and provides music by Benny Goodman instead of Joe Doakes. Of some 800 radio stations in the United States, fewer than 300 employ musicians; the rest use recordings only. "A good recording," Petrillo has estimated, "costs musicians about a million dollars in wages before it runs its course." Putting aside for the moment the question of whether a good recording is preferable on aesthetic grounds to the nondescript playing of "live" musicians, it is obvious that the A. F. of M. has a case. It becomes even more obvious when one learns that as a rule between 50 and 60 per cent of the A. F. of M.'s members are unemployed. "Justice demands," observed an advertisement inserted by the union in New York City newspapers last month, "that the musician should not be compelled to make 'canned' music for commercial industries which grow rich—while he walks the streets without a job."

Unfortunately for the musicians, the reputation of their president is such that it precludes the possibility of any sympathetic public hearing. Petrillo is a perfect justification of Pegler's conception of a labor boss. He receives \$46,000 a year in addition to a generous expense account, maintains a suite at the Waldorf, rides around in a huge bullet-proof car, employs six or seven bodyguards, four of whom are relatives, and talks as if he were following a Pegler script. He is high up in the Ed Kelly machine, and fits nicely into the Chicago scene. There is a persistent rumor that he wants to be the city's next mayor. In the American Federation of Musicians his rule is thoroughly despotic. The constitution empowers him to call strikes, levy fines of as much as \$5,000 on individual members, and "annul and set aside" the constitution, by-laws, and resolutions and substitute provisions of his own making. The Department of Justice once characterized his powers as "absolute and subject to no control." He uses them bluntly, though occasionally he attempts to dis-



semble, as when he wrote to Elmer Davis this summer that he was merely a "messenger for 138,000 musicians."

The dictatorial strain in its tough Chicago form is unmistakable in Petrillo. He attracted national attention first in December, 1939, when as head of the Chicago Federation of Musicians he unreasonably ordered "The Man Who Came to Dinner" and George White's "Scandals" to delete all reference to John L. Lewis. The National Council on Freedom from Censorship, seeing in this move an ominous new threat to our liberties, immediately wired, "Your action creates a precedent by which control of an entire production may be vested in a labor union, reflecting its self-interests and prejudices." The outcry was so great that Petrillo retreated with the surly comment that he was "going to fight John L. Lewis any way I know how." More recently, in a patriotic outburst, he ordered all union orchestras to play the national anthem at the beginning and end of each performance. "Anybody who gets tired of listening to it," he declared, "is not a good citizen." He has ordered at least one Chicago theater manager to stay out of his theater when musicians are present, and often has used his rather awesome powers as a union leader to pay off personal grudges.

For all that, Petrillo has served A. F. of M. members with a sturdy devotion. The union may not be his religion, as his friends extravagantly claim, but his feeling for it is the generous one a man has for an enterprise that has lifted him from obscurity to power and fame. He regards the A. F. of M. as his personal property, which is not far from the truth, and he works hard in its interests. During the eighteen years in which he headed the Chicago union, before taking over the larger responsibilities of national leadership, he made Chicago the best city in the world for musicians. He increased the local's membership from 4,000 to 11,000, and raised wage scales to a new high. Unlike the Luddites of the last century, who smashed machines to create employment, Petrillo, to find additional jobs for his members, simply compelled owners of machines to place them in storage. He drove sound trucks off Chicago streets and forced theater owners to employ musicians for whom they had no use. In the latter case the increased overhead costs caused a number of Chicago theaters to close, but this did not trouble Petrillo, who thinks that actors are "dopes." Using his position as a Chicago park commissioner to good advantage, he got the city to appropriate, first, \$63,000, then larger sums, for summer park concerts which provided employment for several hundred of his members. In appreciation of his services the local gave him in one year, 1937, some \$110,000. Petrillo, who is boastfully proud of "delivering the goods" for his boys, observed, "Hell, I don't have to steal. When I need anything, I just let my boys know and they give it to me."

As national president of the A. F. of M., a position he inherited in 1940 from Joe Weber, who had held it since 1900, Petrillo has won a dozen major battles for professional musicians. Caring little or nothing for public opinion, partly because his Chicago training induced the belief that "suckers" don't count, he threatened a strike against a national radio network to force a station in Louisville to employ six musicians, and he called one to get a slightly better contract for eleven musicians in Pittsburgh. Although newspapers throughout the country raged, he refused to permit radio broadcasts by army bands until the studios had agreed to give "stand-by" jobs to regular musicians. "They all said that they would keep on the pay rolls as many musicians as they had before," he announced at the end of the dispute; "so we said that army programs are okay." "Stand-by" employment is the battle line on which Petrillo has fought most effectively. He almost never departs from the principle that the professional musicians must be paid for all playing time, no matter who does the playing. He has refused to allow amateur musicians, any mention of whom stirs his wrath, to broadcast without a provision for stand-bys. He once demanded that the *Chicago Daily News*, which had arranged to have Chinese Boy Scout buglers welcome the arrival of a giant panda, employ an equal number of his members to "stand by." He has banned from the air the National Music Camp Orchestra and several other groups of talented young amateurs for the simple but highly assailable reason that "when amateur musicians occupy the air, it means less work for professionals." Petrillo steadfastly refuses to admit that his policy has a harmful effect on the development of musical talent, although it is likely that he does not especially care. His absorbing interest is not music but musicians, and he once inquired belligerently, "What's the difference between Heifetz and a tavern fiddler?"

Most A. F. of M. members share the Chicago local's affection for their boss and completely approve his vigorous insistence on stand-bys and his war against the twin evils of the amateur and the juke box. But stand-by pay is hardly a solution to the problem of technological unemployment, and it is not likely that Petrillo will succeed in abolishing either amateurs or recordings. The New York musicians' local, which is the most progressive in the country, has appealed to the public to support the musicians "right to eat." But probably the public will decide that for sound aesthetic reasons many musicians do not have that right, at least not as musicians. The chances are that it will continue to choose first-rate recordings in preference to second or third-rate "live" music. The musicians' stubborn answer is that no recordings will be available when the present supply is exhausted. But public opinion, which has been thoroughly aroused by Petrillo's bumptiousness, and, more directly, the federal anti-trust suit may force them to back down. Petrillo



already has indicated that he would lift the recording prohibition if some system of royalties could be worked out for the musicians who did the recording. This, unfortunately, requires some friendly federal legislation, which at the moment seems improbable, and it would not materially change the average musician's status. It

would mean a larger income for the name bands and possibly a larger union relief check for the unemployed, but it would not restore the musician to his pre-juke box position. Small-time musicians have become as obsolete as the Indian. James Caesar Petrillo, for all his confident toughness, will not be able to erase that fact.

## Toward Peace on the Danube

BY RUSTEM VAMBERY

THE dire realities which contemporary statesmen have to face make an escape into wishful thinking very attractive. Wishful thinking has produced many blueprints for a post-war world federation, for a United States of Europe, and for various regional federations that might serve as stepping-stones to larger units. The misuse of sovereignty for aggressive wars on the one hand and the undisturbed internal peace of the United States during the last seventy-seven years on the other have lent the idea of federation a magic glow. The concept of a Central European, Southeast European, or Danubian federation, however, is more than a contemporary *ignis fatuus*. Even if we disregard the Little Entente and the Balkan Pact as regional security agreements and pass over the efforts of President Masaryk and Premier Hodza to organize a system of small nations, we must admit that a unified Danubian empire was visualized long before the First World War.

I do not refer to the Hapsburg empire. What the builders of the Austrian empire sought was not Danubian unity but compensation for the loss of the Holy Roman Empire. And in spite of the belated attempts of the late Archduke Franz Ferdinand to base the "*Politik meines Hauses*" on a German-Hungarian-South Slav triality, the Hapsburgs never dreamed of a federative union of sovereign nations. Voluntary federation would have been incompatible with their divine right to rule; yet it is precisely this title to power which today rallies all reactionaries in the countries that might federate in support of a Hapsburg head.

Not a Hapsburg ruler but Count Ladislav Teleki, a leader in the Hungarian struggle for independence, was the father of the conception, which was taken up by Louis Kossuth as early as 1850. This plan for a Danubian federation underwent some modifications, but as it was made public in 1862 it would have included Hungary, the Rumanian principalities, Serbia, and Croatia. A common council residing in each of the allied states in turn would have dealt with defense and foreign affairs, finance and trade, and it was understood that the minorities in each country would enjoy cultural au-

tonomy. "In heaven's name, I beg my Slav and Rumanian brethren," Kossuth cried, "to throw a veil over the past and to rise, hand in hand, for our common freedom." In our time a plan for federation of the Danubian nations was put forward by Professor Jászi before the war. Because of the mixed population in all the possibly federated states, he advocated organization on a cantonal basis, like Switzerland's.

Since Southeastern Europe is traditionally a powder barrel, the desirability of a federation that would check the bellicosity of rival nationalities needs no argument. It is the question of possibility that has to be discussed. When Kossuth supported the plan of a Danubian federation, the historian Ladislav Szalay, exiled in Switzerland, wrote to his wife expressing his doubts whether the cultural level of the nations concerned, not excluding the Magyars, fitted them to enter such a union. Though nearly a century has passed, the question cannot be ignored today.

Obviously nations on a similar level of cultural development can federate more easily than nations of widely divergent standards. This is apparently the reason why the Swiss federation has proved successful. Perhaps two federations in Southeastern Europe might work better than one that included countries of such disparate development as Austria and Albania. Which nations should join a Danubian and which a South European federation will largely depend on the final outcome of the war, on the influence that one or the other of the United Nations attains. The core of a federation, or rather of two federations, can be found in the Polish-Czecho-Slovak declaration of November 11, 1940, and in the Yugoslav-Greek agreement of January 5, 1942. Recently the inclusion of all countries from Poland or even from the Baltic states down to Greece has been suggested. These suggestions have a fatal weakness. Their authors envisage a federation not *for* the benefit of its participants but *against* either Germany or Soviet Russia, desiring it as a kind of *cordon sanitaire* to keep Germany in check or to prevent the spread of communism toward the West. These purposes are equally mis-



conceived. No counterpoise can eliminate the German menace; to try to establish one would only mean a return to the balance of power, which sooner or later results in war. And persons in Western countries who are still motivated by the Bolshevik scare underestimate both the fundamental change in Russian policy and the importance of the Russo-British-American alliance.

Whether there should be a Danubian and a Balkan federation or whether both should be components of a Southeast European Union—the term “Central European Federation” is too reminiscent of “Mitteleuropa”—is a question that cannot be answered in a political vacuum. Any federation that is real and sincere is likely to contribute to the peace of Europe; its composition will largely depend on how the European continent is reorganized when the principles of the Atlantic Charter are converted into practice.

There shall be “no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned.” Desirable as the entrance of Austria into a Danubian federation would be, it is possible that a popular vote, influenced by economic considerations, might favor *Anschluss* with Germany. A federation of all

Danubian nations seems most reasonable, but reason alone is rarely decisive in political self-determination. The United Nations may have to use some *douce violence* and grant the federation economic advantages; they should not play off one small state against the other as was done after the First World War. No advantages that are granted, however, should be allowed to develop economic autarchy if the federation is to become an instrument of peace.

The first and foremost premise of either a Danubian or a Southeastern federation is the suppression of overheated nationalisms and imperialistic appetites. That kind of nationalism which, in the words of J. B. S. Haldane, is not so much love of country as love of *more* country deeply resents any enforced stop to aggression, but no federation is possible without unreserved renunciation of imperialist dreams based on sometimes doubtful historical rights. Instead of wishing to rule over minorities, each of the federated nations must strive to include no more outsiders than ethnic geography makes inevitable.

Recently both Dr. Hodza and Dr. Hanc have stressed the point that cooperation with the present regime in Hungary is impossible, and certainly the picture will



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become more hopeful when Hungarian democracy eventually gains control. There is in Hungary a nucleus of democracy formed by some peasant leaders and a group of intellectuals who, if they were given as much support as their adversaries received twenty-two years ago, could render useful work in changing the social structure and public spirit of the country.

Emotional and aggressive nationalism is not a monopoly of the Magyars. Rumanian Iron Guardists are no better than the Green Shirts of the Hungarian Arrow Cross, and the chauvinism of the Slovaks matches that of the Magyars. No honest agreement between the Danubian peoples can be reached unless each of them is ready to overcome the hindrances to federation in their own country. The Serbo-Croat and the Slovak-Czech antagonisms must in some way be allayed. Harmonious teamwork presupposes that none of the partners should be a nation divided against itself. National prejudices, often based on distorted history, must also be got rid of. There is no reason why Magyars and Rumanians, Serbians and Bulgars should dislike each other, but rational arguments seldom master unreasonable emotions.

Though it would be premature to make a definite suggestion about the members of a Danubian federation before we know how the great European problem, Germany, is going to be handled, it is obvious that countries which were formerly in the orbit of Austria-Hungary would more easily fit together, being familiar with each other's faults and virtues. Inasmuch as the European continent was more or less balkanized after the First World War, there is less reason to stress the ethnic, social, and cultural characteristics which would make the inclusion of one nation or the other desirable or otherwise. Not even economic considerations are decisive, for a condition of any peaceful post-war world is that it must not be composed of self-sufficient units eager to destroy each other.

A unified system of customs, currency, and communication is of course the basic requisite of a Danubian federation. A democratic form of government in all of the federated states, with allowances made for differences in political temperaments, is equally indispensable as a guaranty of personal, religious, and political freedom. No federation is conceivable without central authority. There will be need of an economic council and of an executive body directing the federation's foreign policy. Members of the council would be elected by the respective parliaments; the executive body would be composed of appointees of the governments of the federated countries. This executive body would of course be in charge of the armed forces. There are many other questions to be solved in the constitution of the Danubian federation, but all of them, including the problem of the cultural and religious autonomy of minorities, will lose much of their significance if *bona fides* prevails.

## Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

### Co-ops on the March

CONSUMERS' Cooperation in the United States has emerged in the past few years from a somewhat sickly childhood into lusty adolescence. Today the Cooperative League, which this week is holding its thirteenth Biennial Congress at Minneapolis, is able to boast that the movement is growing faster in America than in any other country at any time.

This progress has been achieved without the benefit of much publicity. Big-town newspapers have at times played up the cooperative movement in Sweden or Finland but have seldom found its local development sufficiently newsworthy to merit a position anywhere near department-store advertising. Now, however, American co-ops have reached a stage where they can tell their story directly to the people. Beginning October 11 they are going on the air with a series of thirteen Sunday afternoon programs, which by means of a coast to coast hook-up will be heard in all parts of the country.

The scripts, I understand, are to be in dramatic form, and I have no doubt that the recent history of the movement will provide plenty of exciting material. There is, for instance, the Episode of the Kidnapped Fertilizer. Dissatisfied with the price and quality of the product supplied by local representatives of the fertilizer trust, Farm Bureau members in the Middle West agreed to go into the business for themselves. A number of them put up cash in advance to buy several carloads from a Southern manufacturer. The shipment was duly dispatched, but en route it vanished, apparently without trace. The impatient farmers then sent out an amateur sleuth, who, after much legwork, scented his quarry immobilized on an out-of-the-way siding. Some clever person—could it have been an agent of the fertilizer trust?—had chalked on the sides of the freight cars "scab fertilizer," and good trade unionists among the railroad men had managed to forget them. Once explanations were made, they eagerly sped the fertilizer on its way, and a neat scheme not merely to injure the cooperatives but to disrupt their relations with organized labor had been squelched.

There is a sequel to this story. From this beginning the Farm Bureau cooperatives in Ohio and Indiana built up a large wholesale and retail business in fertilizers compounded according to their own specifications. Then, having an assured market, they decided to establish their own source of supply. In 1940 they built five factories in which they invested nearly a million dollars. When the first was ready to open, the trust went into action, cutting the price from \$30 to \$26 a ton. The co-ops met the cut, and with the loyal support of their members



were able to increase their volume sufficiently to cover costs by a small margin. This made possible savings of millions of dollars for all the farmers in the territory.

The fertilizer trust is no picayune adversary, but tackling Standard Oil means giant-killing on a really heroic scale. In 1929 the Consumers' Cooperative Association was organized in North Kansas City, Missouri, as a wholesaler for oil and gas co-ops. Its original capital was only \$3,000, but its business grew steadily in spite of the depression, and it was able to acquire a compounding plant for lubricating oil and then grease and paint factories. Finally it decided to build its own refinery, which was opened with great *éclat* in May, 1940. Ten days later the new plant was compelled to close down. By switching contracts and taking advantage of the rationing provisions of the Kansas state oil code, Standard Oil of Indiana was able to cut supplies of crude to the co-op to a trickle. However, the co-op was far from licked. It started work on a pipe-line extension to connect the refinery with more wells. Simultaneously Governor Payne Ratner, who was up for reelection that year, was bombarded with letters demanding a change in the law. The whole story has not yet been made public, but the upshot was that the refinery was soon back in operation, working to capacity, and in its first year was able to report savings for its members of \$250,000.

While the cooperative movement in America has been, and still is, predominantly rural, it is beginning to spread into the industrial centers, particularly in the East. Co-operative buying clubs are growing into small stores, small stores into super-markets. Too many of the urban societies, however, depend too exclusively on the support of middle-class enthusiasts, and the movement has yet to penetrate the consciousness of the workers as a whole. It is a field which might well attract the attention of the trade unions. Inhibited by the war from fighting for higher wages for their members, they might encourage them to explore the cooperative way of making a shrinking dollar stretch.

One of the primary cooperative principles is to charge current market prices except in cases where these have been distorted by monopoly, but the profits go back to the membership in the form of rebates proportionate to purchases. It has been discovered, however, that once people are thoroughly converted to the cooperative idea they lay less stress on this benefit and more on the fact that "cooperatives can be depended upon to tell the whole truth about merchandise." A cooperative can no more cheat than it can profiteer, for to do so would mean that its members were skinning themselves. Today we are facing not only inflation of prices but deflation of quality. Against this danger the cooperatives offer many safeguards, and the pioneer work which the movement has carried out in the field of grading and informative labeling should now reap its reward.

## In the Wind

SENATOR ROBERT A. TAFT of Ohio, speaking on People's Platform, a radio forum sponsored by the Columbia Broadcasting Company, referred sourly to the President's ultimatum to Congress on the inflation issue and then said: "Of course, I admit that in order to fight dictators like Mr. Hitler and Mr. Stalin the President must have increased power."

DANIELLE DARRIEUX, the French actress who has become notorious as a "collaborator," was recently married to Porfirio Rubirosa, the Dominican chargé d'affaires at Vichy. One of Mlle Darrieux's attendants at the wedding was the wife of the second secretary of the American embassy.

DESPITE THE PUBLICITY which pro-Japanese gatherings in Harlem have received, an observer of several meetings reports that attendance is never more than 200 and that the same faces turn up at almost every one.

GIUSEPPE ROSSI, who before Pearl Harbor was editor of the avowedly Fascist *Grido della Stirpe*, has been added to the staff of the *Corriere d'America*, the largest Italian daily in this country. The *Corriere d'America* is published by Generoso Pope, a warm and open supporter of Mussolini for several years before America's entrance into the war.

WHEN KING CHRISTIAN of Denmark learned that the Germans were planning to enforce the Nürnberg laws in his country, he made a point of appearing in full-dress uniform at a special service in a Copenhagen synagogue.

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## *Primer of Political War*

**I**N ORDER to wage political war we need to know that it is not enough to build ten planes for every Nazi plane and four tanks for every Nazi tank. Even the combined industrial strength of the United Nations is not enough. We need first of all to be convinced that there is a political problem involved in winning this war which cannot be dealt with by generals or admirals, but only by political fighters.

Second, there must be a clear political line. Once and for all the question must be settled who in the United Nations is to have the final say: whether it is to be those who believe with Vice-President Wallace that we are in the midst of a people's revolution or those who, in this country, think in terms of the "American century" and, in Britain, of the inviolability of the empire.

Finally, somebody must be designated, and empowered, to deal with the problems of political war.

These three things go together; and it is because "our side" has attached too little importance to the strategy of political warfare that we have evolved no machinery with which to wage it effectively.

Since the outbreak of hostilities in Europe, for instance, the United States has set up a number of agencies to deal with the non-military aspects of the war. The Office of War Information, the agencies under Colonel Donovan, the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs—all these share responsibility with existing offices in the State, War, and Navy departments for various aspects of political defense and attack. Some of them are doing good work. In the case of the Office of War Information, our high estimate of Elmer Davis's ability has been justified. His clear thinking and fighting spirit have already made themselves felt in news releases, broadcasts, and movie shorts. But it would be an illusion to believe that Elmer Davis's office is in full command of the activities concerned with political war. Its sphere of action is distinctly limited, as is its power to get rid of obstacles placed in its way by other departments.

Nor is the Office of Strategic Services—which has recently annexed some highly capable people—in a position to tackle all the crucial problems which grow out of the political character of this war. As for the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, there the very mention of the word "political" or "war" sends a shudder through "neighboring" officials. "Culture" is the sign under which they operate, and the idea of encour-

aging a democratic opposition in Latin America is one they prefer to skirt.

We are not talking in hypothetical terms: we can cite an all-too-concrete case. Several months ago, before the Rio conference, there arrived in the United States as official guests two important leaders of the democratic section of the Argentine Parliament. These men had reason to believe that the Argentine President, Castillo, counting on an Axis victory, intended to give more and more active aid to Hitler, and they brought with them a plan for preventing their pro-Axis government from sabotaging the entire South American war effort. It was a feasible and practical plan. They took it from office to office and were received everywhere with the greatest courtesy. But nothing happened. Their plan was not simply one of propaganda or diplomatic action; it did not fall within the sphere of the services primarily concerned with "intelligence"; and it was not a matter which the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs could handle by sending out a flock of lecturers. Since it was none of these things, but a program typical of serious political warfare, no agency had the power to act—so there was nothing for the two Argentinians to do but go back, discouraged, to Buenos Aires.

We could mention other situations that would be hard for the average American to understand. Suppose, for instance, that one of the agencies mentioned above considered it necessary to send a person or group of persons to Europe to carry out an urgent task connected with the political struggle. The first battle it would have to fight would not be with the Axis but with our own bureaucracy. It might find it more difficult to obtain a passport for its representative than to smuggle him through France or Yugoslavia. And if, finally, the State Department decided to issue the passport, it might well have become too late to carry out the assignment.

But if it is unwise to leave matters of procedure to officials who think in bureaucratic terms, it is altogether absurd to permit a department which has no understanding of political warfare to exercise veto power over actions originating in other agencies charged with specific political functions. In the field of political war no Foreign Office should have the last word. The whole tradition and mentality of the conventional diplomat stands in the way of effective action. But some agency must control the complicated machinery of political



struggle. The strategy of democratic resistance and counter-attack requires central direction just as does Hitler's strategy of terror. Until now this direction has been entirely lacking. Nowhere is authority centralized. No close collaboration exists among the agencies within a single country. And no continuing collaboration among agencies of similar purpose in the United Nations is provided for.

There is only one way out of the present situation: each country should make a single office responsible for the conduct of political war and give it full powers; and the United Nations should create an Inter-Allied Council for Political War—a council similar in structure to a war cabinet, made up of five or at most seven men whose political experience, democratic record, and aggressive conception of the war are beyond question.

This Inter-Allied Council would be charged with laying out the over-all plans of political war. It would decide, for instance, whether it is still desirable in October, 1942, to maintain diplomatic relations with Vichy. It would provide an instrument of negotiation in cases like that of India. It would elaborate the strategy of support for the illegal movement in Europe. It would decide upon the advisability of tolerating the pretended neutrality of certain states.

Every national agency would in turn carry out the general directions of the Inter-Allied Council. Its acts would not be impeded by the apathy of those bureaucratic officials who do not realize that the democracies have only one year in which to counteract ten years of Nazi political war.

Some will argue that a supreme political war council would impair the sovereignty of the individual states. Of course it would. But if each of the "United" Nations insists on waging the war in its own way, the democracies are lost.

## European Youth Congress

NOT more than five hours after President Roosevelt finished speaking to the Assembly of the International Students' Services in Washington, Baldur von Schirach, the Nazi Youth leader, addressed a European Youth Congress summoned to Vienna. We have before us his speech and will quote a few excerpts from it. But far more interesting than the speech itself is the fact that the congress was staged as a counter-offensive to the assembly in Washington, although, according to diplomatic sources, it had originally been planned as a celebration of the conquest of Stalingrad. This in itself shows the flexibility of Nazi technique and again demonstrates the Nazi genius for converting a military setback into a political success.

We shall omit all the ugly personal remarks made

### United Nations!

*"All right, you're not a member of the Communist Party of your country now. But were you ever? That's what I'm asking you."*

*"But suppose I was? In Germany there were thousands who joined the Communists just to fight Hitler—as you are fighting now. Would that keep me from becoming a citizen? I don't understand."*

*"Well, you'd better. And get this: in America, we consider Russia more of an enemy than Germany."*

[Taken verbatim from a dialogue which took place a few weeks ago in a Philadelphia naturalization office.]

about the President and Mrs. Roosevelt, and even their children, and go on to the paragraphs which show the leaders of Nazi youth engaged in real political warfare.

First, von Schirach called into service that most effective of all Nazi political weapons, the project of European unity: Hitler will bring the people a United Europe; what the people of all countries so long for, the Führer will accomplish; only Great Britain and the United States, with their subservience to old imperialist and capitalist conceptions, oppose such unification. We quote:

Europe is more than a continent—Europe is a symbol of the human race. . . . Where is your Praxiteles, your Michelangelo, your Rembrandt, and your Albrecht Dürer? What audacity dares, in the name of a sterile continent, to take up the fight against mankind's eternal works of culture, born of divine inspiration and the highest perfection of mankind? . . . The war of America and its British associates is nothing less than an attempt to take possession of the incomparable wealth of Europe. We, comrades, inherit the soil of Europe; we will hold Europe. In defiance of the old British-American game of multiplying the so-called sovereign states of Europe in order to play with them more easily and to impose on them the terms of General Motors, General Electric, and the big cartels, we will have a United Europe, real, sovereign, and master of its destiny.

Next, an offensive in the social revolutionary sector: the democracies still do not dare to advance any revolutionary political and social program as their objective, but Germany has already created a new society which it offers to the youth of the world. Said von Schirach:

When the sick old man in the White House had the unfortunate idea of assembling 300 students of his country in order to send a message to the youth of the world, he could offer that youth nothing better than the old slogans of the French Revolution. Thus in his political and spiritual ideas he goes back to Europe. It



does not dawn on that "world governess" that he is cabling to Europe . . . doctrines 150 years old, which are printed in our own history books. . . .

Here are assembled leaders of youth and delegates of those powers which, unlike Mr. Roosevelt and his followers, have not *talked* about reform but have *achieved* the greatest revolution in the history of the world, and are defending their achievement with their lives. . . .

The soldiers of the Axis do not need promises from their Führer. They have left their jobs to take up arms, and they know that when they return after the war their jobs will be waiting for them. Every German soldier knows that his fatherland is a social state and that the conception of a people's community which was given to our nation by the National Socialist movement is a reality, in which the millions of our youth participate.

What does Mr. Roosevelt say to the fact that in the German Reich all capable young people, regardless of inheritance, are trained and educated in the Adolf Hitler schools with public funds, and that every young person in the youth organization of the Führer has an equal chance, regardless of the wealth and position of his parents, to advance according to his abilities?

As a result of the Vienna Congress, to which delegates from every occupied or "associated" country were "invited," a European Youth Organization was created. The Nazis are making full use of the general desire for unification. Under their leadership the new organization may become a dangerous force. To fight it, the United Nations youth movement must rally its strength and purge itself of its factional politics and past mistakes.

## A Free Italian Legion

BY RANDOLFO PACCIARDI

WE HAVE had much speculation on the chances of a revolt in Italy and on what can be done to stimulate it. We have heard many stories of rising discontent and acts of resistance. These should be examined coldly, so that we may plan for the future on the basis of facts rather than hopes.

The facts suggest caution. Actual information coming from Italy is scanty and contradictory. Anti-Fascist incidents have certainly occurred. There are indisputable signs that the ascendancy of the regime over the army is being challenged. The purges of the Fascist cadres have lately reached into the officers' corps, and men of the highest rank have been demoted or dismissed.

But such signs of unrest should not be given an over-optimistic interpretation. There is practically no chance of an early revolt in Italy. People should not forget that Italy is under the heel of two dictatorships, that to liberate itself it must fight not only Mussolini but Hitler too—with Hitler the tougher adversary.

Revolt in Italy will continue to smolder under the surface unless it is released by an Allied invasion of Europe. The opening of a second front would have a tremendous popular effect and would undoubtedly cause disaffection in a large section of the army. But not until Italy faces actual military defeat can a full-fledged up-



"Youth, a free United Europe is yours!"

Drawing by Victor De Pauw



rising be expected. The forces of suppression are too strong. For this reason above all others anti-Fascist Italians are concentrating on the organization of a Free Italy in Exile to cooperate with the political and military forces of the United Nations.

The recent conference of Free Italians at Montevideo was characteristic of Italian popular movements. The initiative and planning came entirely from below—from the masses of Italians living in South America. It was in response to their invitation that Count Sforza went to Uruguay to take part in the deliberations, to which I also was invited. The mandate of the conference was clear: to create a United Italian National Committee and organize a Free Italy Legion.

Both purposes call for some explanation. First, it is worth recalling that there are two Italys—enslaved Italy and the Italy which has emigrated. I have no exact figures on the number of Italians abroad, but when one remembers that Italy has always been a country of emigration, the official government figure of ten million cannot be very wide of the mark. The greater part of these are naturalized English, Americans, Argentinians, Brazilians; about three million are Italian citizens, one million of whom are in the United States.

Italians—even those born in the “new” country—have always been bound by strong spiritual ties to their motherland. The Fascist government has taken advantage of this fact. Active propaganda has been carried on in the United States and Latin America ever since the March on Rome—in many places with undoubted success. It is a fact that just as not all Italians in Italy are good Fascists, so not all who live in democracies are good democrats. The democracies have not been alive to the danger, and have done little in three years of war to catch up with twenty years of Fascist propaganda.

To help overcome this dangerous lead, free Italians are preparing to organize their political and military strength. If we have decided upon an Italian National Committee in place of a Government of Italy in Exile it is because we wish to avoid any appearance of artificiality. Our position is not identical with that of those national groups which had constitutionally established governments until they become a prey to the Nazi conqueror. Our National Committee will do everything in its power to help the Italian people win their liberation. But its functions cease at the frontier; Italy, when free, will choose its own government.

Count Sforza was unanimously and by acclamation chosen to head the committee. To me fell the privilege of organizing and leading an Italian Legion. More than anything else, the idea of a Free Legion can be used to inspire and arouse the Italian people, who still hold in their hearts the Garibaldi spirit and tradition.

In organizing the legion we shall make a clear distinction, particularly in the United States, between Ital-

ian nationals and Italian Americans. We shall not accept members from the second group because we recognize clearly the obligation of all citizens of Italian origin to the country of their adoption and its armed forces. But we make no similar distinction in a country like Argentina, or in any country whose government has adopted an equivocal position in regard to the war.

Numerically we have enough people to draw upon to build a large legion. But even one division would be of immense value in the political war within Italy. In Spain I commanded at the beginning a single battalion. Its mere existence was of greater value to the anti-Fascist movement in Italy than all our political work of the previous ten years. When I reached France en route to the United States I was deluged with proofs of the enthusiasm with which the Italian people had followed our fight shoulder to shoulder with the brave Spanish Loyalists.

To create an Italian Legion all that is necessary is to obtain permission of the governments of the countries in which recruiting would take place and to designate a training center. After that a legion could be organized and put on a war footing very quickly.

The necessary financial support should not be hard to find. First, in the Americas, in England, and throughout the British Empire the frozen assets of Italian individuals and firms could be put at our disposal. Second, among citizens of Italian extraction there are many wealthy men who would be proud to back the movement. Finally, the Italian Committee could quite properly ask for a loan for equipping the legion.

For many reasons we should prefer to organize the legion in the United States, but we would be willing to go to any country of the United Nations. We are ready, and have been ready for a long time. All we need is authorization to give Italian volunteers the signal they are waiting for.

## Hatched in Japan

THE presence in Bangkok of Subhas Bose, Indian nationalist leader with Berlin affiliations, and the announcement by the Berlin radio that he was receiving a salute of honor from twenty thousand Indian, Burmese, and Siamese soldiers are indications (according to the *London Tribune*) that unless a settlement is arrived at between the British government and the Indian Congress, other forces will intervene in the gradually deteriorating situation in India. One of the plans of the Indian Independence League of Bangkok seems to be to land in India some part of the so-called Free Indian Army to support the native revolutionaries. Japanese troops will hold the British army on the frontier while the Free Indian Army acts as guerrilla units in the interior. It will be maintained that this is a war of liberation in which Japan is fighting only the British army. This move is intended by the Axis strategists to meet the objections of anti-fascists like Nehru, who do not want the Japanese army in India.



# BOOKS and the ARTS

## "Sentimental Education" Today

BY LOUISE BOGAN

THE most important novel to be published in English in 1941 was the first intelligent translation into English of Flaubert's "*L'Education sentimentale*."\* This novel, first published in 1869, was written after "*Salammbo*" and just before the final version of "*La tentation de Saint Antoine*." It is now generally acknowledged to be Flaubert's masterpiece. A profound and sardonic comment on Flaubert's own generation and the France of his youth, it is in every way pertinent to the human and social dilemmas of our own day.

The novel was viciously attacked by the critics and neglected by the general public, at its appearance. Only a few friends—Banville, the Goncourts, George Sand—understood Flaubert's intentions or appreciated his success in putting them through. Sand realized that Flaubert's readers were still too close to the events described, and too involved in the Second Empire point of view, to wish to appreciate the book's ruthless analysis of social change and human motives. They recognized themselves too easily. And Sand complained that Flaubert gave no overt clue to where his sympathies lay. She wanted "an expression of blame . . . to condemn the evil. People do not understand that you wanted precisely to depict a deplorable state of society which encourages bad instincts." Flaubert had run into this sort of obtuseness in the French public and government before this. It had brought about the suit against the morals of "*Madame Bovary*." He was incapable of agreeing with Sand's rather sentimental moralistic demands. His idea of the relation between the individual and society was far more complicated than hers. Society warped the individual, but was it not individuals who had created, and blown up to enormous proportions, the governments which symbolized this hampering agency? Perhaps the basic evil lay deeper, in the constitution of the human heart.

Flaubert was depressed by the book's failure. He wrote in 1874 to Turgenev that he was still astonished that this work had never been understood. He finally decided that the book lacked "the falseness of perspective." "Every work of art," he said, "ought to have a point, a summit, make a pyramid . . . or better, the light should strike some point of the sphere. Now, there is nothing of that sort in life. But Art is not nature!" Here Flaubert partially understands that in this novel he has created a new genre. Critics, including Henry James, have misunderstood the book's conclusions because they were in no way dealing, here, with another "*Madame Bovary*": not with "realism" or "romance," but with satire of a high but hidden order.

There is no doubt that "*Sentimental Education*" is a difficult book to get the hang of, at a first reading. The reader must have a fair working knowledge of reaction and revolution in nineteenth-century France. To use a figure of Lowes Dickinson's, France was, throughout the century, politically

in a state as though tracked by the Furies. It was a century of nervous unrest and of new and untried theory. And all theories, once applied, backfired in the most appalling way. The revolt against the Orleans line brought in the July monarchy (1830) and Louis Philippe's dead-weight bourgeois rule. Universal suffrage, granted after 1848 and thought to be the instrument to establish the kingdom of God on earth, resulted only in Louis Bonaparte, and after three years of the Second Republic, the Second Empire. Paris fought for freedom; the provinces, fighting for the still un-laid ghosts of the old regime and Napoleon, finally voted away the newly granted franchise itself. Added to the political melee was the social one. The Industrial Revolution struck France in the '30's, in the factories of Lyons. All political parties were thrown into the rise of money, and the new concept of the right to work. The resulting confusion was severe. It is precisely this confusion, and its results, mirrored in the characters of the men and women who were at once its creators and its victims, that Flaubert here describes.

The book, written under the Second Empire, covers the period from 1840 to Louis Napoleon's coup d'état of December, 1851—save for the last two chapters, which form a coda to the whole. The action, excepting a few short passages, is seen through the eyes of Frédéric Moreau, of the provincial landed middle class, newly come to Paris, as the book begins, to pass his law examinations. A new spirit is in the air. The tradition of romanticism, and of the bohemian painter, writer, and poet, is almost completely threadbare. The period of the career based on money deals of one sort or another ("*Enrichissez-vous*" was said to be the counsel of Louis Philippe to his subjects) had begun. Art and industry, art and journalism, stood opposed, in spite of naive efforts to reconcile their purposes. (*Industrial Art* is the name of the magazine run by Arnoux, the husband of the woman Frédéric comes to adore; the paper of the unprincipled Hussonet begins under the name *Art* and ends up entitled *The Man About Town*.) Stock-jobbing, loans, investments, and mortgages were the preoccupation of deputies and ministers. Borrowing a little money and making more, getting in with "influential" people, occupied the minds of law students, writers, painters, and hangers-on. The movement of opportunism elaborates and expands into a mounting frenzy. Notes fall due; debts pile up; the fate of men and women depends on the worth or worthlessness of shares. Bankruptcies, auctions, bailiffs finish the hopes of guilty and innocent alike. Underneath runs the theme of personal treachery. Friends betray one another; old men revenge themselves in their wills; women take it out on rivals by holding over them old debts and promissory notes.

The revolts of Republicans and the new Socialists against bourgeois rule form the book's secondary theme. The theorists make plans and hold to rigid formulas. Spontaneous outbreaks of the people link up with the planned action of the revolutionaries. Barricades go up; arms are requisitioned from the citizens. The crowd swarms into the Tuileries;

\*"Sentimental Education." By Gustave Flaubert. Translated, with Introduction and Notes, by Anthony Goldsmith. Everyman's Library. B. P. Dutton and Company. 95 cents.



grand pianos and clocks are flung out of windows. One of the book's great set-pieces describes the Paris street fighting in 1848. And the book closes with Paris again under arms: the dragoons, aided by the police, galloping against the citizens under the gaslight with sabers drawn—and the Second Empire has begun.

Sénécal, the democratic dogmatist who develops by degrees into a tyrant and member of the police, is the character which has astonished modern readers by its deadly accuracy and contemporary pertinence. "Where are the labor poets?" Sénécal asks, when shown a library. He wants, in literature, content and not form. He thinks *tableaux vivants* corrupting for the daughters of the proletariat. As a factory overseer, he extracts fines ruthlessly. "Democracy," he remarks, "does not mean license for the individual. It means a common level under the law, the division of labor—order!" "You've left out humanity," Frédéric answers. It is Senecal who kills Dussardier, "the good fellow," the honest believer in Socialist virtue "who attributed all the evil on earth to authority."

And Flaubert traces down "an insane desire for authority, of whatever kind if only it be authority," in all these people who have lost so many natural links to life. "France, feeling herself without a master [after '48] began to cry out in terror, like a blind man without a stick, or a child that has lost its nurse." And the reader continues to recognize these characters. There is something startlingly familiar in Houssonet, the journalist who prints gossip and slander as news, who "extols the fifth-rate and disparages the first-class minds." Arnoux, the intermediate type between bohemian and business man, infected with the failings of both—"his mind was not elevated enough to attain to art nor ordinary enough to think solely of profit, so that he was ruining himself without satisfying anyone"—is closely akin to Frédéric, who feels the resemblance. Arnoux is a gourmet and gives little dinners "with ten kinds of mustard." Deslauriers, Frédéric's friend, in the words of the Goncourts, is "with his fond envy, his intermittences of perfidy and friendship, his solicitor's temperament, a perfectly drawn type of the most widespread kind of scurvy humanity." Mlle Vatnaz, the emancipated woman, venomous, the dupe of her passions, a literary hack and go-between with a business head, is still not a complete grotesque.

Then there is the gallery of "conservative humbugs," male and female, whom Flaubert does not spare. "Bigotry of the rich rivaled the frenzy of the starving. . . . Property began to be confused with God, and attacks on it . . . almost resembled cannibalism." But Flaubert was out to show up "the bourgeois in blouses as well as the bourgeois in coats." He examines with the same detachment social theorists, the hysterics, terrorists, and fakes on the fringes of the Socialist movement, and the conservative money and power jugglers and their "distinguished" circle, ready to grease the palm of any government that came into power. The stupidity of the workers' meeting and the complicated spite of the dinner party are both analyzed. Flaubert wished to clear the reader's mind of all "accepted ideas" concerning the supposed nobility of either group. Suddenly, at the end of the book, we look back and see how each category has received its touch of clear-sightedness: these liberals who are at bottom neurotic

reactionaries; these members of a new middle class who not only "have no interest in the things of the mind," who do not act according to motives of patience, pity, duty, love, or generosity, but *actually do not know that such qualities exist*. And has Flaubert spared from his satiric justice of treatment the supposed prototype of a lifelong love of his, Mme Arnoux? She has been thought to stand in the book as an unclouded exponent of womanly sweetness and virtue. Is she not, rather, a sort of Madame Bovary in reverse—a woman who rejects passion because she pietistically fears God's punishment, whose virtue brings her to the pass of offering herself, in age, to a man who suddenly sees the true incestuous nature of his devotion to her?

The profound psychological truth of the book's two final chapters is unequaled in modern literature. For in these two scenes Flaubert's uncanny knowledge of the pathology of modern life becomes startlingly evident. The nostalgic reminiscence of Frédéric and Deslauriers, casting back to their youthful frightened visit to the prostitute's house, reveals the continuing infantilism of these two grown-up children who have never been able to lift themselves over the threshold of maturity, who cannot learn, who can only, in spite of some native decency and generosity, repeat, and flee life's consequences. The modern split between emotion and reason stands revealed. Flaubert elsewhere remarks: "You do not possess Christianity any more. What do you possess? Railroads, factories, chemists, mathematicians. Yes, the body fares better, the flesh does not suffer so much, but the heart continues to bleed. Material questions are resolved. Are the others? . . . And as you have not filled that eternal yawning gulf which every man carries in himself, I mock at your efforts, and laugh at your miserable sciences which are not worth a straw." "Sentimental Education" is a handbook to the present because the gulf of which Flaubert speaks, after seventy years, has not been filled but only widened and deepened. The thirst for some saving authority has grown stronger, the childish bigotries more complete. Let us examine our theorists, Flaubert says, and throw out their false premises. Let us enlarge the provable human data. Have these nervous insurrections accomplished anything; are we following the "advanced notions" of a parcel of "buffoons"? Should "the government of a country be a section of the Institute, and the last section of all"?

Some partial answers lie in this novel, panoramic and profound, written in the "ivory tower" of Croisset and published one year before the inauspicious events of 1870 which ushered in the Third Republic.

## India and the United Nations

*INDIA WITHOUT FABLE: A 1942 SURVEY.* By Kate Mitchell. Alfred A. Knopf. \$2.50.

THE feeling is growing in America that the problem of India is not one for Britain and India alone but one which concerns all the United Nations. "India Without Fable" is written from this point of view in an attempt to instruct the American public about "some of the more elemental forces at work in India today." Miss Mitchell has not lived in India, does not know any Indian languages, and



relies on second-hand sources. Nor is she any longer connected with the Institute of Pacific Relations, as the publisher's blurb seems to imply; she has long been interested in the Far East and during the last few years has been connected with the magazine *Amerasia*.

Much is to be said for a survey of India at this time which reads so easily as this one. In comparatively short space the author covers in the contemporary historical manner India's political and social institutions and problems. Except for the description of Gandhi as a reactionary figure, there is little in this survey with which the Congress Party would disagree. The distinction made between Gandhi and other leaders of Congress, the contrast between his pacifist views and what is described as the firm determination of Nehru and others to lead India in the fight against fascist aggression, is an exaggeration of the facts which arises from wishful thinking. The author, very naturally, wishes to have India in the war and free at the same time; so she gets around the difficulty of Gandhi by dissociating him from the movement he has led so long and by advising the British to deal with the real anti-fascist leaders of Congress.

In spite of a realistic insistence on the importance of the historical factor, which explains the deep bitterness of the Indians toward the British, Miss Mitchell assumes throughout her survey that a free India would fight whole-heartedly with the United Nations against the Axis. But if she is right, as I think she is, in the general line of her indictment of the British, can one so easily dismiss the parallel of Ireland and Egypt, which have in common with India the same historical factor? The record of Burma, which had more self-government than almost any other British colony, is not encouraging.

The main weakness of the book is that the problem is not put in a sufficiently broad setting. This is not a quarrel between petty politicians in London and India but a vast experiment in the liquidation of the nineteenth-century imperialism which American leaders have already buried, at least in their speeches. To free 350,000,000 people at a time when Japan and Germany have enslaved large parts of Europe and Asia is a necessary condition for winning the war, as the author points out. But no solution is to be found in an appeal to American intervention. Miss Mitchell sees the economic background of the problem in terms of the fable that "the cause of Indian poverty is not the rate of population growth but the fact that India is a case of arrested economic development"; if she had considered it in terms of the future relationship between industrialized and agrarian areas, of which imperialism is a historical phase, she would have seen that if India is to be a joint responsibility of the United Nations, so must other problems. There is nothing wrong with the war directives stated in the speeches of American leaders, in which she has such strong faith, but how can they be implemented? Only, it may be suggested, by making the solution of India's problems a test case of the intentions of all the United Nations in economic as well as political matters.

Miss Mitchell's book would have been more valuable if its author had recognized the more "elemental" facts of India's place in what was once a world economy, if she had seen the reactions of British and Indian leaders against that

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background, if she had recognized that Indian agrarian life, like that of China, presents tremendous obstacles to industrialization which did not exist in most European countries. Miss Mitchell, apparently believing that national independence plus industrialization is all that India needs for prosperity, might well have asked herself whether the half-free section of the world, when it triumphs, will organize the world in accordance with nineteenth-century concepts of sovereign states, free to indulge in economic extravagance. In this larger context the political freedom which India must have is a minor issue and far from the major obstacle.

GEORGE E. TAYLOR

## Vanished Glories

*ANNALS OF THE NEW YORK STAGE.* By George C. D. Odell. Volume XIII. Columbia University Press. \$8.75.

STUDENTS of theatrical history used sometimes to express a certain amount of admiring wonder concerning the scholarly industry exhibited by the Reverend John Genest in his ten volumes entitled "Some Account of the English Stage: 1660-1832." The more recondite would respond by citing as even more detailed the manuscript volumes for which one Latreille evidently never got a publisher and which finally found refuge in the British Museum. But by comparison with Professor Odell's "Annals," these are mere opuscles, and perhaps the most significant comment to be made on a work too vast to be reviewed is simply to state categorically that there is not any other record of any theatrical epoch anywhere in the world which is even remotely comparable in completeness or, for that matter, comparable in minute accuracy—of which Professor Odell makes such a fetish that he is quite capable of spending days considering the problem presented by the initials of an obscure vaudeville actor of the eighties who does not appear to have been able to keep his own name straight. As the stately volumes appear one after another—handsomely bound, handsomely printed, and each adorned with hundreds of photographic illustrations—the wonder grows; and anyone with a feeling for the dignity of record can hardly fail to get a queer sense of security from the mere contemplation of the shelf which the thirteen volumes so far issued so majestically fill.

The latest, which includes some six hundred large pages of text and more than a hundred double-column pages of index, is devoted to the seasons 1885-88. As usual the author concerns himself not only with the legitimate stage but also with burlesque, variety, concerts, and so on, and includes within his survey not only Manhattan but also Brooklyn, Williamsburg, Queens, and Staten Island. Here, in other words, are not only Ada Rehan, Modjeska, Lily Langtry, and John Drew, but also Lotta, Frank Daniels, and Primrose and West. The period covered includes the declining days of Wallack's Theater and the rise of Daly's.

If any readers wonder what has sustained Professor Odell through his stupendous labors, the answer becomes more and more obvious as he reaches the period to which his own memories go back. In the first place—and though nothing could be less argumentative than his genial, conversational

manner—he is obviously anxious to keep alive some memory of the theatrical glories of an epoch which is seldom even mentioned by those whose knowledge and interest is so completely confined to the post-Ibsen epoch that they dismiss as unworthy of consideration a theater which had other aims—though it also had acting of a kind which there is good reason for believing more remarkable than anything the twentieth century has seen. In the second place, it is also obvious that Professor Odell has embarked upon a sort of *recherche du temps perdu* and that the titles of plays, still more the names of actors and of theaters, fill his mind with a memory of past beauties and past delights. The scale and method of the work forbid any lengthy disquisitions, but it is plain that he moves among the performers of the eighties not as a historian but as a contemporary, and even the brief personal touches which he permits himself often serve to evoke in the reader a pleasure which, real as it is, must be only a very small part of what the author is enjoying for himself. In reviewing one of the previous volumes I expressed the wish that Professor Odell might find time for a volume of frankly personal recollections, and I can only repeat the wish here.

Those who are familiar with only the recent stage will be pleased and perhaps surprised to discover how many performers described and pictured in this volume survived on our stage until at least the very recent past.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

## The Way to Begin

*A DEMOCRATIC MANIFESTO.* By Emery Reves. Random House. \$1.50.

MR. REVES has here written so much that one must enthusiastically agree with, and written it so well, that it may appear ungracious to emphasize the equally important things he has omitted. Yet I must confess I put his book down with some disappointment, feeling that while he has clarified excellently the necessary role of coercion in organized society and the demand for a new beginning in international thinking and organization, he still has not come to grips with the revolutionary nature of the events through which we are living or with the necessity for releasing the dynamic energy of the democratic idea itself.

He opens his book by saying, "Twenty years after the complete and utter defeat of autocratic and militaristic principles and states, the world is now undergoing the greatest onslaught in history by those same autocratic, militaristic forces." This premise is not only superficial; it is misleading. It reduces both the waging of the war and the consideration of the peace to dimensions that, if accepted as fact, may make us lose the one and bungle the other.

Our goal is a far greater one than the defeat of autocratic and militaristic states, although their defeat is an essential phase of the total struggle. We are living in a time when unprecedented changes in communication have created new patterns of human relationship, more comprehensive in scope and more complex in interdependence than ever before. Our institutions, using the word institutions to mean the formal organizations of our relationships, have not kept pace



with these changes. They have survived from a simpler, more provincial day. Consequently we are experiencing an intolerable tension between our actual experience as world citizens and our inherited organized provincialism. Because our actual experience can no longer be contained within existing institutions, we are plunged into a revolutionary period when new philosophies, new laws, and new units and plans must replace old social habits—the most revolutionary era since the Renaissance.

Of course we are caught in conflict. Enormous numbers of people stand to profit by the continuance of established institutions and will rally to fight for them. Old gods will not die in their beds. In our upheaval the lines of the new and the old are not always clearly discerned, and in the confusion strange partnerships appear. For instance, Hitler's most potent allies within the democratic countries have been both the frightened guardians of the old order who have been deceived by his counter-revolutionary utterances and eager leftists who have turned to him out of disillusion with their old associates. He himself is a confused mixture of reaction and change, made up of contradictions he has never been able to resolve in his own thinking because he is far more the creature of his period than its creator.

How can anybody ride these tempestuous times to the creation of a good society? Only by releasing the energies of positive democracy which have hitherto been bottled up by the specious politics of compromise. The way to have a democratic world is to build a democratic world. Let us dare to create a genuine political and economic democracy in the United States. Let us give India its freedom. Let us unleash the powers that liberty generates in men, and democracy will raise up its own leaders and inspire their followers with the will to fight and win. The next epoch can be that of free men if we set men free to make it so.

We have been calculating in the granting of liberty. We have measured its exercise with a code of pennies. Now we must make our faith and our practice as daring as our times are decisive. If we do not, democracy will die a semantic death, and its ashes will mingle with those of past governments that withered in the blast of great events.

FRANK KINGDON

## How China Fights

*CHINA AFTER FIVE YEARS OF WAR.* Prepared under the Auspices of the Ministry of Information of the Republic of China. New York: Chinese News Service. \$1.

THE average American, even though he is familiar with China, finds it almost impossible to understand the miracle of Chinese resistance. The China which the outside world knew before 1937—Shanghai, Peking, Tientsin, Hankow, Canton—including all the country's industry and a large part of its richest agricultural land, has been in Japanese hands for years. Yet China has not only held off the powerful Japanese army from its interior provinces but has displayed increasing offensive prowess. How has this come about? What changes have been wrought in the political and economic organization of this one-time "backward" country to enable it to stand up to one of the great military powers

of the twentieth century. In contrast to the paucity of official information on war-time developments in most of the belligerent countries, the Chinese government has provided us with a detailed description of the way in which China has organized to meet the Japanese threat. It provides an answer to most of the questions that Americans might want to ask about fighting China.

The preparation of this book reflects the difficulties under which China labors in carrying on the struggle. Because all direct means of communication have been cut, the text of the book, which was prepared in Chungking by members of the staff of the Ministry of Information, was transmitted in full by short wave to this country. It was then edited and printed in New York by the Chinese News Service. The handicaps of preparation have seemingly had no effect on the quality of the job. The book reads as if it had been prepared by an exceptionally able journalist in the most favorable conditions. It is extremely informative and, for a government publication, remarkably candid. And, what is perhaps even more remarkable for a government publication, it conveys something of the spirit behind China's indomitable resistance.

There is little that is relevant that is not covered by the book. It tells how the government was put on a war footing with power centralized in the hands of Chiang Kai-shek, how China's army was modernized and expanded to meet Japan's threat, and how the country's industries were moved and reorganized in the western provinces. The strategy used in several of the more important battles of the war is analyzed. But the most interesting sections of the book are those which tell how the people of China—workers, farmers, and students—have adapted their lives to the harsh requirements of war.

The story of how China's universities have met the test is one of the great epics of our times. Nearly all the country's colleges and universities had to move thousands of miles from coastal areas to China's Far West. In some instances the journey had to be made entirely or in large part on foot. Often these trips were made under Japanese aerial attacks. A surprisingly large part of the equipment was successfully moved, but there was an appalling lack of buildings to house the schools in the remote interior. Today they are largely housed in old temples, barracks, city gates, and rented houses. Many of the students are seriously underfed; they must do their studying in the daytime because they cannot afford to buy oil for lamplight. Yet despite all these handicaps the universities are playing a vital part in China's resistance. And their ability to carry on without even the barest necessities is characteristic of the spirit which has made China unconquerable.

MAXWELL S. STEWART

### The Nation's Essays

Contributors so far to The Nation's bi-weekly page of informal literary comment have included Joseph Wood Krutch, Louis Kronenberger, Lionel Trilling, Jacques Barzun, and Louise Bogan. Essays to come include "Poe as a Literary Critic" by Edmund Wilson, "Proust, Gide, and Huxley" by Justin O'Brien, and others.



# VOTE for VICTORY

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## Drama Note

LAST week I ventured the prediction that, so far as the theater goes, the war will be good for business and bad for art. The only new production since then is something called "Vickie" (Plymouth Theater) which abundantly supports my contention. Audiences seem to think it very funny indeed. On the other hand, most of my critical colleagues appear to feel, as I certainly do, that the timely topicality achieved by making the protagonists an inventor and his WAC-y wife is insufficient to turn an obvious rough-and-tumble farce into something else. "Vickie" is the sort of play in which you know that the amorous couple is going to be interrupted in the middle of a kiss by the doorbell and in which, sooner or later, somebody is going to ask, "Who is this guy anyway?" José Ferrer, Uta Hagen, Taylor Holmes, and other well-known people do their best, but it is not enough.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

## RECORDS

COLUMBIA'S October list offers still another of Beethoven's great quartets—this time Op. 95, extraordinary in its somberness throughout, its compression and concentration, all of which combine to produce the poignancy and vehemence even of the scherzo, the compactness and violence of the darkly passionate first movement, the compactness and intense, agitated poignancy of the finale. The Budapest Quartet's performance (Set 519, \$3.68) is a superb statement of the work in living sound; but Columbia's reproduction of the sound makes it unrecognizably cold, hard, dull (side 4 is much brighter than the rest).

Excellent reproduced on the other hand—with tonal beauty and brilliance, with clarity of definition, with perfect balance—is Rodzinski's performance of Shostakovich's Fifth Symphony with the Cleveland Orchestra (Set 520, \$5.78). The performance, moreover, has a hard clarity and brilliance which cause me to prefer it to Stokowski's. As for the work itself, there was the possibility that hearing it again after some time I might find more in it than before; but actually the rehearsing brought home to me with new force the impotence of the pretentiousness that expresses itself in those fluently gigantic terms.

Other orchestral releases include

Strauss's charming "Kaiserwalzer," capotivately performed by Walter with the New York Philharmonic-Symphony—with the recorded sound of the performance quite normal and agreeable for once (11854-D, \$1.05). And Tchaikovsky's "Capriccio italien," one of the poorest of his works, on which Beecham wastes his superb musicianship in a performance with the New York Philharmonic-Symphony (Set X-229, \$2.63). On the limited-range Magnavox machine on which I heard the set the recorded sound of the performance was good.

Then, finally, there is the set (518, \$2.89) of arias from Mozart's operas sung by Pons with an orchestra conducted by Walter. They are the Queen of the Night's "Der hölle Rache" from "Die Zauberflöte," "Voi che sapete" from "Figaro," "Ach, ich liebe" and "Welche Wonne" from "The Seraglio," and the Alleluia from the motet "Exultate"; and Pons brings to them the crystalline quality of her small voice, but not the force required by the Queen of the Night's aria, nor the style required by the others. Moreover, she sings the Queen's aria in French, one of the arias from "The Seraglio" in Italian, "Voi che sapete" in French.

Some time ago I argued against the criticism that Toscanini's performances of Schubert's and Beethoven's symphonies were not in the Viennese tradition, questioning whether there was such a tradition and whether it would be binding in any case. My article brought me a letter from a reader who contended that they might be criticized for not being in the Viennese spirit. This, he said, was the relaxed attitude that restrained the performer from driving the music excessively, from giving way to over-excitement, from compressing the music too tightly. When excessive itself the attitude produced the looseness and sprawling expansiveness of certain performances of Bruno Walter; on the other hand "it is [Toscanini's] nature to drive excessively, to step up pace, and to create over-excitement. Nowhere is this more apparent than in his performance of the first movement of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony. Or, since the Viennese spirit is confined not alone to Beethoven's music . . . the first movement of Mozart's G minor Symphony." And other examples cited by my reader were the second and fourth movements of Beethoven's Fourth Symphony. "In contrast to the fevered performances of Tosca-

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nini I place, as characteristic of the Viennese spirit, the recorded performances of Weingartner."

Some of Toscanini's performances have the compression, tension, nervous excitement that my reader speaks of; but some of them are relaxed: the second movement of Beethoven's Fourth Symphony that my reader mentions may move a little faster than in Weingartner's performance, but it is not tense or excited. Moreover, in some instances where Toscanini's performances have this tension, intensity, excitement, it is open to objection, but in other instances it is not: the turbulence of his recorded performance of the first movement of Mozart's G minor is wrong, but the intensity of his performance of the first movement of Beethoven's Fifth is not. And the reason in each case has nothing to do with Vienna; it has to do with the character of the music. Not

all the music written in Vienna is alike; not all of it is relaxed; not all the music that is relaxed is Viennese. True, there is a peculiarly Viennese relaxation; but while we think of its being in Schubert we don't think of its being in Mozart's G minor and Beethoven's Fifth. And as a matter of fact we don't think of its being in all of Schubert—in the C major Symphony, for example.

A few years ago I thought myself that the flaw in Toscanini's wonderful performance of this symphony was its lack of Viennese relaxation; recently I have found the performance wonderful without any qualification; and the other day I encountered the justification of the performance in Ralph Bates's penetrating discussion of the work in his little book on Schubert. "The symphony," he says, "largely achieves its effects by sheer intoxication of persistent rhythms. . . . The whole of the Allegro [first movement] is one vast exercise in rhythmic exploitation. The first subject . . . serves perfectly as a liberator of a steely, racy rhythm. . . . The sudden and unheralded entry of the beautiful second subject, with its own special rhythmic contribution, discloses the aesthetic basis. In this Allegro there must be no slackening of pace in pulseless transitions. The Scherzo even more unambiguously proclaims its object. . . . Again the second subject is introduced breathlessly, and at once its externals are stripped off, so that already in bar 41 the naked, scintillating ardor of string timbre is swinging up and down with enormous power. Even this rhythmic form is later simplified so that the music rises and falls with immense suggestion of a shining piston crosshead and rod, driving an exultant music through time and space. The same is true of the Allegro vivace [finale]. In a certain sense this is not Art, for there is no music which gives such a revelation of astronomic grandeur in its external, pulsing sameness of beauty. . . . It is the termination of this music which is so awe-inspiring. . . . The huge *fff* climax sinks rapidly to a *ppp* . . . there is no slackening of pace as the triplet figure begins to create one of the most astonishing splendors in music. It is as if we were borne up on that pulsating atom of rhythm, above the world and out from its limits over the cold purity of universal space, as if we beheld the circling of worlds and the laws they manifest." Toscanini's performance is that of a man who has this understanding of the work.

B. H. HAGGIN

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# THE *Nation*

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## *What Dies Is Up to*

BY FRED KIRCHWEY

THE story of Martin Dies and his committee is told at length in this issue. It is a sensational and scandalous story. In some of its details it is amusing. It will, I suspect, make many people mad. For most Americans, however little they may worry about political theory, have a strong distaste for unfair behavior. They don't admire blows landed below the belt; they don't think men and women should be attacked and given no chance to defend themselves; they don't like to see old, respected democratic procedures made a joke of by men sworn to defend them. And so the easiest and most obvious way to attack Dies is to expose his unscrupulous methods and trust the natural instinct of the public for legality and fair play to bring about a change.

But this method of attack has its dangers. Too much emphasis on the bad behavior of Dies and his committee tends to distract attention from the purposes that dictate such behavior. It is what Dies is up to that counts—Dies and the group that backs him. For that reason the material gathered in this issue is not merely the story of a reactionary politician who happens to be conducting a normal Congressional investigation in a rather high-handed manner. It is the record of American fascism in action.

The Dies committee is an agency of political civil war. It is not going to use legitimate methods of inquiry because inquiry is not its purpose. (One might as well ask a People's Court in Germany to observe democratic judicial forms.) The purpose of the Dies committee is not to discover and expose subversive groups and individuals. Its purpose—its specific political purpose—is to discredit and if possible destroy the New Deal and the progressive elements in the national Administration, including especially the President of the United States. And that, in turn, is only the immediate practical expression of a much larger purpose, which is the destruction of progressive tendencies in American life as a whole.

That is why the committee has gone out of its way to

attack on the flimsiest grounds the new administrative agencies that are chiefly responsible for the conduct of the war. Congress is as it is—at least until after the coming elections. While the departments vary, their personnel remains relatively constant, though the progressive spirit has permeated the best of them. But the agencies—especially the war agencies—have in many cases attracted men of energy and a liberal point of view. They are the seed-bearers of the democratic future, if there is to be one. It is no accident that Dies, or his Man Friday, Matthews, should have selected the Board of Economic Warfare for perhaps his most unscrupulous attacks. Headed by one of the true democrats of our time, Vice-President Wallace, directed by a dynamic progressive, Milo Perkins, this board has powers which may help to shape the economy of the peace as well as of the war. When Dies tried to discredit this board by mistakenly attributing Communist-front connections to one of its ex-banker members and by shamelessly digging up a harmless book on nudism to ruin the reputation of another of its staff, he was acting on a sound fascist instinct.

That one of his shots miscarried isn't very important. What is important is the fact that his unscrupulous smearing has succeeded in terrorizing practically every agency in the government. A man or woman who was ever on one of the letterheads from which Dies lifts the names of his victims or who is listed in the famous network of the lately exposed Mrs. Elizabeth Dilling is by that token considered ineligible for most appointments. It takes a stout-hearted, tough-hided administrator to pick his staff without regard to their standing in the Social Register of Martin Dies.

Some of the results of the Dies terror have crept into the newspapers. The resignation of Maurice Parmelee from the Board of Economic Warfare and of Malcolm Cowley from the Office of Facts and Figures were among the published triumphs of Dies over decency. But few people know of the hundreds of able men and women



whose names have been proposed for jobs and then dropped, or have not even been proposed, because the shadow of the Dies inquisition lies across the administrator's desk in every agency.

Matters should improve now that the Department of Justice has exposed the hollowness of the charges leveled by the committee against government employees. But will they? Agencies want to dodge trouble and get ahead with their work, and only the other day an official in one of them who called me to inquire about an applicant for a job told me they couldn't be bothered with him if he had had any connection with organizations on the Dies black list.

Whether all its members know it or not, the Dies committee is as authentic and ugly a manifestation of American fascism as Huey Long, or Gerald Winrod, whose appearance before the committee was mysteriously canceled at the last minute, or Father Coughlin, whom Dies never could be induced to investigate at all.

Don't remind me that he poked into the affairs of the Bund or questioned one or two native fascists. Of course he did—just enough of them to hold his franchise. After all, fascism is not yet triumphant in America; even a Dies has to go through the motions of pretending to be a democrat. Dies could afford to investigate a Fritz Kuhn or a Deatherage. Or rather, he couldn't afford not to. His bias is patent to you and me; though apparently it is not patent to the average Congressman. But even a less-than-average Congressman might knit his brow if he noticed that, in a time when the United States was becoming embroiled in a life-and-death struggle with international fascism, the one Congressional committee purporting to inquire into "subversive activities" left fascists and Nazis alone and devoted itself strictly to the job of smearing New Dealers and branding as Communists any progressive who ever signed a statement attacking William Randolph Hearst or gave \$5 to Loyalist Spain.

Dies investigated—if so honorable a word can continue to be used for the sloppy, gossip-column technique of his committee—the irreducible minimum of his fellow-fascists. But the people he set out to save his country from were the liberals, the progressives, the pro-labor, pro-New Deal democrats. He called them Communists, and he got his appropriations from Congress and nice approving-with-qualifications editorials in the press, and he persuaded an astonishingly wide public—just as Hitler did before him—that he was saving it from the ravages of revolution. He not only succeeded in doing this; he succeeded in making people afraid of him. He created the remarkable myth, and sold it to his fellow-Congressmen, that to oppose Dies was to support Stalin. And many a legislator who privately attacked Dies, or at least deplored his "methods," lost his nerve when the moment came to vote no.

But this happened in Germany, too, while Hitler was

on the road to power. Remember? The great press, even the liberal press, feared to attack the rising Hitler openly, though his plug-uglies were beating up honest people in the streets and his anti-Semitism was a stink in the nostrils of the world. The decent German papers deplored this and that—his "methods," his attacks on Jews; they may even have questioned the accuracy of his assertion that Germany was about to be captured by communism. But they let the central menace grow. And so Germany was captured by Hitlerism instead. And Hitler's gentle opponents—the deplores, the questioners, the civil libertarians—were either taken over or chucked into concentration camps, where their passion for tolerance wouldn't interfere with the rising New Order.

Don't mistake me. Dies is no Hitler. He is an ambitious, reactionary Southern politician. He has not even much of a following in his own state or he would have come in better than fourth in a four-man race for the Senate. Dies is not important as a man or a politician. He is important as a symbol of forces that have been mobilized to defeat our hope of a democratic America, a victorious war, and a people's peace. Dies speaks for a reaction that is today engaged in civil war. And he speaks effectively. We must not fool ourselves with talk about methods and rights and proper Congressional procedures. Dies is not performing a democratic function badly; he is performing an anti-democratic maneuver well. His every move is an act of war. His committee is a camouflaged pillbox in the fascist fight for control of our democracy. It needs to be stormed and overthrown—not reformed.

#### Forum for Fascists

*"I submit that the Dies committee, on the face of the record, has shown itself not to be entitled to continuation. I submit that the committee has demonstrated itself to be the foe of groups the government is trying to unite in the war effort . . . the creator of internal confusion, hubbub, and disunity; the implacable antagonist of the New Deal; the avoider of fair judicial and committee procedure; the exemplar of marked solicitude in its treatment of American fascists; the grantor of the committee forum as a platform from which Jew-baiters, crackpots, and totalitarians identified with fascist organizations spouted their nauseating nostrums. These and many other attributes, omissions, and commissions of the committee make it in my judgment deserving of a quiet and not too well-heralded funeral."*—Representative John Coffee, Washington.



# Background of a Demagogue

BY WILLSON WHITMAN

**B**Y THE time the North could measure the menace of Huey Long, Louisiana's leader was dead and buried. To informed Southerners, Yankees have seemed equally slow on the uptake about Long's neighbor, Martin Dies.

Dies, lacking Long's intermittent but genuine concern for the common man, skipped the build-up of a state machine and started his career with the anti-New Deal Southern ring in Washington. Working with such Republicans as Clare Hoffman, Hamilton Fish, and J. Parnell Thomas, this ring—led by the ghost of John Nance Garner—has Cox of the Rules Committee for strategist and Byrd and Smith for business managers. Dies is its loud speaker, and well-meaning Yankees who ask the Rules Committee to abolish the Dies committee need to give more study to slick Southern teamwork.

*Martin Dies comes from a country with a grievance.* To repeat that the South has been a hard-up colony of the North since the Civil War may be tiresome, but as long as we have a freight differential it is true. A fascist-minded South is the product of freight differentials, wage differentials, and a financial discrimination which breeds more discrimination all along the line. You cannot convince a Southern business man that there is enough for everybody and that he need not grab from poor folks or jockey for privileges in Washington. In his experience there has never been enough since Sherman burned the factories and wrapped iron rails around pine trees.

You cannot even make a present-day Southerner fight big business on the ground that it is Yankee business; he knows when he's licked. Reversing the pattern of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," the absentee landlord is now a Yankee corporation, with Simon Legree succeeded by a Southerner grateful for the job of overseer.

Texas, second richest state, should be least subject to the South's inferiority complex, but in Texas corporation influence is especially strong. In the Dies district, a region of cut-over timber, washed-out cotton fields, and pumped-out oil wells along the Louisiana line, the money is in the hands of big oil refiners, now enjoying a war boom.

*Martin Dies grew up a politician.* Southerners with gumption enough to see that the country's business is run by Northern corporations either move North or go into politics. In Dies's case the decision was made in an earlier generation; his father was a Congressman, and while young Martin was going to the university in Georgetown he was also learning the oily ropes of Texas

politics as his father's secretary. He was a Congressional baby when he succeeded to his father's seat.

Starting early and staying in office, the young Southern politician can give cards and spades to his Yankee colleagues. Southerners play for keeps, and if, like the Irish, they don't always play fair, it is because government has meant for them, too, the rule of a foreign conqueror. They learned corruption from the carpetbaggers and the occupying army of Ben Butler.

Southerners make much of grandfathers, but nobody in Texas knows about the Dies family two generations back. Martin Dies senior spoke with the self-consciousness and the ornery, acrid cynicism of a Southerner only a few jumps ahead of the white-trash class. An enlarged photograph of his father, prominent in the Dies office, testifies to the present Congressman's yearning for ancestral background.

Conscious that he is not quite "quality folk" by Southern standards, Martin Dies has to ally himself with the right side—the side of business, not of working people; of native-born white churchgoers, not of foreigners, Jews, or Negroes. Respectability means opposing not merely labor unions but "communistic" consumer cooperatives and social-betterment agencies.

*Martin Dies is economically shrewd.* Anybody is smart who can rise from a \$1,500-a-year small-town law practice to a \$10,000-a-year job, and hold the job. But really smart people learn how to get along without spending their own money, and Representative Dies has learned this. In addition to his Congressional salary, most of his expenses are chargeable to the taxpayers; so are his mistakes, even to libel costs. His ghost writer, J. B. Matthews, is paid by the people, although fees for magazine articles and lectures go to Mr. Dies. Bills for printing and mailing his propaganda are also paid from public funds.

Representative Dies is, presumably, too smart to take checks or stock or any other form of emolument from the corporations whose interests his policies serve, and which have supported him ever since he started his political career. But it is hard to rule out friendly family relations, and Dies's Uncle Jack is vice-president of the Humble Oil and Refining Company, a subsidiary of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey. The Dies committee has won approval from people willing to pay half a million dollars for its continuation; the chairman told the House as much when there was some opposition to a trifling \$100,000 appropriation.





Martin Dies

*Martin Dies is a nationalist.* That can represent progress in the backwoods, where a man from the next county is a foreigner. The people of Dies's district are 99 per cent native, and the white folks are mostly of "pure Anglo-Saxon descent." In Dies's boyhood the district included a penitentiary, afterward an insane asylum, which housed a few aliens from other parts of the state; but this would only suggest that a foreigner must be either criminal or crazy. Martin Dies didn't get abroad in the last war, and once proposed more stringent passport restrictions to keep Americans safe at home. He did little traveling in this country until his committee could foot the bill.

Dies's predecessor, Representative John C. Box, was credited with originating the politically tactful quota system of immigration; but Dies's own efforts have been to bar the gates completely against "foreign hordes" and to keep "America for the Americans." His father bitterly opposed Wilson's League of Nations. In 1934, when the nationalist tide was rising again, young Martin signed a magazine article entitled *Nationalism Spells Safety*, in which he confessed that he was "disgusted with all this unintelligible jargon about internationalism." In speeches made in recent years he has consistently seen less danger to the country from invasion by foreign armies than from "foreign influences" and "the invasion of foreign ideas."

*Martin Dies is anti-labor.* His father fulminated against the Colorado mine strike and thought that Champ Clark and Oscar Underwood, as well as Bryan and Wilson, had sold out to socialism. Martin junior began his Congressional career as Garner's fair-haired boy in the fight on the NRA and the wage-hour bills. Having proposed an investigation of sitdown strikes as "un-American," he naturally regarded his Committee on un-American Activities as an assignment to "scotch rattlesnakes" among C. I. O. organizers, blacklist members of aggressive unions, and smear the NLRB.

*Martin Dies gives aid and comfort to anti-Semitic groups.* He has made flowery speeches to Jewish organizations, but look at the anti-Semitic organizations, from the Klan to the Crusaders, which support him; read, in his book, how the Trojan horse was "led in by a refugee"; consider his committee's proposal to stop immigration from Europe at a time when the immigrants were mainly refugees from the Reich; and note that his statement, "This is a Christian nation," was approved by William Dudley Pelley as "Silvershirtism at its best."

*Martin Dies is anti-Negro.* When George Deatherage said to the Dies committee, "I am bigoted enough to believe in white supremacy," the chairman blushed at the word "bigoted." In his district the poll tax disfranchises some 70,000 Negroes. His committee has sought to identify poll-tax repeal with the Communist program.

*Martin Dies is a master of ballyhoo.* His father won praise from Yankee newspapers by calling Wilson a power-crazed czar, leading the country to ruin. By smearing labor and the New Deal, Martin junior made news acceptable to 85 per cent of the papers in the country. Like Dexter Fellowes, Dies had a show the editors enjoyed, with the G. O. P. elephant to do tricks for him. And his publicity is notable for perfect timing and smart use of space.

The timing has been right not only for elections but for appropriations; each time he wants more money he takes so many inches of type, and because he asked for millions, his biggest appropriation was headlined a "reduction." Good timing also distinguishes his warfare against labor and the New Deal. Attacks on union organizers are synchronized with contract negotiations, and red influence in the Administration is charged at the crises of debate on such important measures as neutrality repeal or price control.

Geographically, Dies press releases distribute their fire, promising juicy local revelations but confining discussion to distant dangers. In Washington Dies talks of German airports along the Rio Grande; in Texas, of threats to Philadelphia shipyards.

Quick to take advantage of or to invent news tie-ups, he is also good at balancing blunders with fresh promises and meeting a rebuke with impertinence. When the President criticized Dies's early use of his committee to defeat Murphy in Michigan, Dies managed in one sentence to insult the Chief Executive and a future Justice of the Supreme Court: "It would have been wrong to shield Governor Murphy simply because he was a Democrat and a strong friend of the President."

The most serious damage done by Dies publicity was of course to warn the Bund of impending investigations in time to permit removal of records. This pattern of the telegraphed punch—announcement of raids to come, followed by failure to find the missing papers—occurred



in city after city, despite Justice Department protests and Presidential warnings. Bund leader Fritz Kuhn was not summoned by the committee until a year after a Bund investigation was promised. By that time he had been arrested by New York state authorities, on FBI evidence, but Dies claimed and still claims credit.

*Martin Dies uses publicity to poison public opinion against Russia.* His book says much about the Trojan-horse technique; from the start his investigation minimized Axis activities by emphasizing the menace of Moscow. In vain the President asserted, and Gallup figures showed, that the country wanted an investigation of Nazis; and Maury Maverick warned that political investigations "always complimented the Germans because there were so many Germans but gave the Russians hell." Dies himself said for publication that Nazi influence, rumored to be backed by "large industrialists" (never again mentioned), would be considered first, with Communist influence second, and "Spanish and Chinese propaganda third." Nevertheless, the investigation proceeded, until Germany declared war on the United States, in the proportions of the Dies book. Twenty-one out of twenty-eight chapters of "The Trojan Horse in America" are on communism, two on the Bund, one on the Pelley brand of fascism, and one on the Italian brand. Japan doesn't even get a chapter, while Falange and White Ukrainian activities go unmentioned.

After false emphasis comes confusion as a device to mislead. The multiplicity of Dies's charges was bound to obscure real issues; the investigation was spread over consumer groups, charities, relief associations, a Negro university. Dies even offered to investigate various government agencies and did send investigators into TVA territory, while he himself went to Hollywood to hunt for Moscow agents. Where no affiliation could be found, it was always possible to leave a dirty thumb-print: "From the evidence before us we are not in a position definitely to state whether or not the American Civil Liberties Union can properly be classed as a Communist organization." But "linking" and "branding" come easy to a man capable of asserting that "Joseph Stalin . . . directs an international spy ring with one hand and a local legislative lobby for cheaper milk with the other."

Finally, a favorite Dies device is simple substitution of Communist for Nazi, or vice versa, in keeping with the Dies doctrine that the "red and brown Führers" are Siamese twins. In an early debate on the Bund he said, "I'm no alarmist. I'm not inclined to look under every bed for a Communist." Throughout the hearings he often interrupted or led witnesses to say that facts brought out about the Axis must have a Communist counterpart—"and of course the same tactics are pursued by Russia." During the Mexican elections of 1940 he warned of red plots to intervene by force of arms, when he must have known that the threats of violence were

coming from the fascist supporters of General Almazán, who was in turn supported by the oil companies hiring Dies's Uncle Jack.

*Martin Dies makes a dangerous appeal to the ignorant.* His flag-waving oratory was made to order for Hearst headlines; his accents appeal to joiners, and joiners appeal to him. At one time he planned a "League for Peace and Americanism," similar to Senator Reynolds's Vindicators, which was to agitate for "jobs for Americans" and the deportation of aliens and against immigration and the sending of American troops to fight on foreign soil.

Having been feted by Westchester society, hailed at a hotel dinner in New York as "the Sir Galahad of American politics," and mentioned for the Presidency by Father Coughlin, Dies must be excused for cherishing the highest hopes for his own future. Nobody except him really thinks he could be President; he couldn't even attain his early ambition to be party leader in the House. But his fan mail has Congress scared.

To sentimental patriots, the favorite Dies appeal is that of the martyr. His life is threatened, his children may be kidnapped, his files must be guarded because he has fearlessly exposed the enemies of our country. Any defeat is due to the enemy. When the House declined his proposal to investigate strikes, "this showed the power wielded by the Communists and their fellow-travelers during that period." When ninety-eight clergymen and religious leaders asked Congress to cut off the Dies funds, they "had permitted themselves to be used by Browder." When Treasury agents discovered that Dies owed back taxes, he told admirers, "We are facing a serious situation. . . ."

*Martin Dies's committee is a dangerous approach to an American Gestapo.* On Dies's own testimony it does not conflict with the FBI because it investigates the strictly legal activities of persons who cannot be indicted as criminals, persons described in the records as "well-meaning innocents," honest liberals," and "ordinary middle-class citizens." But Dies expense vouchers show payments to informers and spies, trucking charges for the seizure of records, and rentals for listening-posts and dictaphones. At committee headquarters it is admitted that lists of names will be furnished to responsible authorities who make proper written application to the chairman—that is, will be furnished to employers compiling black lists.

The committee urges its own black list upon government agencies. One war-agency executive says that Dies intimidation now forces administrators to hire mediocre, "safe" help in preference to more efficient progressives, because you can't have inquisitors disrupting the staff.

*Martin Dies is hostile to progress in government.* He has argued repeatedly for "class tolerance," meaning, apparently, acceptance by Americans of fixed financial



and social stratification. He has devoted much committee time to investigating persons who worked against child labor and for social-security laws and other elementary reforms. His present hope is to use the war to defeat reform; "Many people think we can preserve our social gains and defeat Hitler. It cannot be done," he told the House.

Naturally he feels that minorities have no rights worth mentioning. "For years they [the Communists] have been building up this utterly senseless idea of civil rights," he complains. He has long urged outlawing the Communist Party and all organizations "linked" to it by his committee. "In France they're executing the Communists," he noted with approval, shortly before France fell. Nor are majority rights, as expressed at the polls, too sacred to the Dies mind. Americans, Dies is fond of saying, derive their fundamental rights "from God and not from governments, dictators, kings, and majorities." Here the danger is the assumed partnership between Dies and Deity; bouncing up after a Roosevelt reproof, he declared, "I shall not swerve from the path of duty as God gives me the light to see it."

*Martin Dies is opposed to the present war.* But lacking the courage of his father, who lost his Congressional seat after voting against World War I, he won't admit it. The present Congressman Dies is smart enough to support the war where it shows; he has supported Roosevelt the same way. He managed to snipe at England in

speeches while voting for lend-lease and has admitted that he does not favor lend-lease aid to Russia. His bitterness against the Soviet Union brought from Congressman Sumners a reminder that one doesn't insult an ally. As for the Japanese, his press statement that committee revelations might have prevented Pearl Harbor was officially denied by the State Department and was unsupported by subsequent committee publications. In a speech delivered at New Orleans in October, 1941, he dismissed the Japanese as "just a bluff."

No conscientious objector to war, he can fairly be called an isolationist. Everything in his philosophy opposes a people's war and will oppose a peace based on collective security. In 1938 he was warning that Communist propaganda for collective security might get us into war; his committee was especially bitter against the Loyalists in Spain. As late as 1940 he was investigating, or promising to investigate, the efforts of the Chinese, French, and British to make America unneutral.

Texans are fighting folk who ask about a man's own war record, in or out of Congress. In the last war Martin Dies was too young to be drafted, although many young Texans of his age enlisted. He is not too old for the present war, but his health doesn't even permit him to attend closely to his Congressional job. Suspicious Southerners note that the Dies health is variable, sending him, in time of political crisis, to the hospital, to Florida, or to his Texas farm.

## J. B. Matthews—the Informer

BY RICHARD H. ROVERE

J. B. MATTHEWS, a former Communist, is the strong right arm of Martin Dies. In private he is Dies's closest adviser; in public his most fawning admirer. Although he bears only the unimposing title of Research Director, he does more work than all the regular committee members put together. If Matthews had not come on the scene late in 1938, the committee might have been voted out of existence. It was fast becoming an embarrassment to Congress and a joke to the press. Matthews's testimony, a three-day orgy of self-reproach, put it back on the front pages, and his work as a staff member has kept it there ever since. In return he has been given a free hand to run the greatest smear campaign in American history.

A tall, rangy man, domineering and endlessly argumentative, Matthews is ideally suited to the job. As red-baiters, Dies and the rest of the committee know what they want, but they have no grasp of the movements they pretend to investigate. Matthews has known most of

them from the inside and knows just when and how he can scuttle the truth. Left to themselves, Dies, Starnes, and Thomas would bungle things beyond repair; they could make no sense at all of the left-wing documents which are Matthews's tools. But Matthews is an industrious fanatic who will burrow forever in impossible magazines like the *Party Organizer*. In almost every way Dies and Matthews are as conveniently mated as Jack Spratt and his wife. Dies has political ability and power; Matthews has energy and knowledge. Dies is easygoing, but he has a way with the public; Matthews has the intensity and craftiness for behind-the-scenes intrigue. In their personal relations Dies looks up to Matthews as a man of sound religion and vast learning who, unlike most intellectuals, is willing to make reactionary politics a career. He was pleased as punch when Matthews, in writing "The Trojan Horse in America," stuffed the Troy metaphor with high-sounding allusions from Greek history. Matthews, although he privately considers Dies



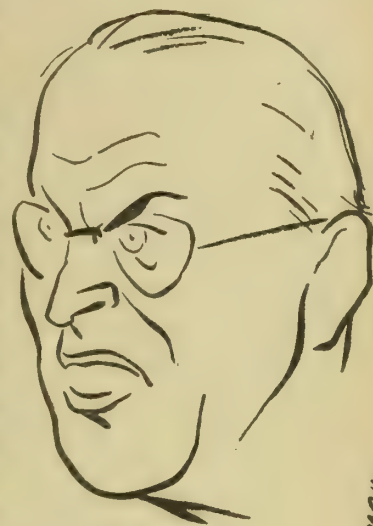
an oaf, is willing to play the sycophant in order to use Dies's political prestige, achieved largely with his help, for his own ends.

Most informers are moved either by spite against their former friends or by a simple desire to save their own hides. Matthews is inspired by a spite so great that it has become an almost disinterested zeal. If he were, as many suppose, nothing but an opportunist, he would probably be hoist by his own petard, but he happens to be a political psychopath who believes implicitly in the rightness of his mission. Because he was first compromised by the Communists and then cast off by them, his sentiments were, in the first flush of anger, not unlike those of a lady who has given her guarded virtue and the best years of her life to a faithless lover. Being a man who has always lived by religions and ideologies, however, he soon came to see his old associates not only as persons but as representatives of a set of ideas. And so his hatred now includes every piece of the Marxist dogma and anything remotely like it. When the Dies committee asks Matthews for something with which to smear a government official, the chances are that it is just out for the blood of another New Dealer. But for the Research Director the task is one of high importance. Every liberal he uncovers is another Turk brought low in his crusade to save the Republic from what he calls, with fitting vagueness, "the general idea of collectivism." If his files, which consist principally of old letterheads, rifled mailing lists, and back numbers of radical magazines, show that a man spoke up for Loyalist Spain in 1937, Matthews will not hesitate to write him down as a Communist in 1942. He may not hold with such logic himself, but that is not the point. He has said time and again that he considers it weak-minded to distinguish the radical heresies one from another. In his autobiography he wrote: "I believe that . . . a demagogue, by whatever political name, who deliberately seeks to prejudice the public mind against business . . . is as dangerous as any Communist to the welfare of America." And again: "I know that conservatives who would oppose successfully the left-wing illusions of our time must drop their divisive interpretations of what lies back of the Communist and Socialist movements." From which it follows that for Matthews it is enough that a man once supported Loyalist Spain or spoke harshly of the utilities. But, of course, it is not enough for the public, and that is why "Communist" or "fellow-traveler" is added.

Joseph Brown Matthews was born forty-eight years ago in Hopkinsville, Kentucky, to a former school teacher and a Singer sewing-machine salesman. Republican in politics, Methodist in religion, the family wanted young Matthews cut to their pattern. But at Asbury College, in Wilmore, Kentucky, where he studied ancient languages, he fell indirectly under the influence of the Christian liberals of his day, men like David Starr Jordan and

John R. Mott. He spent the years of the First World War teaching their gospel, along with some arithmetic and penmanship, at a Chinese school in Java called Tiong Hoa Hwe Koan. On the side he did some missionary work with the Javanese and mastered enough of the Malay language to render the Methodist hymnal and a book by Henry Van Dyke into that difficult tongue.

His stay in Java outlasted the war by a few years. He returned here to devote his full time to the study and teaching of the antiquities. At Columbia he worked under A. V. Williams Jackson, the great orientalist, and he taught Hebrew, Latin, Greek, Sanskrit, Arabic, and Aramaic at several freshwater colleges in the South and Middle West. Academic colleagues recall that he had a quick, if conventional, linguistic mind. He still maintains a scholarly interest in languages, and occasionally, when there is not much going on around the Dies committee, he bolsters his \$7,200-a-year income by doing some translations for the State Department. But in that period—the mid-



J. B. Matthews

—his social conscience was developing rapidly, and he found himself more and more concerned with the problems of war and race relations. He joined several pacifist organizations, and in 1924, while teaching at Scarritt College, he did a yeoman's job lining up Tennessee votes for the La Follette-Wheeler ticket.

If it had not been for the unfortunate sequence in which he received two telegrams on a June day in 1929, Matthews might be spending his middle age as a university scholar of modest abilities and liberal inclinations. One wire was from the Fellowship of Reconciliation, a New York pacifist group, and it offered him the post of executive secretary. The other, which came a few hours later, was from Drew University, a Methodist school in New Jersey, and it asked him to accept the chair of Hebrew. Matthews would have preferred to take the teaching job and help the cause in his spare time, but he had already committed himself to the non-resisters by the time the second telegram arrived. Today he traces his subsequent misfortunes back to that fateful day, and his victims may well do the same with theirs.

As a radical leader in Tennessee Matthews had shown a real flair for oratory and some facility as a writer, but he had no opportunity to try his hand at the kind of



palace politics which lends spice and a sense of importance to so many unimportant movements. In New York he discovered that his talent for meddling verged almost on genius. When he testified before the Dies committee he named ninety-four left-wing groups with which he had been associated over a period of seven years. Five months after he went to work for the pacifists, he joined the Socialist Party. A year later he was almost expelled by the Socialists for consorting too much with the Communists. Like Heywood Broun, who was then his friend, he always made his exit by the door to the left. Indeed, he was often so unreasonably radical, so eager to flaunt his views and boast of his daring, that many people who knew him then believe now that he was a provocateur instructed by the government or some other agency to enter left-wing movements and commit their members to incriminating statements. On the basis of present evidence that seems a mistaken view of the matter. Extremes have always attracted him. Today he is more bitterly and proudly reactionary than Martin Dies himself.

In any event, Matthews flourished as a politician, and kept on moving closer to the Communists. "The winter of 1932," he has written, "found me prepared to become a full-fledged fellow-traveler." He had long since abandoned the meek philosophy of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, which still employed him, and in the Socialist Party he associated himself with a group that was dissatisfied with the moderate policies of Norman Thomas and wished to replace him with a leader who would be more willing to cooperate with the Communists. He went to Russia in the summer of 1932, the year of the great famine in the Ukraine. "I even saw with my own eyes such appalling sights of poverty as would move the coldest heart." When he came back he wrote an article, published in the *Daily Worker*, denying that there had been any famine. He now says that neither then nor later was he an actual member of the Communist Party. Probably not, but as he is always so quick to point out, the line that separates Communists who carry membership cards from those who do not is all but invisible. In 1933 Earl Browder had enough confidence in him to make him chairman of the United States Congress Against War, later the American League Against War and Fascism, and still later the American League for Peace and Democracy. By far the most ambitious Communist enterprise ever set up in this country, the American League became, in the years before the war, an important instrument of Russian foreign policy. It is unthinkable that anyone but a trustworthy Communist would have been allowed to lead it.

The material rewards of service to radical causes are seldom great. Matthews had a wife and children to support. He solved the problem in 1932 by accepting a part-time executive position with Consumers' Research at a salary that took care of his family's needs. Con-

sumers' Research was radical only in the sense that it was a help to the little man and a nuisance to business. Its director, F. J. Schlinck, had no political connections and believed in government by the technological élite. Nevertheless, Matthews felt that he could work there without damage to his Marxist conscience. If anyone scoffed, he elaborated a theory, strictly his own, of "consumer communism." Apparently he was convincing, for several other Communists got jobs at Consumers' Research, and by 1935 they had decided either to gain control of it or wreck it and start a movement of their own. A strike of the employees was called in the autumn of that year, and Matthews, as an executive, was on the spot. The issues of the strike are still obscured by the policies of both sides, but a few facts are clear. The strikers had a legitimate grievance. Many technicians were paid only \$13 a week and some had been fired for complaining. On the other hand, no one could doubt that the Communist leaders were moved less by pity for the worker than by envy of the organization's success. They will always endure meager rations for a cause they want to succeed. At any rate the strike was a partial success. The strikers did not win their demands, but they won enough public sympathy to start a rival organization, Consumers' Union. But Matthews, whose desire for security proved greater than his revolutionary fervor, had fought the strikers bitterly. His position with the Communists was intolerable; he quit them for good.

For two years before he turned up on the witness stand of the Dies committee Matthews meditated and sulked. After all the wrangling and conniving of the past ten years he looked fondly back at his old Kentucky home and saw great virtues in it. Nostalgia mounted to passion and then, exultantly, he wrote: "I had an inheritance of conservative traditions. Now, after almost twenty-five years of political nomadism, I am back at the beginning. But political and economic conservatism is no longer merely an inheritance. It is a personal faith." Still a joiner, he began looking for movements in which he could express his new convictions. He found plenty. Instead of denouncing fascists from Communist platforms, he began denouncing Communists from fascist platforms. He became a star speaker for American Patriots, Inc., an organization which was run by Allen Zoll. He worked at the League for Constitutional Government, distributor of such items as the "Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion" and Elizabeth Dilling's "Red Network." His own turgid autobiography, "Odyssey of a Fellow-Traveler," was published by John Cecil, who as head of the National Immigration Board spends his energies trying to keep out anti-Nazi refugees on the ground that they are all Jewish Communists. An article by Matthews was published in *Anti-Komintern*, organ of the German Foreign Office. Another was proudly displayed by *Social Justice*.



In Washington Matthews has become more than just the brains of the Dies committee. Even if the committee is run out of business, he is likely to turn up again as the guiding spirit of some other Dies campaign. His success in working for Dies has made him a tower of strength for the whole Tory bloc in the House, and he

has had a hand in several of their campaigns, particularly those against labor. Matthews has come a long way. The former fighter for Negro rights is a henchman of poll-tax Congressmen; the former professor of Hebrew is a friend of anti-Semites; the former pacifist, Socialist, and Communist works with fascists.

## *History of a Hoax*

BY KENNETH G. CRAWFORD

**F**ACT-FINDING through the process of investigation by Congressional committees is one of the necessities of our form of government. Framers of the Constitution wisely made provision for use of the subpoena power by the legislative branch as a way of getting information needed for intelligent law-making. This power has been used often and, for the most part, wisely. On occasion it has been used brilliantly.

Indeed, brilliant use of the inquisitorial power of Congress has established one of the American government's brightest traditions and obscured occasional misuse of the subpoena by Congressional committees. The tradition sparkles with such names as Pujo, Hughes, Walsh, Pecora, and Black. The Teapot Dome investigation exposed graft and put a stop to it. The Senate banking investigation exposed abuses in the financial system and brought reforms.

We have come to think of Congressional investigation as a wholly satisfactory way of periodic self-examination. If the body politic has accumulated toxic waste, investigation will indicate a purge. If there is a malignant growth, it will indicate surgery. We shall not go too far wrong, our government processes will not be allowed to become too obsolescent, if the people's representatives have access to this X-ray.

The Special House Committee on un-American Activities, otherwise known as the Dies committee, has committed many sins since its formation in 1938. It has shown contempt for the constitutionally guaranteed rights of the people. Its methods have been a disgrace to the Congress whose delegated power it misuses. Its conclusions have been so warped as to justify the charge of deliberate falsification. But its greatest sin has been its sin against the tradition of Congressional investigation.

As outlined by Representative Martin Dies in the spring session of 1938, when the resolution that later established the committee's power was introduced, the purposes of the investigation were perfectly proper. The sweeping nature of the resolution itself was criticized at the time by several members of the House. Never-

theless, the broad grant of power was indicated by the character of the subject to be investigated. Dies said he merely wanted to look into the activities of such subversive organizations as the German-American Bund.

Maury Maverick, then a brash young Congressman from Dies's Texas, warned that the House could expect "the greatest fishing expedition Congress has ever undertaken," but the resolution was adopted by voice vote. This resolution is still the committee's basic grant of power. It provides for "an investigation of (1) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States; (2) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution; and (3) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any remedial legislation."

Four years have elapsed since this fishing expedition started. The newspaper space covered by accounts of the committee's exploits probably would blanket the whole state of Texas. From the point of view of Chairman Dies, the inquiry has been successful beyond his wildest dreams. He is a national figure, not just an obscure gentleman from Texas with a talent for legislative log-rolling and cloakroom banter. His committee has heckled, harassed, and obstructed the New Deal, with which Dies has never been sympathetic. It has even had a hand in defeating New Deal candidates for important elective office. It has accumulated so much favorable publicity that members of the House, many if not most of whom would like to choke off an investigation that has become systematic persecution of liberals and liberal causes, including New Dealers and their projects, are afraid to come out against it.

About all this one finds little difference of opinion in Washington. Dies has a small group of articulate defenders and apologists in the House, led by the spitfire reactionary from Georgia, Eugene Cox, but he has lost caste with the rank and file of Congressmen. Yet most members of the House, it is safe to assume, credit him



with one worth-while achievement. Most of them will tell you that Dies has done the nation, and even the cause of liberalism, a service by revealing and making generally known the operating methods of the Communists—how they steer front organizations composed principally of liberal innocents, how they burrow into the unions, and how they serve the foreign policy of the Kremlin.

If Dies could properly be credited with this, then many non-Marxist liberals probably would agree that he had performed a service. Actually, Dies accomplished no such thing. The American Communists have revealed themselves in these last four years. No liberal, however innocent, is innocent enough to misunderstand an organization that shifted from collective security to isolationism and back again while Russia was first combating the Nazis by peaceful propaganda, then entering into a non-aggression pact with Berlin, and finally fighting the Nazis magnificently from the White to the Black Sea.

A few members of the House, moreover, harbor the delusion that Dies helped smash the German-American Bund and the native fascist movement. Here again, the smashing was accomplished by events. Native nightshirt men like William Dudley Pelley went their way rejoicing, helped by the publicity Dies had given them, until the war made their causes and methods outlaw and until the FBI and the Justice Department moved in on them. Dies's accomplishments in the field of fascist-smashing can be accurately measured by the fact that he never disturbed Father Charles E. Coughlin, spiritual center of the native movement. It can be further measured by the fact that most of the twenty-eight pro-Axis leaders now awaiting trial for conspiracy to undermine the morale of United States armed forces were never troubled by him.

No one who has watched it in operation, close up, will make the popular mistake of crediting the Dies committee with achievement of its publicly announced objectives—exposure of Communist and fascist influences in the United States. It is true that the Dies committee questioned both Earl Browder, secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, and Fritz Kuhn, head of the German-American Bund, and that

both were convicted of crimes and sent to jail after appearing before the committee. But the prosecuting agency in both cases was the Department of Justice, and the evidence presented was dug up by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Almost certainly both prosecutions would have been won had there never been a Dies committee.

The fact of the matter is—and it has been clear ever since the first month after the committee started functioning—that Dies has not been trying to destroy either communism or fascism so much as the New Deal and organized labor. He soon learned what he may or may not have known when he started—that there was only an incidental connection between what he said he was doing and what he was actually doing. To accomplish his twofold purpose it was necessary to discredit liberals of various shades, all allied with the Roosevelt New Deal reform movement, but unconnected with the native fascists or Axis-inspired nightshirt organizations on the right and uninfluenced by the Communist Party on the left.

Had Dies actually exposed the operations of the Communist Party, he would have destroyed his greatest asset. It served his purpose better to keep the line between communism and non-revolutionary liberalism as hazy as possible. To make the obvious distinction between liberals bent on gradualist reform by legal, democratic means and Marxian purists getting ready to inherit a revolution would have been to dilute the red paint Dies found so effective for smearing everyone outside his own reactionary circle.

In his report on the Union for Democratic Action, a non-Communist organization founded to promote the cause of intervention when the Communists were singing an isolationist tune, Dies came close to attacking liberals as such. He was saved from this extremity, however, by the trusty files of J. B. Matthews, the committee's resourceful chief investigator. These files contain the names of thousands of Americans who have belonged to, received mail from, or been officers of organizations like the American League for Peace and Democracy. These organizations, many of them like the American League

Dies

Hearst Griffin McCormick





now defunct, are classified as Communist fronts by the Dies committee. If it finds a list of names in the files of such an organization or on a yellowed letter-head, the Dies committee proceeds on the assumption that it is a list of Communists or of Communist stooges.

In the membership of the Union for Democratic Action were, of course, many who had belonged to so-called front organizations, as almost all men of goodwill did back in the dim, dead united-front days. There were also a few who, like Matthews himself, were former Communists or confirmed fellow-travelers. However, it was patently silly, as even the *New York Times* pointed out, to call the pro-war U. D. A. a front for the Communists. Moreover, some of the organizers of the U. D. A. had no records of past affiliation with any liberal or Communist-front organizations. In at least one case, to the certain knowledge of this writer, Matthews solved this problem simply by allocating to a U. D. A. member some affiliations that never existed with some organizations the victim had never even heard of.

The Dies method of conviction by association was, as usual, carried one step farther in the case of the U. D. A. Since the U. D. A., in association with the *New Republic*, had published a supplement designed to expose the records of isolationist, anti-New Deal, anti-labor Congressmen and thus contribute to their defeat in the fall elections, the Dies committee report implied that the New Deal was to be the beneficiary of a Communist plot against Congress. This implication was then made explicit by the *Chicago Tribune* and some other newspapers, whose bias against Roosevelt is nearly rabid and whose attitude toward the war is not far from neutral. By a tenuous chain of association going back to the heyday of the American League for Peace and Democracy the New Deal of 1942 also became Communist.

This has been the method of the Dies committee almost from the start. Application of the method is revealing of its purpose. Organized labor, particularly the C. I. O. has been as obvious an intended victim as the New Deal. Communists in the labor movement and in the New Deal Administration—and there have been

and still are some, more in the C. I. O. than in the government, but still a few in relatively unimportant bureaucratic posts in Washington—have been victimized only incidentally.

Dies's sympathies have always been with the extreme conservatives. He was an alien-baiter long before he became a labor-baiter. Although he tolerated the New Deal, even strung along with it during the Roosevelt honeymoon of 1933, he started voting the line of his fellow-Texan, John Garner, as soon as it became apparent that the President meant what he said about basic liberal reform. Dies has wielded the power of his committee as a guerrilla fighter uses a machete in every campaign since, and including, the Congressional and state campaigns of 1938.

There has been nothing subtle about Dies's political axing. He has gone in swinging and laid about him without regard for the niceties of political usage. His first victim was Frank Murphy, who in the fall of 1938 had come through the sitdown-strike crisis and was seeking reelection as governor of Michigan. Dies's method here was to permit Murphy's political enemies to fill the committee record with unsupported charges that Murphy was a dupe of the Communists, who had tried to turn the automobile plants over to radical strikers. Similar treatment was given Elmer Benson, Farm-Labor governor of Minnesota. Both were beaten. An attempt was made to defeat Culbert Olson for governor of California, but in this case a crude job of attempted character assassination failed to kill.

More recently Dies has worked on Leon Henderson, calling him an "ex-crackpot" and other names, all eagerly picked up by the Axis radio for short-wave propaganda; on Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins, accusing her of shielding Harry Bridges; on Attorney General Francis Biddle, charging him with obstructing the work of the committee; and on Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes, accusing him of virtually all crimes. Dies's attacks on government officials have been timed to do the most possible harm. Henderson, for example, was hauled over the coals while his price-control bill was pending before the House, and sweeping charges that

Coughlin Fish Smith Dilling

Pelley

Winrod

Kuhn





Communists held high government positions were released while the neutrality-repeal debate was in progress.

These latter charges—that the Communists have infiltrated the government with the help of the New Deal and are about to foment revolution from within—have become Dies's principal theme. In his lectures, for which he is reported to receive as much as \$500 apiece plus expenses, and from which he is said to have accumulated a tidy little fortune, he sends shivers down the spines of his hearers by rolling the Trojan horse to the very door of the Capitol.

Congress and the Department of Justice finally called this bluff of Dies's in 1941. A provision was written into the Justice Department appropriation bill directing that at least \$100,000 be spent on an investigation of government employees who were "members of subversive organizations or advocates of overthrow of the federal government." After spending much more than \$100,000 and investigating some 4,000 cases, 1,121 of them based on complaints from the Dies committee, the Justice Department finally has made its report.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation under J. Edgar Hoover, who can scarcely be called a fellow-traveler or suspected of shielding the comrades, made thorough investigations, but only two employees were fired as a result of its reports. An interdepartmental committee appointed by Biddle to oversee the investigation said, in effect, that the Dies list was a phony, that the investigation had wasted good time and money, that it had interfered with the morale of government workers, and that the government had been found to be free of subversive influences.

Dies growled that Biddle was welcoming Bundsmen and members of Communist-front organizations into the government and prepared to carry on as usual. How much harm the exposure of his Trojan-horse hoax has done him remains questionable. The press from the very start of his investigation has been for the most part uncritical of Dies's methods and extremely generous with its space in reporting his findings.

However, Dies's press has not been as good this year as previously, and exposure of his horse as something made out of imaginative plush probably won't do him any good, particularly since it followed another dramatic demonstration of the great investigator's irresponsibility. This demonstration was made by David B. Vaughan, an economist employed by the Board of Economic Warfare. Vaughan was one of thirty-five persons in the BEW who were branded as members or former members of front organizations in a letter from Dies to Vice-President Henry A. Wallace, chairman of the board. Vaughan had worked for the Irving Trust Company, 1 Wall Street, and had been a member of nothing more subversive than the Baptist church before coming to Washington. Dies, it developed, was thinking of David

Vaughn, once a director of the American League for Peace and Democracy and not a government employee.

So Vaughan sued Dies for \$75,000 on the theory that, since the accusation made against him was originally set forth in a letter, not in an official House document, and was released to the newspapers, it was not privileged and therefore not proof against libel action. Dies huffed and puffed but finally agreed to settle out of court. He would, he said, pay Vaughan's legal expenses and make a public apology. He did both. But then he nicked the House Accounts Committee for the \$500-plus involved in the settlement. He escaped personal liability narrowly, however. The vote to bail him out in the Accounts Committee was six to five.

It has been the practice of the committee, when it felt itself slipping, to get out another report. After the first two years it all but gave up holding hearings because their unfairness was too obvious. Since then there have been a White Paper, which purported to show up the Nazi propaganda machine in the United States but proved little beyond the known fact that Hans Thomsen, chargé d'affaires of the German embassy, was pro-German, a Yellow Paper on Japan, which was shown up by Congressman Tom Eliot of Massachusetts as a rehash of old stuff available in the Congressional Library dressed up with E. Phillips Oppenheim touches, and similar studies on various phases of what the committee treats as un-American phenomena.

The most revealing report the Dies committee ever

### Wasted Money

*"I am convinced beyond all doubt that the net results of the labors of the Committee to Investigate un-American Activities is harmful to the nation's war effort. It has excited suspicion unduly, created distrust and disunity, and embarrassed and hampered the orderly functioning of important departments of our government. I am extremely fearful that it may by some injudicious or intemperate outburst bring disaster to the cause of the United Nations.*

*"Its record is one in which the Congress can have no pride, and its procedure at times has been violative of what we Americans like to call fair play. No longer can I condone its misdeeds, and having no hope that it will reform, I hope its continuance will not be authorized. Money appropriated for expenditures by that committee is worse than wasted. I shall vote 'nay'."*—Representative Herman P. Eberharter, Pennsylvania.



wrote was never published—or rather it was published in a form so expurgated that it bore only a pale resemblance to the original. It was a report subscribed to by Dies and his fellow-travelers, who have always been in the majority on the committee, attacking "Marxist atheists . . . who masquerade under the name of liberal" and charging that these atheists run the New Deal. It said they were cloaking their totalitarian ambitions in the seductive raiment of reform but actually were trying to regiment labor under the National Labor Relations Board, agriculture under the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, industry under the Securities and Exchange Commission, and so on. Centralization of power in Washington was called the first stage of Washington dictatorship and Roosevelt "the Kerensky who precedes the dictator."

The three New Dealers who had been placed on the committee in successive attempts to reform Dies—Representatives John Dempsey of New Mexico, Jerry Voorhis of California, and Joseph Casey of Massachusetts—threatened to bring out a minority report if this tract were published by the majority. As a result, the report was toned down and finally brought out as a unanimous recommendation that the committee be continued. However, excerpts from the original were published by *The Nation*.

These excerpts showed, more clearly than anything that has ever been written by or about the Dies committee, just what it had been up to. The report was, of course, written by Matthews in an attempt to put an ideological base under the feet of Dies and his anti-liberal associates on the committee and in the House. Matthews has written not only the Dies committee reports but many if not all of Dies's speeches and magazine articles, and one book. In fact, the Dies committee probably could be called with more accuracy the Matthews committee.

Dies almost certainly had no very clear idea of what he would do with his authority and his first \$25,000 when he got them and took up the hunt for subversives where it had been dropped by a succession of House investigators—Hamilton Fish of New York, John McCormack of Massachusetts, and Samuel Dickstein of New York. It was to prevent Dickstein from continuing with the investigation that the Southern crowd, which found itself in control of the House after 1932, made Dies chairman of the committee. All the previous investigators had found the hunt an unrewarding enterprise.

Dies had no better success at first. His original appropriation was not large enough to finance very much of a show. To conserve his meager exchequer he had to depend principally on volunteer witnesses who would pay their own expenses, and most of the volunteers were wackies. John Metcalfe, a reporter for the *Chicago Times*, was Dies's first paid investigator and

first full-dress witness. He had joined the German-American Bund to find out what it was all about and presented some pretty sensational testimony. But the newspapers didn't give it much of a play. It was not until John Frey, head of the Metal Trades Department of the A. F. of L., turned up with a statement about Communists in the rival C. I. O. that Dies hit the publicity jackpot.

Frey's testimony showed him what he needed and what the press wanted—the two things were identical. Ever since then he has borne down heavily on charges of communism in the C. I. O., often timing exposure of leaders in specific unions to hit the newspapers simultaneously with the start of contract negotiations. This happened, for example, in the important Harvester negotiations. But there wasn't enough specific material on communism in the C. I. O. and communism in the government to keep the hungry presses fed. There wasn't enough, that is, until Matthews appeared as if from heaven, to serve first as a witness and then as a paid employee of the committee. He knew the comrades and their methods, and he was willing to tell all.

Increasingly under fire in the last few months, Dies has taken to putting his foot in his mouth with painful regularity. He recently boasted from the seclusion of his Texas home that he was about to expose a gigantic spy ring, but nothing has come of it; he stated flatly that Axis diplomats had protested to the State Department about the committee's activities, but the department said it had received no such protests; he demanded that the Department of Justice place 17,000 German Americans under surveillance, only to be informed that this would require an army of 51,000 FBI agents doing nothing else. Things have not been going well, but another report, this one on German espionage, sabotage, and propaganda, is in the works, and Dies apparently is relying on it to assure the customary renewal and \$100,000 appropriation next year.

The fact is that Dies could not bring out a comprehensive report on Nazi-inspired propaganda activities without mentioning his friends. One of his closest friends and collaborators is Hamilton Fish, whose connections with Viereck brought him close to the fountainhead of the pre-Pearl Harbor Nazi propaganda in this country. Inevitably, the line followed by Matthews and Dies has led them into tolerance for if not active collaboration with the native fascists. Some of Matthews's own stuff has turned up in their publications. And even though the extreme anti-democrats, Jew-baiters, and pro-Axis elements have been driven under cover by the circumstances of war, they have not been rooted out. Coughlin and his gang are still at large. So are the more respectable and therefore more dangerous of the hot-headed former isolationists, or, if you please, non-



interventionists, for whom the *Chicago Tribune*, the *New York Daily News*, the *Washington Times-Herald*, Senator Burton K. Wheeler, and Charles A. Lindbergh are spokesmen or potential spokesmen.

The Dies committee has now spent a total of \$385,000. It has tried to discredit scores of earnest, useful citizens. Any incidental contribution it has made will not

compensate for the violence it has done the tradition of Congressional inquiry. Of all the Congressional committees that have operated as inquisitorial agencies in the last four years, including the Truman committee, the Dies committee probably will be longest remembered. It will be a smear on the record of New Deal Congresses so long as the record remains.

## Whose Trojan Horse?

BY WILL CHASAN

NO SINGLE circumstance, not even the invigorating presence of German funds, has helped more than the Dies committee to facilitate the growth of an American fascism. The committee, whose capacity for evil is still largely unappreciated, has created for American fascists the immensely useful and provocative myth of a national government swarming with Communists, demented professors, and aliens. It has subscribed explicitly to the fiction that the United States is in danger of a red revolution, thus lending authority and a new potency to the traditional fascist appeal. It has, as Vice-President Wallace once charged, aroused the doubts and angers on which fascism thrives.

One's natural impulse is to believe that the committee has performed this ignoble service unwittingly. But both the committee's chairman and its research director are too keen politically, too cynically aware of their effects, to allow so amiable an interpretation. The record of the committee itself is overwhelmingly consistent; if it does not prove that those responsible for the committee's policies are fascist-minded, it leaves no doubt that they have intentionally sponsored the distortions and prejudices which are fascism's leit-motif.

American fascists, quick to sense the value of the Dies committee, have been its eager, staunch, and unscrupulous defenders. They have gathered thousands of petitions for its continuation, acclaimed its "statesmanlike" and "patriotic" qualities, and with charges of communism have badgered many of its Congressional opponents into silence. With a zeal which would have been incongruous had the Committee to Investigate un-American Activities been living up to its name, they regularly exhorted their followers to support "this great American protective movement." When Wallace condemned Dies, Father Coughlin urged *Social Justice* readers "to employ their leisure moments" to write Dies "letters of encouragement." He suggested that a million letters to Dies would be "an answer to those who are bent on destroying him." George Deatherage, who ostensibly was investigated by the committee,

mailed out franked copies of a speech by Senator Reynolds praising its work. Gerald Smith's Committee of One Million collected 400,000 signatures on petitions urging Congress to renew the Dies appropriation. Smith boasted that this was "the biggest and most effective single effort put forth to support the [committee's] continuation." The Constitutional Educational League, named in the recent federal-grand-jury action against seditious groups, claims that on one occasion when the Dies committee was threatened, it "secured over 4,000,000 signatures to petitions and deluged Congress with an avalanche of letters and telegrams from aroused patriots." Other groups named in the federal-grand-jury sedition charges espoused the Dies cause with equal fervor.

The Dies committee's occasional thrusts at fascist leaders have almost never alienated them. They have knowingly interpreted the committee's infrequent anti-fascist moves as necessary political camouflage, put on in the interest of obtaining a new Congressional sanction. James True, for example, carefully explained to subscribers to his *Industrial Control Reports* that Dies "had to play politics until he procured a large appropriation," but that actually "several members of the committee deplore the un-American investigation of George E. Deatherage and General George Van Horn Moseley, and that their influence in the conduct of future hearings will be effective." William Dudley Pelley assured his *Silver Shirts* that Dies "for propaganda reasons must rant and roar against race prejudice and religious intolerance but behind the scenes . . . a different trend is apparent." At rare intervals a minor leader, like Robert Edmondson, has been provoked by some temporary discomfiture at the hands of the committee into denouncing it for "placing Jews before Americans." But generally the fascist attitude toward the Dies committee has been characterized by warm approval and a nice understanding of its political difficulties.

The committee chairman, to whose poll-tax mentality fascist ideas offer no real shock, has encouraged this un-



derstanding. A feeling of ideological kinship, bolstered by a simple, indiscriminating desire for applause, led him to appear at meetings whose distinctly fascist nature was only thinly disguised. He endeared himself to a Madison Square Garden meeting, at which *Social Justice* was hawked, by saying that "we in America are not now in danger of any invasion of foreign armies despite the lies of war-mongers and propagandists." The audience, for whom this sentiment had a specific connotation, cheered lustily. Dies addressed many similar audiences, and often was gratified to hear himself described as "the man of the hour." He spoke for the clearly pro-fascist American Defense Society and was the featured speaker at a luncheon of the New York State Economic Council, arranged by Merwin K. Hart and attended by James Wheeler-Hill and Fritz Kuhn. These fraternal expeditions created a close personal bond between the hunter and the quarry. Dies could not be expected to jeopardize firm friendships through some tactless committee action. Nor could the un-Americans see any reason to fear the activities of one who implicitly indorsed their program and openly accepted their hospitality.

Although vastly helpful, Dies's personal appearances at fascist assemblies have been only a subordinate phase of the committee's usefulness to those whom it was supposed to curb. The main value of the Dies committee to American fascists has been as a mighty central propaganda agency. It has provided the fascist press with enormous quantities of lush and, to the gullible and uninformed, damning material against our democratic institutions. It has given them "evidence," bearing a Congressional committee's stamp of approval, to show that

New Deal leaders are tainted with communism, that New Deal agencies are overrun with reds and aliens, and that the President himself somehow is implicated in all this villainy. Dies, according to the Federal Communications Commission, is the American quoted most frequently in Axis propaganda broadcasts. What perhaps is more to the point is that the Dies committee, from its inception, has been a principal source of material for American fascists.

Through its own facilities the committee has given the same material, a mixture of fantasy and half-truth, a far wider currency than fascist channels alone would permit. The respectable *New York Times* never would feature a charge by Pelley or Winrod that Leon Henderson is a Communist and a crackpot, but it has gladly done so when the charge was made through the Dies committee. In this respect the glaring unfairness and falsity of most Dies committee testimony enhance its worth to American fascists. For when a Congressional committee accepts and respectable newspapers print testimony that seems untrue, they extend the bounds of credibility, destroy the recognizable marks of truth and authority, and open the way for acceptance of the most grotesque fascist propaganda. Thus the Dies committee, with the aid of the anti-New Deal press, has in effect built up a receptive audience for fascist libels which previously evoked only scornful disbelief.

American fascists have shrewdly exploited the Dies committee's authority. Many of the spectacular "revelations" which they were able to publish as the committee's official findings actually originated in their own files. The device is plain to anyone who has followed

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## CALENDAR OF EVENTS FOR DECEMBER

You and your friends are invited to attend these important, illuminating meetings.

ISSUED BY N.Y. CHAPTER, AMERICAN PATRIOTS, INC., 49 W 44th ST., NEW YORK; NATL. HDQRS., GREENWICH, CONN.

Sunday  
Dec. 4  
3 PM

PRO-AMERICAN FORUM  
DR. J. B. MATTHEWS  
Former member of the Communist "Inner Circle" will speak on  
"Communism in the Federal Government"

Dr. Matthews, whose recent testimony before the Dies Committee was sensational, will tell a startling story of the extent to which the Communist Party has bored its way into Washington.

Hotel Biltmore, Madison Ave. at 43d St. Admission 50 cents

Thursday  
Dec. 8  
12:30 PM

LUNCHEON MEETING  
under the auspices of  
THE NEW YORK STATE ECONOMIC COUNCIL  
Speaker  
CONGRESSMAN MARTIN DIES OF TEXAS  
Chairman of the Congressional Committee  
Investigating Un-American Activities

Hotel Biltmore Price, including luncheon, \$2.00

Thursday  
Dec. 8  
PM

ORGANIZATION MEETING  
of the new American Federation Against Communism  
This meeting is for active members of the  
New York Chapter

Sunday  
Dec. 11  
3 PM

PRO-AMERICAN FORUM  
Two outstanding speakers  
MAJOR GENERAL GEORGE VANHORN MOSELEY  
A fearless, outspoken patriot, whose attack against  
Administration policies after his retirement from the Army this Fall  
produced a real storm.

ALSO  
DON BATE  
Formerly United Press correspondent in Shanghai  
A brilliant speaker and an authority on international affairs  
"Keep America Out of War"

Hotel Biltmore Admission 50 cents

Thursday  
Dec. 15  
8 PM

PROTEST RALLY  
This great rally is being held to protest against the  
Un-American censorship of radio, as exercised against  
Father Coughlin, Boake Carter, and others.  
Bainbridge Colby, Senator James A. Reed of Missouri  
and other men of national prominence will speak.

Meeting sponsored by Committee for Defense of Americans  
Constitutional Rights  
Manhattan



the committee's proceedings. Innumerable stories which blossomed into newspaper headlines were planted by avowed fascists with the aid of the committee. Dies admitted to one reporter that Father Coughlin supplied him with "anti-Communist" material. Elizabeth Dilling, in condemning her indictment for sedition by the federal grand jury, offered as proof of her Americanism the fact that she "furnished data and assistance to the Dies committee." Joseph Kamp, the director of the Constitutional Educational League, is known to frequent the committee's office, and numerous other fascists have enjoyed helpful and sometimes profitable relations with it. Their presence explains at least in part why so much of the committee's record runs parallel to the fascist "line," and why its chairman's occasional ranting against intolerance or race prejudice has never disquieted them.

erance or race prejudice has never disquieted them.

The Dies committee, according to a blunt critic, could do the United States no greater disservice if its loyalty were owed directly to Hitler. This judgment, in the light of the record, seems only mildly intemperate. The committee, aided and incited by its fascist prompters, has attacked our democratic symbols with subtlety, cunning, and cynical ruthlessness. Although a "fact-finding" body, it has, in the fascist tradition if not with fascist motives, subordinated truth to ideology, "revealing" only enough obvious facts to acquire a sympathetic hearing for its less obvious distortions. It has permitted itself to become something close to a Trojan horse for American fascism, and the record often indicates it has done so with open eyes and genuine zest.

## Four to Three

BY CHARLES VAN DEVANDER

THREE members of Martin Dies's Committee on un-American Activities provide him with a clear majority of co-conspirators and congenial stooges. J. Parnell Thomas of New Jersey, "who can find subversion in trees and isms in running brooks," and Joe Starnes of Alabama, who suspects anyone whose grandparents were not born in America, form a hard core of toryism and intolerance around the committee chairman. Noah Mason, an isolationist Republican from Illinois, completes the majority.

The committee minority, which is timid to the point of worthlessness, consists of two New Dealers—Jerry Voorhis of California and Joe Casey of Massachusetts—and Harry Beam, a Democratic machine politician from Chicago. Voorhis, a rich man's son who once called himself a Socialist, is genuinely liberal but invincibly naive. The Dies majority considers him an "easy mark." Casey, a more astute politician, would be a better match for the reactionaries on the committee, but he has found it expedient to take a minor part in the committee's proceedings. He has left the burden of opposition to Voorhis, whom he credits with "doing a splendid job." Beam, a nondescript product of the Kelly-Nash organization

who "goes along" with the New Deal on domestic legislation and "went along" with the Administration's pre-Pearl Harbor foreign policy, has only a tenuous claim to membership in the minority. He has contributed little to the committee record and often has "gone along" with the majority.

Thomas and Starnes, together with Dies, understand exactly the function their committee is performing, and they have not allowed the minority's occasional and feeble protests to deflect them in any important way. With the help of the anti-New Deal bloc in Congress, they are using the committee consciously and effectively to obstruct liberal laws and agencies. Unlike Dies, who assumes the role of a detached patriot, his colleagues often admit their purpose, which they see as a perfectly legitimate one.

John Parnell Thomas, who exceeds Dies in bitterness toward the New Deal, began his career as a bond salesman in Wall Street at a salary of \$12.50 a week. He eventually became the head of an insurance-brokerage firm. Thomas drifted into politics after the war, from which he emerged as a captain. His tory views were an



Starnes

Beam

Voorhis

Casey

Mason

Thomas



asset in New Jersey Republican circles. He was elected to the Allendale borough council in 1925, became mayor of Allendale the following year, and in 1928 was re-elected. In 1936, after two terms in the New Jersey Assembly, where the Republicans shared power and jobs with Frank Hague, Thomas was elected to Congress. The red menace, alien-led labor unions, and the New Deal have been Thomas's chief concerns as a Representative. His most conspicuous Congressional acts, aside from his participation in the Dies committee, have been a proposal to deny the benefits of the Wagner Act to unions with alien officers and the introduction of a resolution asking that Secretary of Labor Perkins be impeached for her failure to deport alien radicals. Thomas was only mildly chagrined when William Dudley Pelley, during his appearance before the Dies committee, called the impeachment plan a "masterpiece" and said that he had distributed it in pamphlet form to 100,000 people. Thomas apparently regards labor unions as a breeding ground of subversion. He has denounced the National Labor Relations Board as a shield for potential saboteurs. He also has offered the Dies committee files to employers so that they may check upon the "subversive" connections of troublesome employees. Thomas uses red menace, fifth column, and New Deal as roughly synonymous terms. "The fifth column in the United States has flourished under New Deal rule," he said in a radio address in 1940. "The surest way of removing the fifth column from our shores is to remove the New Deal from the seat of government."

Joe Starnes, the Alabama Democrat, has a great deal in common with Thomas, the New Jersey Republican. Both are Tories and pretend to fear that the Dies committee "may turn out to be the last remaining safeguard against the dictatorship of the proletariat in America." Starnes, in the tradition of Southern standpatters, believes in womanhood and the poll tax and "standing in" with the interests. The Alabaman, who taught school before going into the practice of law and politics, was elected to Congress in 1934. He is energetic, hard-working, and politically ambitious. His immediate goal is a seat in the Senate. It is significant that the Alabama Power Company and the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company, Alabama's biggest corporations, are backing him despite his support of the TVA, the pet hate of the power crowd. His corporation friends doubtless understand that no opponent of TVA can stay in politics in the Muscle Shoals district. Apart from that one excusable lapse there is nothing in Starnes's record to which any conservative could object. He has a perfect anti-New Deal score on other domestic matters and is particularly "sound" on labor questions.

Like many Southern politicians, Starnes has found the alien to be a convenient political whipping-boy. Nor does he stop with aliens. Lumping tens of millions of patriotic citizens in the same category, he told the 1937 conven-

tion of the Veterans of Foreign Wars that the "huge alien, foreign-born, foreign-stock population" of America constituted a serious problem to the nation in a war-threatened world. Just how many generations back he draws the line on "foreign-stock" citizens, he did not make clear. But he was quite definite about what he thought should be done with them. It was pure folly, Starnes said, "to permit more than six and a quarter millions of aliens to remain in this country to become potential spies and enemies to bore from within."

Starnes's value as an investigator of un-American activities is measured by the fact that he has never considered the Bund dangerous. Another indication of his value was provided during the committee's investigation of the Federal Theater and Writers' Projects. A witness happened to mention Christopher Marlowe's "Faustus." Starnes snapped to attention: "Marlowe?" he said. "Isn't he a Communist?"

Noah Morgan Mason, fourth member of the Dies committee majority, is an amiable sixty-year-old conservative who spent all of his adult life up to 1930 as a pedagogue. In 1930 the local Republican organization snatched him from his books and sent him to the Illinois Senate, where he stayed until elected to Congress in 1936.

Lacking the viciousness and farsseeing purpose of the Dies-Thomas-Starnes clique but sharing all its reactionary views, Mason is extremely useful to the committee chairman. When the annual question of appropriation comes up, Dies shrewdly sits back and allows Mason to do most of the talking. Mason, with a show of reasonableness, usually concedes that the committee has made mistakes—who of us hasn't—but assures the House that the committee should be continued on the ground that the good it has done outweighs the bad. It is an effective dodge; the committee admits everything, but answers and explains nothing.

Mason was an isolationist before Pearl Harbor mainly because he deplored the spending of "huge sums" for defense against "imaginary enemies" abroad. A Republican of the Hoover vintage, he dislikes the New Deal's fiscal untidiness, and judges most measures by their possible effect on our tax rate.

Harry P. Beam probably is one of Congress's least distinguished members. He was an assistant corporation counsel in Chicago during the Capone-dominated twenties and was elevated to Congress in 1930. Beam has contributed little to the Dies committee or to the House of Representatives. In the tradition of the Chicago Democratic machine he "votes right," with only occasional derelictions. He has been no problem to the Dies-Starnes-Thomas triumvirate in their conduct of the committee, although he has balked at approving the worst of their "reports." Like Mason, he is useful window-dressing.

Joseph Casey, an able if at times excessively prudent



young lawyer from Clinton, Massachusetts, has been in the House since 1936. His record on domestic legislation and foreign policy has earned him the approval of Massachusetts liberals, who now are supporting him for the Democratic Senatorial nomination, to oppose Henry Cabot Lodge this fall. Casey is an effective fighter but has preferred not to become a focal point for the widespread indignation against the methods and aims of Martin Dies. Instead he merely backs Voorhis in an opposition that has been singularly inept. Casey, however, is not all political prudence. He courageously upheld the New Deal's pre-Pearl Harbor foreign policies, although he knew his anti-isolationist votes would cost him the support of important political factions in Massachusetts.

H. Jerry Voorhis, a Mr.-Smith-Goes-to-Washington type, is one of the most earnest liberals in American politics, but as a member of the Dies committee he has sadly disappointed his friends and supporters. Up to February 9, 1939, Voorhis had been on the sidelines, criticizing the methods of the Dies committee as "reprehensible." Then a vacancy occurred on the committee, and Speaker Bankhead—with the express approval of President Roosevelt—appointed Voorhis to fill it. No one foresaw what was to follow. The assignment blinded the serious young Californian to what had been perfectly obvious to him before. Once on the committee he abandoned his worthy efforts to destroy it and began trying to reform it instead. He still is trying.

Voorhis, whose family fortune has never impinged on his social conscience, was a registered Socialist in the days before the New Deal, that being "the only way I could voice my protest against the reactionary leadership of both major parties." With the advent of President Roosevelt he became a Democrat "with a clear conscience." He was elected to Congress in 1936 during the upsurge of California radicalism and was reelected two years later and again in 1940.

Until his association with the Dies committee, Voorhis was often extolled as the leading liberal in Congress. Unencumbered by Marxist prejudices, he had a broad, instinctively American view and a courage which liberals successful in politics frequently lack. Voorhis is aware of his recent fall from grace and is deeply troubled, but shows no sign of altering his conduct. He seems determined to continue his efforts at reform, although so far they have failed notably. The committee majority makes decisions at meetings to which he is not invited, issues reports the existence of which he never suspects, and rudely rebuffs his polite attempts to modify their procedure.

Nevertheless, despite the almost unanimous disapproval of his liberal colleagues, Voorhis believes that he is following the wisest course and that he is restraining the committee from even worse excesses. The basis for his belief is not apparent in the record. What is apparent is that his is exactly the kind of naivete on which the reactionary Dies majority has flourished.

## The Small Fry

BY JAMES WECHSLER

THROUGH the doors of the Dies committee hearings room have passed some noxious specimens of Americans. Many of those whom the committee amiably described as "investigators" or "experts" had previously earned less flattering descriptions as professional anti-Semites, pro-fascists, labor spies, and convicts. Their records did not deter Martin Dies from accepting their unsupported testimony as gospel truth.

Nobody pretends that the political bias or the prison record of an informant automatically invalidates his testimony. The significant fact is that the Dies committee made no real effort to test the reliability of the men who took the stand or to judge their "evidence" against the shady backgrounds from which they emerged. It is no exaggeration to suggest that some of the Dies investigators and experts themselves provide a colorful rogues' gallery for any future committee investigating un-American activities.

The Dies committee revealed its preference for ques-

tionable informants quite early in its career. Its first senior investigator was Edward F. Sullivan, whose qualifications included a six-month jail sentence for larceny and obvious ties with some of our most notorious fascists. Sullivan, a member of the steering committee at the anti-Semitic National Conference of Clergymen and Laymen held in 1936 at Asheville, North Carolina, worked closely with Gerald Winrod, now under indictment by a federal grand jury, and Michael Ahearn of the James True Associates. Later he joined True in circulating *Industrial Control Reports*, one of the many news letters circulated by the friends of American fascism.

Sullivan's record dramatized the link between pro-fascists and the labor-spy ring. The La Follette committee exposed his services as an espionage agent for the Railway Audit and Inspection Bureau, services which presumably were among his qualifications when Dies hired him. Exhibit 118 of the hearings of the La Follette committee is a letter from I. D. Rice, a leading official of the Rail-



### Letters for Dies

*"As national chairman of the Committee of One Million, the writer is proud to report that when Mr. Dies asked for a continuation of his committee, together with an additional appropriation, the Committee of One Million carried a petition bearing more than 400,000 names to Washington calling for the continuation of the investigation. We placed this petition before the Rules Committee, and it was also presented on the floor of the United States Congress. Expert observers insist that this was the biggest and most effective single effort put forth to support the continuation of this statesmanlike committee."*—Gerald L. K. Smith.

*"In your appreciation of the work accomplished by Dies, employ some of your leisure moments to write him a letter of encouragement. In fact, a million of letters, brought to his desk, would be an answer to those who are bent on destroying him and the legislative body which he represents."*—Social Justice.

way Bureau, to his New England manager. Rice wrote: "Please note letter from Mr. E. F. Sullivan. He is a solicitor that we have put on in the Boston territory."

During his tenure as Dies's principal sleuth, Sullivan brought a character named Alvin I. Halpern to the committee's witness stand. When Sullivan made contact with him, Halpern was under indictment for grand larceny. The day of his second appearance before the committee he was sentenced to a term of one to two years for the crime.

Out of his crowded criminal and espionage career Sullivan developed some interesting thoughts about the fifth-column menace. He once observed in a report to committee members that "Jewish organizations naturally are concerned about the activities of the German-American Bund and the so-called Silver Shirts, but this concern is not shared by any other agency with whom I contacted. For the most part the law enforcement groups and patriotic agencies seemed to think that this great agitation over the activities of the Bund is but a smoke screen to take the people's mind off the real menace, communism and those affiliated with it."

Sullivan's past activities finally made him too "hot" even for Dies to carry, and he was dropped from the committee's staff. When last heard from he was associated with a Ukrainian American fascist group.

Another loquacious expert whom Dies used was Walter Steele, editor of the *National Republic*. Steele "exposed" dozens of liberal organizations, including the American

Civil Liberties Union, as part of the "Communist movement." His testimony occupies 402 pages of the Dies committee volumes. What the Dies committee never explored were Walter Steele's own subversive activities, which are continuing today.

Chief lobbyist for the American Coalition, Inc., a super-patriotic alliance which includes among its affiliates such fascist groups as the American Vigilant Intelligence Federation and the Paul Reveres of Chicago, Steele is one of America's leading pro-fascists. His publication, which has a circulation of almost 50,000, supported Franco during the Spanish war. It specializes in alien-baiting and depicts all labor leaders as Communists. As lobbyist for the American Coalition, Steele appears at every state and federal investigating committee to give "impartial" information on communism. One of Steele's latest undertakings was an attempt last March to introduce fascist literature into Puerto Rican schools. His efforts incurred the wrath of the head of Puerto Rico's school system, and the Army Intelligence Service balked the project by declaring that "the *National Republic* is a fascist publication which should not be allowed in the public schools of Puerto Rico."

The Dies committee waged war against the WPA, a key New Deal project. Its thesis was that the WPA was in the grip of the Communists. As its stellar witness it brought forth Edward Banta. Brother Banta, though the Dies committee did not reveal it, was closely associated with the American National Labor Party, an undisguised pro-Nazi outfit. He was a speaker for the Christian Front and a contributor to Bund publications. Banta is still an active fascist. His current associations include the League of American Women Against Communism. Banta, who believes that the Communist Party "is composed of outcast Jews," has also sought to form an alliance with Leon De Aryan, recently indicted for sedition.

The committee listened attentively to the findings of Harper Knowles as he gave the lowdown on subversive activities on the West Coast. The committee identified him as a representative of the American Legion—an association which Legion officials quickly disclaimed. One commentary on Knowles's reliability was provided by James S. Landis, who observed bluntly that Knowles "lied when he dared to."

While the Dies committee was making Knowles a public benefactor, another government inquiry was delving into the organization to which he devoted most of his energies—the Associated Farmers, of which Knowles was secretary. The La Follette committee found the Associated Farmers guilty of fomenting anti-labor violence throughout California. It described the Associated Farmers' movement as part of the pattern of native American fascism. The Dies committee never investigated the Associated Farmers but blandly accepted evidence from its secretary,



who characterized California's Governor Olson as a "Communist sympathizer."

Hazel Hoffman, an agent of the Dies committee, testified in May, 1941, about the American Peace Mobilization. It is questionable whether the Dies committee needed a special agent to expose the A. P. M. as a Communist front. A significant item, generously overlooked by Martin Dies, was Hazel Hoffman's connection with the Constitutional Education League. The league, headed by Joseph Kamp, a labor-baiter and shrewd pro-fascist, was one of the Dies committee's most vocal supporters. The recent government sedition indictment listed it as one of the organizations through which conspiracy against the war effort was being carried on. Yet Hazel Hoffman was a heroine in the Dies committee play.

George E. Sullivan, former counsel for General George Van Horn Moseley and ex-Representative Jacob Thorkelson, was still another expert welcomed by the Dies committee. Sullivan, whose recent book, "The Road to Victory," charges that there is a Talmudist plot to overthrow our government, was known as an anti-Semite before his appearance at the hearings. His mode of thinking, which endeared him to *Social Justice*, the *Defender*, and other pro-fascist publications, is illustrated best by the title of one of his booklets: "Wolves in Sheep's Clothing—An Authentic Portrayal of the Perfidious Proposals of Communism and Socialism in Their Real Setting, as Masks and Devices Employed by Amazingly Organized and Financially Powerful Occult Forces, Bent upon World Conquest."

Many Dies experts had a direct stake in "smearing" specific New Deal agencies. A good example of a vested interest posing—unchallenged—as a detached reporter was Alice Lee Jemison, who came before the committee to accuse the Indian Bureau of the Department of the Interior of attempting to spread "communism and paganism" on the reservations. Miss Jemison's stake was simple. She was Washington representative of the American Indian Federation, organized to lobby for legislation giving thousands of Indians \$3,000 each. The Indian Bureau was opposing the legislation. But Miss Jemison got her headlines as an expert on subversion.

Dies could also have discovered, if he had bothered to inquire, that Miss Jemison had contributed to at least one fascist newspaper and had been associated with Elizabeth Dilling.

One of the shadiest episodes in the history of the Dies committee is that involving David Mayne. Mayne, who had been Silver Shirt Pelley's Washington "agent," was employed by the committee apparently to embarrass Dies's liberal critics—especially Representative Frank Hook, a Michigan Democrat—who, the committee had learned, were preparing an indictment of Dies's mysterious associations with leading friends of the fascist front. Mayne made contact with Dies's foes and sold them copies of

letters allegedly written by Pelley boasting of a secret agreement with the Dies committee. Since Mayne's credentials as a Pelley representative were beyond dispute, the letters were purchased in good faith. They were issued as part of a general exposé of Dies, who then triumphantly produced Mayne's proof that the letters were forgeries. Subsequently Mayne was brought to trial. He pleaded guilty to charges of forgery and taking money under false pretenses, but sentence was unaccountably suspended.

Other Dies informants included John W. Koos, the Ukrainian fascist leader, who in 1938 cabled congratulations to Hitler for his success in settling "the minority problem," and Professor Edward I. Fenlon, who assured readers of the Coughlinite Brooklyn *Tablet* that if Franco were a fascist, it would not necessarily make him or his cause vicious. There were also the anonymous labor spies who supplied Dies with the information on the basis of which he charged that the C. I. O. was overrun with felons.

Why did the Dies committee accept the "revelations" of these walking delegates from the fascist fringe? Probably because it shared all their preconceptions. Certainly the most lurid charges against the New Deal could not have seemed improbable to a man who like Dies believes that Supreme Court Justice Murphy and Vice-President Wallace are tainted with communism. Whatever the motive behind his performance, Martin Dies chose to give America's political underworld its day in court—with friendly attorneys and a packed bench, and, in some instances, with liberal fees for services rendered.

### They Support Dies

"[I have] the highest respect for the Dies committee and sympathy with its program."—George Sylvester Viereck.

"I am in favor of it [the Dies committee] to be appointed again and I wish them to get more money."—Fritz Kuhn.

"I founded the Silver Legion in 1933 . . . to propagate the exact same principles that Mr. Dies and this committee are engaged in prosecuting now."—William Dudley Pelley.

"Behind the whole fight on the Ku Klux Klan has been that hand of an insidious alien influence. The vicious fight on the Klan sprang from the same source which has fought the Dies committee from the day of its inception."—Ku Klux Klan pamphlet.



# THE *Nation*

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## *The Shape of Things*

THE MOST IMPORTANT THING ABOUT Stalin's letter to the A. P. correspondent in Moscow is the fact that he wrote it. In this unprecedented and unceremonious form he demanded bluntly that the Allied powers live up to their obligations "fully and on time." If, as Willkie said in his second-front statement from Moscow, the Allied military leaders "need some prodding," Stalin has administered a prod which carries the force of a charge of dynamite. Where a diplomatic note would have caused no more than a diplomatic ripple, this outspoken letter has produced an explosion. For it amounts to an ultimatum from Stalin to the Allied leaders. He does not say that Russia will collapse if a second front is not opened this year. On the contrary, he insists that "the Soviet capacity of resisting the German brigands is in strength not less, if not greater, than the capacity of fascist Germany . . . to secure for itself world domination." But he charges that the Allies have failed to give Russia effective aid "as compared with the aid which the Soviet Union is giving to the Allies by drawing on itself the main force of the German fascists." No statesman, least of all the discreet Stalin, uses such language in a public communication unless he has reached a point where he hopes rather than fears to affront the governments he criticizes. In short, Stalin's letter indicates that relations between the Soviet Union and its Western allies are dangerously strained and that suspicion has taken the place of confidence.

✱

WHAT THIS STATE OF AFFAIRS MIGHT LEAD to, we prefer not to imagine. The chief thing to insist upon is that it must not be allowed to develop. For months Russia has been fighting alone but in full expectation of relief through the opening of a second front in the west. Even supplies from the Allies have fallen far short of the amounts promised. Now with winter at hand and Stalingrad still bearing the weight of attack on the long line, Russian patience and endurance are near an end. We don't pretend that the British and Americans are solely at fault. Russia has proved a prickly ally and has withheld much information important in making



major military decisions. But the final blame lies on those who promised and failed to fulfil their obligations rather than on those who have carried the full burden of the fight. If the Western allies fail Russia now, the alliance itself is in danger; Russia cannot and will not fight indefinitely alone. This is clear, even though Stalin did not say so. What he did say is enough to show that the Allied generals cannot afford to sit back in their chairs calculating how long the Russians can hold out without help. It is sufficient warning that the second front is the price the Allies will have to pay to keep the weakened Russian armies in the field and the Soviet Union in the United Nations.

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THE WAR IN THE PACIFIC HAS TAKEN A decided turn for the better as a result of the Australian victory north of Port Moresby and American occupation of the Andreanof Islands in the Aleutians. The New Guinea triumph is particularly encouraging because it is the first time in this war that a Japanese army offensive has been defeated and turned back by a United Nations ground force. It is possible that the Japanese may be forced to abandon their six-months-long effort to seize Port Moresby as a base for operations against Australia, and will concentrate on the struggle for the Solomon Islands. Only meager information has been received from the Solomons during the past week, but it is apparent that the Japanese are continuing to harass the American positions at Tulagi and Guadalcanal from newly established bases at Gizo and Rekata. Although no hint of a further American offensive has appeared in official communiqués, our positions at Tulagi can be considered safe only when the Japanese are driven completely out of the Solomons. Occupation of the Andreanof Islands may be taken as an indication that the United States is preparing to expel the enemy from Kiska, Attu, and Agattu. In order to keep our perspective, we must bear in mind that all of these operations are minor ones. They are significant only if they are followed up by attacks on important Japanese positions.

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THE ARREST OF EDOUARD HERRIOT PUTS AN end to Laval's policy of trying on the one hand to satisfy Germany and on the other to avoid antagonizing French opposition leaders. That he had to sacrifice Jews by the thousands and carry his traffic in slaves to the extreme of his new compulsory-labor law never fazed him. But his old parliamentary habits make it unpleasant for him to have to proceed against a man whose prestige was already established when he himself first entered the Chamber of Deputies as a passionate Jacobin of the left. He tried to placate Herriot by sending him all kinds of private messages. They were received with the disdain that could be expected from the ironical old Mayor of

Lyons. Herriot's arrest proves that the Pétain regime cannot handle the present internal situation. Every delay or hesitation on the part of Vichy to meet the demands of Berlin is met by a tightening of the screws upon the French *Gauleiters*. And this in turn leads to greater repressive measures against the French people, who show their irritation at every new concession to the invader. It is a dialectical process whose outcome can only be one of two things—a revolutionary shake-up or the total occupation of France. The arguments employed in the last few days by the Radio Legion, mouthpiece of Pierre Laval's clique, show the desperate position of a government whose only appeal to the nation is an attempt to convince French employers that by sending as many French workers to Germany as possible they are contributing France's share toward the "overthrow of Bolshevism." The arrest of Herriot has given the French people their national leader in the struggle for liberation from within. If De Gaulle symbolizes the armed fight against the invader, Herriot expresses the internal opposition. Nor could the French people find a better leader. He represents all that is finest in the French tradition.

★

THE DEPORTATION FROM FRANCE OF SIXTY or seventy thousand Jews is a mass demonstration of Laval's impotence. The story of this vast human tragedy is told on another page of this issue. Mr. Mandellaub, himself a refugee fortunate enough to have reached this country, exposes the futility of hoping that help for these victims can come from any source inside France or Europe. For most of them hope has vanished; the thousands who have found the end of their weary trek toward freedom in cattle cars headed for the east can now be saved, if at all, only through the final defeat of Hitler. But many thousands are still in France, awaiting their fate. If America had the courage of its professions it would have rescued all the refugees in France before Hitler sprung the trap. But such a program was not even considered. What our government did was to admit within the quota limits such ordinary refugees as met all the regular requirements. And in addition it issued a limited number of visas to particularly endangered individuals. Grudgingly, slowly, the visas were dealt out to a few carefully selected anti-fascists. Those rescued were the few; those left behind the many. Of the political fighters against Hitler for whom visas were requested, about 5,000 are left stranded in France, awaiting deportation and almost certain death. Some of these could still be saved if, for once, in the face of an atrocity against which Secretary Hull himself has bitterly protested, the State Department were willing to slice through the red tape and get these men and women out. With visas for America they could still reach Lisbon. With money from America they could still get passage.



PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S INDORSEMENT OF John J. Bennett for governor of New York should give the Attorney General's cause hardly more nourishment than Mark Twain's soup made from the shadow of a starved chicken. The gesture was inevitable and anticipated. Besides being the father of a political philosophy, the President, as the American Labor Party points out, is the head of the Democratic Party. His silence on the New York campaign would have damaged the party's position elsewhere in the country at a moment when the threat of a Republican Congress is not to be taken lightly. His promise to vote for Bennett as "the best qualified" of the three candidates was the faintest indication of support that he could decently get away with. He did not urge the Farley candidate's election, he carefully avoided associating him with the New Deal, and he said nothing to offset his pre-convention prophecy that Bennett could not win. Had the Labor Party taken the President's indorsement at face value and withdrawn Dean Alfange from the running, Bennett's stock would assuredly have skyrocketed. The Labor Party, with its own existence at stake, knew better than that, and as a result there is no cheering in the Farley camp. The net effect of the President's statement is likely to be the withdrawal from the Bennett fold of some bitter anti-Roosevelt Democrats and even of those diehard Republican isolationists who had flocked to Bennett in preference to a Dewey gone suddenly pro-Willkie. Probably these minor defections will be offset by New Deal voters who will follow the President's lead, but Mayor LaGuardia's timely support of Dean Alfange indicates that there will be no stampede in that direction.

★

ALTHOUGH STRIKES IN WAR INDUSTRIES have been comparatively rare since Pearl Harbor, the press has recently given a considerable amount of space to a statement issued by the National Association of Manufacturers charging that such strikes are on the increase. To support its charge the N. A. M. cites War Labor Board figures showing that strikes in war industries increased from 27 in January to 222 in July. Apart from the fact that the time lost by strikes in July represented less than one-tenth of 1 per cent of the total man-hours worked, the N. A. M. neglects to point out that the WLB has steadily broadened the base of its strike statistics in such a way as to make month-to-month comparisons meaningless. The association even goes so far as to charge that the WLB figures are "unquestionably incomplete" because they do not take into account strikes of less than twenty-four hours. Actually, since April the WLB has been including strikes that lasted as long as one shift. Denials of the N. A. M. charges by William H. Davis, chairman of the War Labor Board, and even by the President himself have received far less newspaper space than was given to the original charges. Fig-

ures on "strikes" by management—that is, insistence on business-as-usual practices—are, of course, never reported in the press. We do not wish to condone irresponsible strikes in war time, but the very fact that the National Association of Manufacturers, regardless of the war, insists on carrying its grudge against labor to the point of falsifying the record is a far more serious breach of the management-labor truce than a few wildcat strikes.

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J. DAVID STERN'S PHILADELPHIA *RECORD* IS to be commended for its forthright handling of the rubber problem and the Baruch committee. Few newspapers had the courage to tackle the powerful interests connected with the synthetic-rubber program. The Washington correspondence and editorials of the *Record* and its affiliated Camden *Courier-Post* do them honor. It was the *Record* which first disclosed that Dr. Ernst A. Hauser, associate professor of chemical engineering at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and coauthor of the book "Rationed Rubber," was employed as an expert by the Baruch committee. Dr. Hauser's book sneered at the Truman and Gillette committees, called rubber from alcohol "rabbit's whisker rubber," and did a little expert knifing of Thurman Arnold. Dr. Hauser testified before the Gillette committee last week that he was not compensated by Standard Oil of New Jersey for writing it. In a prepared statement he said further that the German chemical firm for which he worked from 1922 to 1932 was "not a subsidiary of I. G. Farben. As a matter of fact the two companies were competitors in several fields of the chemical industry." But under questioning by Paul E. Hadlick, counsel for the committee, Dr. Hauser admitted that the concern for which he worked and I. G. Farben had directors in common and that they pooled certain of their processes.

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THE TEST OF THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE new rubber administrator, William M. Jeffers, will be his handling of another run-around on aid to Russia which was uncovered by our Washington editor. It seems that the President ordered that a rubber-tire plant be given to the Russians in July, 1941. First the program was whittled down, then in large part countermanded, and finally it was decided to substitute used equipment for new. Six months have passed, and Jeffers is now on the verge of asking the rubber companies if they can please spare some of their equipment for the Russians. The fact is that huge quantities of tire-making machinery are available, that the Russian request is for but a tiny fraction of our manufacturing capacity of 65,000,000 tires a year, and that this equipment could have been shipped to the Russians months ago. The principal obstacle, aside from the patent rights involved, is that



the companies are determined to hold on to their equipment in order to be ready for quick resumption of production when the war is over.

## *Toward Total Economic Mobilization*

WE HAD better resist the temptation to consider the President's order "providing for the stabilization of the national economy" a final solution of the inflation problem. Drastic as it is in some respects, it is really no more than a springboard from which we must make up our minds to dive into the rough and chilly waters of total economic mobilization. The controls instituted by the order will not operate by themselves; to be effective they will have to be supplemented by measures subjecting industry, labor, and agriculture to a high degree of regimentation.

The section of the order affecting wages and salaries is being criticized in some quarters as letting labor off too lightly. Actually it has plenty of teeth. For if on the one hand it specifically continues to encourage collective bargaining, on the other hand it subjects the results of that bargaining, so far as wages are concerned, to the veto of the War Labor Board and, in the case of a wage increase necessitating a change in a price ceiling, to that of the Price Administrator. There are, it is true, a number of "escape clauses" making possible a rise in wage rates above the September 15 level in order to correct "inequities" or "to aid in the effective prosecution of the war." Some such provision was necessary to check the drift of men from essential but comparatively poorly paid occupations such as copper mining to those offering greater attractions.

It is doubtful, however, that the man-power problems caused by the natural tendency of workers to seek the most remunerative employment can be cured simply by tinkering with wage differentials. In the very near future we shall probably be forced to freeze men to their jobs in the most vital industries, including agriculture, in order to avoid a hopeless lack of balance in war production. This is one of the problems that will confront the new Economic Stabilization Board, and in view of this, the omission from its membership of the head of the War Manpower Commission seems a strange oversight.

Since the President's order follows the compromise on the limitation of farm prices reached by Congress last week, it may seem more lenient toward agriculture than the circumstances warrant. Farm interests, however, received a shock when they read the provision directing the deduction from parity prices of various government cash payments to farmers. This tends to offset the effect

of the addition of farm labor costs as a factor in calculating parity prices.

It would be dangerous to assume that merely fixing farm prices will insure stabilization of the cost of living, together with an adequate supply of food for ourselves and our allies. The sunshine speeches about the certainty of abundance that were fashionable a few months back have now been replaced by ominous talk of food shortages. Secretary of Agriculture Wickard warned the other day that we must conserve this year's abundant harvest or face hunger later on. Scarcity of farm equipment, fertilizer, and above all of labor may decrease production of some vital crops. The President's order will permit, in such cases, the raising of the ceiling price or the use of subsidies to stimulate output.

These measures, however, may prove to be insufficient. Mr. Wickard and other Administration spokesmen have hinted strongly in recent weeks that war-time regimentation of agriculture is inevitable. This means that farm production will have to be planned in accordance with national needs rather than in accordance with the individual farmer's notion of what are the most profitable and convenient crops to grow. With the resources that can be devoted to food production restricted, it would be absurd to add to superabundant wheat stocks when the same acreage might be turned to soy beans. Speaking in Mississippi on October 3, Mr. Wickard told an audience of farmers that "our only hope" of meeting our food budget lies "in harnessing all of our resources to the task of producing only the farm products which are absolutely essential. It is a hard way—you cannot fight a global war by taking it easy."

Victory demands concentration on vital needs and the surrender of superfluities, and that means that the element of choice has to be restricted for business man, farmer, worker, and consumer just as it is for the soldier or sailor. We have a long way still to go before we are slimmed down to the austere standards of British war economy, but the President's stabilization order is a step forward in that direction.

## *Murray of Montana*

ONE of the paradoxes of the current Congressional campaign is the attack being made by the Republican State Committee of Montana upon Senator James E. Murray. Although Senator Murray, as chairman of the Senate Small Business Committee and father of the Smaller War Plants Act, has done more for small business than any other man in the Senate, he is being attacked for failure to help it. The piquant detail is that in Montana the Republican State Committee is synonymous with that stalwart friend of small enterprise, the Anaconda Copper Company.



The Senator himself is something of a paradox. A millionaire lawyer and business man, he has distinguished himself during his first term in the Senate as a consistent and active champion of both labor and little business. He is both a Catholic and a progressive. He has been a steadfast supporter of the New Deal, and he was one of the first men in the Senate to go on record for a second front. He is supported by both the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. He entered the Senate in 1934 by appointment to the seat left vacant by the death of Thomas Walsh, and he has proved himself a worthy successor. He was elected to a full term in 1936.

In the Democratic primaries Senator Murray drew a vote twice as large as that of the leading candidate in the Republican primaries. Unfortunately, the low wages in the mining industry and the high wages in the new war industries of the Pacific Coast have been draining labor out of Montana, and with it has gone some of Senator Murray's support. The chances are that he will be re-elected, but he needs the energetic support of all progressives in Montana. There are too few good liberals left in the Senate to permit the loss of James E. Murray.

This is as good a time as any to note that Senator Murray's Small Business Committee has resumed its hearings, this time to focus attention not only on the continued failure to utilize small manufacturing establishments to the fullest capacity but also on the plight of the small retailer and distributor in the war. Thousands of these may soon have to shut up shop. Several plans have been proposed to provide them with emergency financing and the means of reentering business after the war is over; some provision of this kind is necessary if we are not to emerge from the war with our economic life—and that also means our political life—more than ever before under the domination of giant monopolies.

## *The Chinese Cooperatives*

THIS month marks the fourth anniversary of the organization of the Chinese Industrial Cooperatives. These cooperatives, which have been widely publicized in this country through the writings of Edgar Snow, were largely the creation of one man, Rewi Alley, a New Zealander who was a factory inspector in Shanghai before the war. When the Japanese occupied all the main industrial sections of the country, thus apparently depriving China of the basic supplies needed for carrying on the war, Alley conceived the idea of starting small industries throughout the interior of China, utilizing the skilled labor of the refugees who had fled the coastal cities. In the absence of capital these industries were organized on a cooperative basis, and they have been extraordinarily successful. In a short time they were num-

bered in the thousands. They make everything: small arms, grenades, blankets, uniforms, surgical instruments, some medicines, farm implements, and electrical equipment. Although most of the equipment as well as the labor has necessarily been contributed locally, an increasing amount of assistance has been provided recently by thousands of friends in the United States and Britain.

These friends will regret to learn that within the past fortnight Alley has been dismissed from his post as field secretary. This development was the culmination of a long struggle over the fundamental policies of the cooperatives—a struggle which had ramifications in both Chinese and American politics. In China the issue was relatively clear-cut. With profound faith in the possibilities of a nascent democracy in China, Alley had devoted his efforts, with outstanding success, to the building up of a decentralized movement. He considered decentralization to be the most practicable means of meeting the problems faced by the local cooperatives under Chinese war-time conditions. Inadequate transport facilities, frequent bombing, the scarcity of ink, paper, typewriters, and other means of communication made it necessary for the C. I. C. units to stand on their own feet. So a system was set up under which the International Committee of the C. I. C. distributed the money collected abroad directly to local industrial cooperatives.

Certain Chungking officials have long opposed Alley's policies on the ground that the entire Chinese economy should be centralized under government control. But since centralization is impracticable under Chinese conditions, there has always been a suspicion that at least some of these individuals were seeking to gain control of the cooperative organization for political reasons. Alley's dismissal was not an isolated incident. More than a month ago a veteran Chinese politician, Chou Hsiangshien, formerly mayor of Hangchow, was installed as secretary-general of the C. I. C., and a standing committee was established of men who have had little, if anything, to do with the C. I. C. in the past. This committee has ruled that all funds should be sent to it in the future instead of being distributed through the long-established International Committee.

This development is particularly disquieting because we, along with many other Americans, had come to regard the C. I. C. as a symbol of growing democracy in China. We have tended to overlook the fact that the Chinese government, owing to the stresses of the war, was not itself particularly democratic in structure. And we have hoped that the experience in practical democracy gained in the cooperatives would lay the foundation for broader popular rule after the war.

Not all of the politics or the passion for centralization which harasses the C. I. C. is Chinese. For months the United China Relief, which acts as a coordinated agency for the collection of relief funds for China, has been



seeking to gain control of the distribution as well as the collection of the funds for the industrial cooperatives. It is possible that this effort may have influenced Chungking in its decision to reorganize the C. I. C. We prefer to think that no ulterior political motives, either here or in China, are involved, but the best proof of their absence would be the cessation of all efforts by outsiders to control a movement which has been outstandingly successful under its established local leadership.

## Hitler Prepares to Dig In

BY FRED KIRCHWEY

IN A world of war even the words of a conqueror are quickly buried by events. Hitler's speech was made, discussed, and almost forgotten before the week-end. Too generally, in my opinion, it was dismissed as an admission of weakness: Mr. Hull, for instance, referred to the speech as "quite a comedown," and said Hitler was evidently "desperately preparing his people for still greater hardships." Editorial writers found in it an admission that Germany was stopped, that the great offensive was over, at least on important fronts. Hitler, they pointed out, had recognized the fact that another horrifying Russian winter must be endured, and they contrasted this with his boast a year ago that Russia was already defeated; at last on the defensive, he was forced to look for words to make a prospective stalemate sound like an imminent victory.

This interpretation is almost true. But it conceals an important and disconcerting fact which we dare not pass over. Hitler is not merely on the defensive. He is a *conqueror* on the defensive. What he must defend is his territorial gains, his successful aggressions. When he sneers at Allied propagandists who belittle a thousand kilometers of soil overrun by the German army while making victories out of minor successes on their own side, he scores a legitimate point. Hitler has conquered Europe from the Atlantic to the Volga. He must obviously defend his spoils, from both inside and outside attack. He must consolidate his gains before he grabs for more. And so he prepares to resist blows and to suppress revolt and to exploit conquered land and mines and factories. This Göring promised, as well as Hitler.

I don't deny that it is better to have Hitler on the defensive than to watch his armies roll across the face of Europe. But none of us should fool ourselves with the idea that his role is comparable with the defensive role played so far by the Allies. Our side has fought with nothing to lose but its own possessions, no place to retreat but across its own soil. And we have lost and retreated.

Hitler's announcement that the Nazi regime will now

begin to organize its conquests should be taken as a challenge rather than a consolation. His army needs to halt. So it must be forced to keep on marching or die where it stands. He plans to exploit the territory he has conquered, "to link it with the nutrition of our people and the obtaining of raw materials for the maintenance of all Europe." So he must be robbed of the fruits of his victory by intensified guerrilla fighting and sabotage. He needs to end resistance. So resistance must be quickened into full revolt. And implicit in his whole position is Hitler's need for peace, since peace is the one real defense for a conqueror gorged with the spoils of war; only with peace can he really concentrate on the major job of digestion. So he must be given war; and we must be forearmed against his coming peace offensive.

This is all evident enough. But it remains to be accomplished. The Russians will certainly do their best to prevent Hitler's army from digging in for the winter, but whether they can find the strength to succeed will largely depend on the help they get from the west. Without a second front in Europe, Russia may be forced to accept what Hitler wants—a stalemate in the east.

Even more certainly they will resist any attempt to exploit and carry off the resources of their lost lands. No matter what happens on the front, Russian workers and peasants can be counted upon to fight on savagely. But Hitler's plans for organizing Europe as a whole can only be blocked if opposition is intensified throughout the occupied countries. Again this may depend upon the opening of a western front. The resistance of men and women who would rather fight alone than accept slavery will not suffice to wreck Hitler's plans. An Allied invasion of Europe is a prerequisite of successful revolt.

As for peace, it may present itself in many guises. Already the Poles report that Hitler has twice attempted to make overtures to them. The next effort may be directed to Russia, especially if Hitler succeeds in stabilizing the eastern front. That the possibility of a peace move has been considered in Berlin is indicated in the commentary in the Political War section of this issue on one of Goebbels's more striking recent articles. The "pawn theory" is a strategy designed for just such peacemaking as Hitler obviously has in mind. His conquests become pawns in the maneuvers for a negotiated peace. As our writer says, the theory is a substitute for total victory. But it must also be recognized that it is incompatible with defeat. A defeated power must disgorge its conquests. Only a power that still has strength to fight can use them as trading pieces.

Hitler on the defensive is merely Hitler using new tactics to accomplish the purposes his victories have forced upon him. Only a powerful offensive—political as well as military—timed to hit before his defensive aims have been achieved, can break Hitler's hold on Europe. It may be our only chance.



# Prisoner of the Japanese

BY J. B. POWELL

[Mr. Powell was repatriated two months ago and brought home on the *Gripsholm* suffering from gangrene which has cost him the greater part of both feet. He is now recovering in a New York hospital, where he wrote the following close-up of the methods and mentality of his Japanese jailers.]

ON THE morning of December 20, 1941, almost two weeks after Pearl Harbor, half a dozen Japanese plain-clothes men came to my room in Shanghai's Hotel Metropole. This was no surprise, as the office of the *China Weekly Review* and the *China Press*, which I had edited for years, had already been sealed by the Japanese, and I knew they had old scores to settle with me.

After the gendarmes had searched the room and stuffed my papers into a suitcase, I was asked to go with them to police headquarters for questioning. The weather was cold, and had I known what was in store for me I would not have gone off in thin socks and a light overcoat.

The gendarmes drove me to a large apartment building known as the Bridge House, which the Japanese had secretly turned into a prison. While I was being questioned in an upstairs office, several other Americans and British were brought in. Everything I had in my pockets was taken from me, also my tie and belt. And I was allowed to keep only one handkerchief. History records many prisoners for whom ties, belts, or handkerchiefs knotted together meant escape from their sufferings—via suicide.

Then I was taken to the ground floor and shoved into the cell which was to be my home for the next two months, and which was to make me a cripple for the rest of my life. About thirty people were crowded into a space eighteen feet by twelve. They sat in packed rows on the floor. Most of them were Chinese, but among them was Rudolph Mayer, brother of the Hollywood producer. Mayer asked some of the Chinese to squeeze over, and I got a seat in the corner, where I could lean back against the wall. This was better than sitting hunched up in the middle of the room. Mayer laughed and told me that my place had belonged to a Korean who had died there of blood poisoning only the night before.

Soon I was taken upstairs to be questioned again. Through an interpreter an officer cross-examined me on

my life history, especially the twenty-five years I had spent in China. This was the first of many grillings. They took place two or three times a week, often late at night, during the two months I was in Bridge House. Repeatedly the Japanese tried to force from me admissions that would connect me with the activities of American or British military intelligence. I was told papers had been found proving I had been paid \$85,000 (Chinese) by our naval attaché, which was absurd.

My answers were taken down in Japanese on big sheets of paper, then folded into a sort of book the last page of which I was told to sign and fingerprint. I always asked the officer to summarize what he had written, and caught him in a number of deliberate falsifications. It would have been easy for him to make up some wild confession and insert it in the sheets that preceded my signature.

The examining officers were often insulting and arrogant, but I was never beaten. Compared with the silence, monotony, and filth of the cell to which I was returned each time, these arguments with officials were not unpleasant.

The ground-floor space that had once been shops in Bridge House was now a series of built-in cells separated from the apartments' walls by long narrow corridors. Into a dozen cells about five hundred men and women were jammed like sardines. On two sides of my cell were rows of thick wooden poles about two inches apart—twenty-five poles on one side, seventeen on the other; I think I must have counted them at least a million times.

All day and all night we sat on the hard wooden floor. We were terribly cold in our stocking feet. Our shoes had been taken from us, Japanese fashion, and stacked in the corridor outside. We were ordered to sit in regular rows with our knees drawn up, in order to pack more prisoners in and make counting them easier for the guards. Often there were so many people in the cell that some of them had to stand up.

We were forbidden to talk. If one man disobeyed that or some other rule, all of us in the cell were punished by being ordered to sit on our feet with our heads bowed. The Japanese learn to do this from childhood—which may explain why so many Japanese women are bowlegged—but for Europeans and Chinese it is torture. Some of the people in my cell, after sitting on their feet



for a few hours, were unable to walk for several days afterward. And we had to sit facing toward Tokyo. So we called this punishment the "New Order Kneeling Posture."

It was impossible to keep the Chinese from talking, and the guards often caught them at it. When this happened, the offending persons were beaten. In fact, the Chinese prisoners were beaten continually. All through the night we could hear, from other cells, the screams of some poor wretch being punished for a real or fancied violation of the rules. A Chinese trusty who was caught smuggling in cigarettes was beaten so badly that he could not stand up for a week. Later he developed beri-beri and died in my cell. Another Chinese on whom some money had been found was taken out into the corridor and beaten until his face was a pulp and the guard's yard-long club only a splintered stump. I counted eighty-five blows.

No European was beaten that I know of. But once a friend managed to send me a thermos bottle of tea. I had only begun to drink it when the guard demanded the bottle back. I gulped as much as I could and passed it along to him. He ordered me to come up close to the hole in the door through which our food was given to us, reached in, and slapped my face hard.

Shanghai winters are cold, and there was no heat in the Bridge House. At about nine every night the guards brought us blankets, though never enough to go round. So there was always a fight for them. When it had quieted down, there would be groups of two to six prisoners who by huddling close together were able to cover themselves with one blanket. In the morning the blankets were taken away again. On some cold nights none were given out at all.

Our day began with the collection of the blankets. The next event was the dragging sound we heard down the corridor which meant that breakfast was coming our way. It was rice, distributed among us in bowls. We passed them round the cell in rotation. And this morning rice was good—warm and well salted. At noon and in the evening we had rice again, but it was cold and soggy, and evidently had stood a long time. Sometimes there were bits of herring in it—mostly the heads. Our greatest torment was thirst. Though we were given tea every day—so wretched that it was probably brewed from used leaves—we were never given water, and not once felt that we had had enough to drink.

The poor Chinese prisoners rioted several times because they were not allowed to receive any food from their friends outside. We foreigners were luckier, though the Japanese would not let canned goods into the building and, as we found out later, often helped themselves to what was sent to us. But we could not eat with a good appetite under the eyes of the starving

Chinese, and many's the time I divided my sandwiches with them.

Worse even than the endless rice and thirst, or the monotony, or the days and nights of cramped sitting shoulder to shoulder with nothing to do, was the appalling filth of the place. We could never wash except on the rare occasions when we were taken out. In two months I had only three or four baths. The sanitary facilities were unspeakable. The cell, jammed with from twenty-five to forty people, was served by a single crude box in the corner in full view of the whole room. I soon learned the Japanese word for it—*benjo*. The *benjo* was emptied once a day from the outside, by a door which was kept locked lest some undersized, half-crazed prisoner should try to crawl out to liberty through it. Eventually we got used to the stench. But one thing we "foreigners" could never get used to. There were always several women in the cell. To make a screen for them, we would stand round the *benjo* with our backs to it.

A number of the men in our cell were suffering from venereal disease in its most repulsive forms. The Japanese gave them medical treatment openly, in the middle of the crowd, before the eyes of men and women alike. Only the most advanced and disgusting cases were thus treated.

Frequently the Chinese women in our cell were taken out for questioning. I never knew what happened, but often they would come back battered, bleeding, to lie sobbing quietly on the cold, filthy floor.

One of the European women was a Russian. Probably because she had been suddenly deprived of drugs, she screamed hysterically most of the night and was soon taken away.

The great majority of prisoners were Chinese. Some stayed with us only a few days; some had been there so long they had forgotten the charge against them. There was a boy of fifteen, accused of gun-running for the guerrillas. There were students, accused of various offenses against the Japanese. And to my surprise there were many Japanese prisoners among us too—soldiers hauled up for drunkenness, former employees of foreign firms from whom the police were trying to get information. They were treated no better than the rest of us. I saw a gendarme beat a Japanese soldier senseless. One of my cell mates was a retired British army officer. He suffered hideously from boils. I shall never forget how all through one long night he kept reciting, over and over again, the Lord's Prayer.

The filth was such in our germ-laden surroundings that there was an epidemic of boils. As a rule the Japanese paid no attention to pleas for treatment, but occasionally a medical attendant would bore into the boil with a pair of pliers. The treatment was worse than the disease. Standard Japanese medical service consisted of aspirin and mercurochrome. We got aspirin no matter



what was wrong. Periodically a Japanese nurse would daub mercurochrome on sores and infections—if one managed to stop her as she went through the crowd with her tray.

A hangnail on one of my fingers became infected. Soon the finger swelled to twice normal size. As the wound was not open, mercurochrome did no good. After two weeks of pleading for treatment I was taken upstairs to the dispensary. Without using any anaesthetic, the Japanese military doctor trimmed all the skin off my finger with a pair of scissors. Then mercurochrome was put on it, and in time it was cured.

We had nothing to do but sit—or kneel facing Tokyo—or think about our woes or talk in low voices when we knew the guard was out of earshot. Occasionally someone would start a word game, but it did not get very far. We were not allowed anything to read. Once a copy of a Jewish refugee newspaper, printed in German, got into the cell as wrapping for some food. It was strange how eagerly it was looked at even by those who knew no German.

Occasionally in fine weather—perhaps a dozen times during my stay—small groups of us were taken out to the courtyard for a brief walk or Japanese army calisthenics. In this courtyard were cages in which the Japanese kept their trained police dogs. We would stop and make friends with the dogs, take their paws and shake hands with them. The dogs seemed to like us better than they did their Jap masters.

I said we had nothing to do. This is not quite true. All of us were busy many hours of the day hunting the lice in our clothes—which often had not been changed or washed for months. This louse hunt began in the morning after breakfast. Often we kept score. Rudolph Mayer usually won—with anywhere from sixty to one hundred. We foreigners couldn't eat the cold, soggy noonday rice, so we traded it to the Chinese in exchange for their services as expert delousers—a bowl of rice for one louse-free undershirt. To this day I cannot understand why typhus did not go through Bridge House like a prairie fire.

Not long after I was put in prison my feet began to hurt, especially the heels. I thought this was not surprising after squatting shoeless on a cold hardwood floor. But the pain got so bad that soon I was unable to put on my shoes when taken out for exercise or upstairs for questioning. Since there was nothing one could see, the Japanese doctor only laughed at me. Only once did I persuade the nurse to paint my heels with disinfectant, which of course did no good.

On February 26 I was taken from the Bridge House and with seven other foreigners transferred to the new prison at Kiangwan outside the city. We were given a haircut and a shave—my first in two months—and told

that we were to face a court martial on the charge of espionage.

Kiangwan consisted of solitary cells. Mine was about five by ten. There was no bed, and as the building was unheated and the cement still damp, I suffered from lying on the cold floor. High up on one wall was a small barred window, but I had not the strength to chin myself on the ledge nor could I jump high enough to look out through it.

Conditions were a little better at Kiangwan. There was seaweed with the rice, the tea was more drinkable, and I got more food from the outside, though usually it arrived frozen and I had by this time very little appetite. When the weather was good, we were taken out to the bath house, and sat four or five of us together in big vats of hot water. We were also given tooth brushes, which hung on a rack labeled with our names. As the names were written in Japanese, the tooth brushes soon became scrambled, but we were past caring. We could communicate with each other by knocking on the walls, but never worked out a code any farther than the dot-dot-dot-dash of V for victory. Sitting alone in my cell I made up an endless poem about the Japanese, but I have forgotten most of the stanzas.

My cell of course had the familiar stinking *benjo* in one corner. After a week in Kiangwan my feet were in such bad shape that I could only get to it by rolling along the floor.

I complained to the guard about my feet every chance I got. After about three weeks a couple of Japanese military doctors came in to look at me and gave me a hypodermic. My feet had definitely turned purple.

A month after I was taken to Kiangwan I was taken out again, on a stretcher, and driven to the Shanghai General Hospital, where my friend Dr. W. H. Gardiner took care of me and I was tended by French Franciscan nuns. My feet had literally rotted away, and were so numb that an anaesthetic was used only once. Amputation was made easier by a bone dropping out here, a toe crumbling off there. I had four transfusions.

The Japanese were constantly coming in to photograph me. I told them to take a picture of my feet, amputated close to the heel, but they refused. For these pictures they made me cover up my hands, which were only skin and bone. Dr. Gardiner told me I looked like King Tut, with the skin on my face so tight that it wouldn't quite close around my teeth.

In June, thanks to pressure from friends and newspapermen in America, I was allowed to leave, along with other Americans exchanged for Japanese held in this country.

Another ten days in Japanese prisons, says my doctor, and I would not be here to tell this tale of the filth, stupidity, and inhumanity meted out by our enemies to those unlucky enough to get into their clutches.



# Washington Letter

BY I. F. STONE

*Washington, October 4*

I AM not one of Justice Byrnes's most fervent admirers and remember him chiefly in connection with editorials I used to write demanding that, as chairman of the Senate's Audit and Control Committee, he stop trying to choke off the La Follette investigation. But I am inclined to think that the President made a good choice in appointing Byrnes as Director of Economic Stabilization. The job is a difficult one and requires stepping on many people's toes. A middle-of-the-roader was needed, a man acceptable to an overwhelming majority of the people. Byrnes is an able man; his record on the court, as it was in Congress, has been a mixed one—far from reactionary, though hardly to be termed liberal. In Congress he supported the President in the court fight, and on the court he wrote the decision in the New York teamsters' case, holding that the anti-racketeering statute was not intended to apply to labor-union activities. The President's executive order seems wisely flexible, especially as regards wages. Much will depend on the way Byrnes tries to administer it, and he deserves the cooperation and forbearance of all sections of the community in his new task.

The press corps is unanimous in its opinion of the President's attitude on his return from his tour of production. Mr. Roosevelt has been understandably resentful in the past of the treatment accorded him by part of the press, but what he showed on his return was not merely annoyance with the anti-New Dealers—the Frank Kents, David Lawrences, and Mark Sullivans—but really with any criticism whatever. This was clear in his remarks on Congress. He mentioned the price bill only in response to a question. The criticism the President himself volunteered was that Congress was hurting the war effort by investigating things involving military or technical matters not explainable to a lay mind. This was a reference to investigating committees like those under Senators Truman, Gillette, and Bone, and with all due respect to Mr. Roosevelt, it was dangerous nonsense. The brass hats who thought Russia would not last a month, the dollar-a-year men who supposed that we had plenty of aluminum capacity, the chemists who forgot what their elementary textbooks on organic chemistry told them about rubber from alcohol should not be exempted from the curiosity and common sense of representatives of the people in Congress. The best example of the need for constant investigation and checking is the

ease with which they deceived the President himself in February, 1941, when he said talk of a steel shortage was "a deliberate lie." At that very time Under Secretary of War Patterson and Admiral Land, as both later testified, were worried over shortages of structural steel and steel plate. Let Mr. Roosevelt blush that off. Let him also remember that he did not think the technicalities of constitutional law too difficult for the people's comprehension when he wanted to fight the Supreme Court. The technicalities of production and military supply are no more difficult, and no less important to our lives and destinies. We need more, not less, democratic discussion of them.

One often hears it said by those third- and fourth-rank officials to whom the President referred so disparagingly that the White House sometimes seems poorly informed on what is actually going on. This was evident last spring when Mr. Roosevelt issued a statement saying that production quotas were so far ahead of schedule that schedules would be revised upward. At that very time, as the weekly confidential WPB production reports showed and no newspaperman dared print, several basic production quotas were sagging badly. Some of them are still sagging. I can find no official who thinks that we are reaching 94 to 95 per cent of our goals or who believes that, as Mr. Roosevelt said, there seems to be no appreciable shortage of aluminum at the present time. No newspaperman here thinks the President's victory-program message meant that he wanted a production *rate* of 60,000 planes a month by December rather than 60,000 planes this year. Statements of this kind reflect (1) the President's dislike for hearing unpleasant things from the men around him, (2) the fact that for this reason and for reasons of their own prestige these men tend to put their work in as optimistic a light as possible, and (3) that he doesn't like to be too candid about facts which reflect upon his own capacity as President.

This explains his sudden outburst of pique over recent speeches by Elmer Davis, General Somervell, and Assistant Secretary of the Navy Ralph K. Bard which stressed our shortcomings and struck a note of invigorating realism and warning. All these speeches were cleared by the Office of War Information under Elmer Davis's wise policy of giving the public more truth and less pap. The people who greeted the President with deserved warmth and affection during his tour seemed to like these speeches, judging from the response by mail and tele-



gram here and from the reaction of the audiences before which they were given. The American people are adults; they can take it. Their morale is not going to be built up by the kind of false information given in the Associated Press dispatch from Detroit on the President's visit. The President at Willow Run, the A. P. said, "saw sheet aluminum going into one end of quarter-mile-long assembly lines and four-motored B-24 bombers ready to fly away at the other." The President passed this dispatch but told his press conference that Willow Run was not yet in production, though nearly ready to go.

May I say a special word of praise for one of the men the President criticized? A year ago in *PM* I attacked

Assistant Secretary of the Navy Ralph K. Bard. He was making a bad labor record, and I dug up connections he had in the past with the radio program of the Crusaders and the Johnstown Citizens' Committee. He is an industrial banker from Chicago, and I want now to stand up and testify that he has not only been making good speeches—that is comparatively easy—but has brought about a new atmosphere of confidence and cooperation between the Navy Department and the very unions which were bitterly critical of him a year ago. When more people of such widely different backgrounds and interests learn to work together for the good of our country, we shall be on the road to victory. My hat is off to Mr. Bard.

## *After Stalingrad*

BY DONALD W. MITCHELL

**A**S THE bloodiest struggle in history reaches a climax at Stalingrad, the time has come for a careful evaluation of the position of the United Nations, and especially of Russia, in the fourth year of the war.

The fighting on the Russian front has been enormously expensive. The war in the east has long since become one of attrition rather than movement through the deliberate Russian choice of retreat rather than annihilation when non-vital objectives were involved. This has forced Hitler to fight an immensely costly series of engagements at the end of long lines of communication. And the nature of the country has made the destruction of the opposing army the only possibility for a knockout blow. This objective, sedulously sought by Hitler along an entire front in 1941, has scarcely been attempted in 1942. The Germans have tried instead to defeat Russia mainly by occupying its territory and depriving it of certain raw materials.

In both military and industrial attrition the Wehrmacht has been very successful. About one-half of European Russia has now been occupied, and while this area is only about one-sixteenth of the entire Soviet Union it includes the more important industrial and agricultural areas. A third of the population, a third of the food supply, two-thirds of the coal, iron, and steel, and numerous important centers of industry are in German hands. Others are gravely threatened, and their usefulness has been greatly impaired. Also the Germans have gained some oil and manganese, both of which they need desperately.

The German shortage of man-power, the consistent and thorough scorched-earth policy of the evacuating armies, and possibly transportation difficulties have kept

many Russian losses from being at the same time German gains. Nevertheless, the position of Russia today is similar to that in which the United States would find itself if New England, the Middle Atlantic states, and Ohio were in enemy hands, and Detroit was so endangered as to be valueless industrially. In that case we should still retain much economic and military strength, but with the principal shipyards and steel centers and many of the main airplane plants in enemy hands, our ability to carry on war would be, to say the least, considerably reduced. News dispatches have recently contained painful reports that the Red Army in some sectors has been suffering from the lack of equipment consequent on such industrial defeats. Even though whole industries have been moved eastward to resume operations in new centers, the time required to effect the change was bound to cause a considerable loss in productive efficiency.

Losses of man-power have been equally serious. The recently suggested figure of five million men captured or killed is certainly no exaggeration. The Russian retreat to the Volga and the southern Caucasus after the German break-through at Kursk was a costly move, even though we need not accept Hitler's claim that seventy-five Russian divisions were destroyed. It is worthy of note, however, that 1942 has seen no such destruction of the best Soviet units by blitzkrieg warfare as the Germans accomplished during the summer and fall of 1941. The Russians have been losing men heavily but with greater damage to the enemy than a year ago.

Too little attention has been given to the loss of morale resulting from the failure of the British and Americans to undertake a second front in 1942 and to suffer with



their allies. The Russians correctly feel that they are bearing the brunt of the war and cannot appreciate either the eagerness of the British and American public to see a new front opened or the very large difficulties of logistics which a major invasion effort would encounter at present.

Germany has meanwhile paid a heavy price for its eastern victories. In addition to troop losses certainly equal to those suffered by the imperial armies in the First World War, it has sacrificed some degree of prestige and severely strained its economic system. The shortage of labor must be infinitely greater in Germany than here. More serious has been the devastation of industrial districts by British and, to a very limited degree, American bombing.

In any study of this year's battle on the eastern front two things stand out clearly. First, both the Red Army and the Wehrmacht are markedly weaker than a year ago. Neither has had sufficient reserves of material and manpower to attempt a full-scale offensive along the entire front. Instead, each has pursued limited objectives, with the Germans retaining the initiative and showing an amazing ability to overcome transportation troubles. The weakening, however, has not been equal, and the Russians, as has already been noted, are showing the effect of the loss of vital industrial territory in occasional shortages of weapons, while the Germans have not as yet evidenced any deficiencies of this sort.

Second, it is certain that Hitler will fail to accomplish his main objectives of the year. In April he expected to destroy the Red Army. When this attempt failed, he directed his attention to the Caucasus and later to severing communication lines between southern and central Russia. At most not over two months of passably good fighting weather remain to him before winter checks operations everywhere but in the extreme south. An advance upon Moscow from the south would encounter intense weather difficulties as well as enormously strong resistance. The advance in the Caucasus has been greatly slowed down and faces extremely arduous terrain in the coming weeks. Since neither the Luftwaffe nor the loss of Novorossisk has knocked out the Black Sea fleet, an attempt to reach the Baku oil fields by a sea-borne invasion south of the Caucasus does not offer much chance of success.

It is only in this region that the German armies have even come close to their goal. All the direct railway lines by which Baku oil normally travels north have now been severed, and German success in reaching the Volga has knocked out a long stretch of that stream as a line of transport. Under these conditions it is apparent that the main Soviet problem will soon be oil. Caucasus oil in small quantities can still be sent north by a combination of shipping across the Caspian and indirect railway transport. Some reserves have probably been stored, and new

fields directly west of the Urals are unquestionably being developed. Russian shortages, not only of oil but of food, raw materials, and men, are being brushed aside all too confidently by American and especially British commentators.

Nevertheless, when Hitler's September 30 speech is read in connection with the Russian campaign it becomes apparent that victory has once more eluded the Third Reich and that Germany, for the first time in the present war, faces a well-defined threat of defeat. For with the gains of the last two months in Atlantic shipping, an Anglo-American invasion of Western Europe is passing out of the pipe-dream stage.

Even before Hitler's speech a new line of strategy was obviously being considered by the Germans. Stated briefly, the most likely German procedure in the months ahead will be to consolidate territory taken in the east and to avoid paying too heavy a price for any further conquests. The supply department will certainly be better prepared against the weather than it was last year. Much of the Luftwaffe will be transferred to the west, where the people of the Rhineland have already been promised added air protection and a quick resumption of offensive air war. Many divisions will also be sent to France and the Netherlands.

If this plan is adopted, the Soviet Union will continue to be a vital factor, for Germany will be gambling on the inability of the depleted, under-equipped Red Army to undertake an offensive with real punch in it. Their gamble would not necessarily be unwise, since the present war, which has witnessed prodigies of endurance and valor in defensive fighting by the Soviets, has not seen a single Russian offensive which has possessed the quick-moving, hard-hitting, decisive character of the German blitzkrieg.

The European phase of the war thus has several encouraging features. Unless the German armies in the very limited time remaining before winter are able to perform miracles, 1943 will see them forced either to adopt a defensive in the east in order to be ready to meet invasion in the west or to concentrate in one section of Europe only at the risk of disaster elsewhere. This more favorable outlook should not blind Americans to the problems ahead. We must win at sea and hold our dominance in the air. Russia must be kept well supplied. Finally, unless our military tactics and leadership have improved greatly, green American troops and often defeated British, even with superior air power, may prove far from equal to Hitler's veterans. What the Russian front provides is simply an opportunity to gain the initiative if we act with speed and force. We must not lose sight of the fact that the Axis is still winning the war and that we have not yet reached the turning-point which precedes the long road to victory. There are merely indications that it may not lie far ahead.



# Workers in Uniform

BY HAROLD MAGER

AMERICA is moving toward an acute man-power crisis as our war effort mounts steadily in volume and power. We are now beginning to scrape the bottom of the man-power barrel for the precious human fuel that feeds the war machine. Paul V. McNutt, chairman of the War Manpower Commission, admitted as much the other day in testimony before the Tolan committee investigating national defense migration. Mr. McNutt declared that "the continued success of voluntary efforts cannot be assured, and we are moving rapidly into a situation where the government must intervene increasingly in the labor market." Labor conscription, he warned, was "inevitable."

There is a strong likelihood that before the end of 1943 the number of soldiers in uniform will be matched by the number of workers in uniform. We have made the first beginnings. The government has already asserted its right to dispose of the services of its more than two million employees in any way it sees fit; and the War Manpower Commission, working closely with Selective Service, has ordered miners in twelve Western states to remain on the job, unless released by the United States Employment Service, on pain of reclassification by their local draft boards. Senator Austin of Vermont has just introduced a "work or fight" bill giving broad powers to the director of Selective Service to order the activities of all persons from eighteen to sixty-five who are deferred from military service.

The attainment of goals set for 1943 will require an upheaval in traditional modes of work and living such as the nation has never experienced before. In the first place, the entire labor force of the country (inclusive of the armed forces) must expand from 57,000,000 in June, 1942, to 62,500,000 by December, 1943. If this were the only change required, it would be no small achievement, for no competent economist in the field has ever placed the number of new entrants that could be absorbed in a year at more than 3,500,000. The really astounding change, however, will take place *within* the existing labor force. The estimated addition of about 4,000,000 workers to war industries and an equal number to the armed forces, coupled with replacements for essential work and transfers from non-essential to essential work, will require the placing of 18,000,000 persons in *new* jobs. At least 11,000,000 workers will have to be trained for semi-skilled work of some kind. In the coming year the labor map of America will be completely transformed. Not only must this tremendous expansion

be achieved, but sources of additional man-power must be explored, labor mobility increased, and labor pirating prevented.

The shortage of man-power has been felt particularly in agriculture, where prodigious increases in production have been called for in spite of a continually dwindling supply of able-bodied farm hands. The production goals for 1942 stagger the imagination. According to Fred S. Wallace, chief of the Agricultural Adjustment Agency, the farmers this year have undertaken to increase the production of milk over the 1935-39 average by an amount sufficient to float every battleship, aircraft carrier, cruiser, destroyer, and submarine in the United States navy; of meat, to lay a seven-lane highway one inch thick from New York to San Francisco; of eggs, to form a double line reaching from the earth to the moon; of canned fruit, to form a row of cases bridging the Atlantic between New York and Liverpool; of canned vegetables, to form a double row of cases stretching across the Pacific from Los Angeles to Vladivostok. I repeat, these are merely the *increases* in production. Meanwhile, farmers are not only being called to the colors but are leaving the land for better-paying jobs in war plants, while those that remain are unable to count upon an adequate supply of migratory workers for the harvest and are using agricultural machinery that is poorer than last year's and will be still worse next year.

This vast kaleidoscope of labor shifting and relocation cannot be left to the ordinary mechanism of supply and demand. The allocation of labor resources should no more be controlled by the operation of blind market forces than the allocation of materials in short supply. We have reached a stage where it is necessary to institute labor priorities, control labor inventories, and expedite labor mobility by breaking down transportation bottlenecks. Otherwise we shall not attain our 1943 production goals.

There is much that can be done before we introduce conscription of labor. We are approaching, to be sure, an absolute shortage, but certain existing local shortages could be quickly overcome if the government tackled the problem in earnest. While thirty-five major centers of war production, including Los Angeles, Seattle, Detroit, Buffalo, and Philadelphia, are now suffering from a serious lack of workers, hundreds of communities throughout the country have large pools of unemployed. Wendell Lund, director of the Labor Production Division of the War Production Board, testified before the



Tolan committee on September 17 that New York City alone had half a million unemployed workers—probably an inflated figure but worth mentioning because of the authority of the source. Are men ready to pick up and migrate to the centers of war production? If the labor migrations of the past two years are not sufficient evidence, look at the thousands who stormed the recruiting offices of the Kaiser Shipbuilding Company in New York City a few days ago, ready to cross the country to Oregon.

The first task is to establish a genuine national labor market to replace the network of local labor markets that dot the country: labor reserves are widely scattered, while the demand in industry is highly concentrated. This task can be accomplished only by taking the United States Employment Service out of local politics. The Employment Service should be the central agency for recruiting and placing labor. Unfortunately, it is handicapped by a provision of the Labor Department—Federal Security Agency Appropriations Act for 1943 which calls for a return to state control after the war. The effect of this clause is to keep some, though by no means all, of the state directors over-dependent on local interests. To insure labor mobility—a particularly pressing problem now that gasoline and rubber rationing has curtailed the range of the jalopies—the government, through the Employment Service, should provide workers and their families with transportation to their new place of employment.

Secondly, the President's anti-discrimination policy in employment should be strictly enforced. One method of doing this would be to turn over all hiring to the Employment Service. A simpler method—one that requires no additional legislation—would be for the government to exercise its power to direct the hiring practices of government contractors. The time has come to give substance to what has so far been simply a high moral ideal.

Third, labor-utilization experts should be assigned to large war plants to devise means of increasing labor productivity. This does not mean speed-up. It does mean that those plants which have a surplus of skilled labor—and there are many such—should be compelled to disgorge. This is no time for labor hoarding with an eye to the peace. Labor-utilization experts might also serve on labor-management production committees to promote training programs, the upgrading of unskilled workers into skilled workers, and the breaking down of complicated jobs into simpler functions. Increasing productivity is one of the important ways of adding to our labor supply. Many more bombers will come off the assembly lines now that the necessary man-hours for construction have been reduced from 75,000 to 18,000.

These are things that can be done now. They do not have to wait upon conscription. The broader problem, however, will soon demand solution. The government

agencies responsible for the allocation of our human resources are giving it earnest consideration. If the Austin "work or fight" bill is not killed in committee, Congress too will have to consider the problem. At this time it is important for the American people to be made aware of its transcendent importance. Unless they get behind such a measure, it is not likely to be passed by Congress; and unless it is passed, we shall hardly be able to achieve the goals we have set for 1943.

Without passing on the merits of the Austin bill, one may enumerate the basic principles which such legislation should embody if labor is not to find itself in chains. These principles were first enunciated in the "Essential Work Order" providing for the mobilization of labor in Great Britain. First, where workers are assigned by the government to specific work, the standards of wages and employment should in no case be less favorable than those agreed upon between trade unions and employers. Second, every worker must be guaranteed a minimum wage not less than his normal wage as long as he is capable of and available for work during normal working hours. Third, no worker may give up his job and no employer may discharge a worker without permission of the proper governmental authorities, subject to the right of appeal to a local committee on which workers and employers are represented.

The inclusion of these principles is not intended merely as a *quid pro quo* for labor. They are vital to the very existence of a free working force. While the times may decree that labor give ground to a dangerous extent, they don't decree that it throw all protection to the winds.

## In the Wind

ASKED BY a reporter from the *Washington Post* what he thought about the coming elections, Patrick Henry Drewry, chairman of the Democratic Campaign Committee in Congress, said sharply, "There are no issues in this Congressional campaign."

THE "VOTE FOR VICTORY" supplement to the *New Republic* lists Clare Boothe Luce as a Socialist candidate for Congress.

THE C. I. O. UNION for shipbuilding workers recently held a convention in New York and protested, among other things, against the government's deportation proceedings against Harry Bridges. The headline of the *Houston (Texas) Chronicle's* report of the convention read: "Bridges Deportation Is Approved by Union."

FROM A STORY in *Woman*, a *British Ladies' Home Journal*: "While she talked he saw in the line of her chin, in the sweep of her brows, and in the wide set of her eyes why she was the sportswear buyer for a great merchandising house."



## *Behind the Enemy Line*

[Any strategy of political war, to be effective, must keep close watch upon the twists and turns of the enemy's thinking. In introducing as a permanent feature of the Political War section a column devoted to analysis of the Axis leaders' most revealing statements, we give first place to Dr. Goebbels, the chief engineer of Axis propaganda.]

ONCE Dr. Joseph Goebbels wanted to be a great writer. Today he commands a thousand pens. When he wishes to propagate an idea, a brigade of writers marches into action. Nevertheless, he has not quite renounced his old ambition. Once a week he takes up his pen. In each issue of the weekly *Das Reich* appears a column signed with his name. These weekly sermons provide the only authentic contact we still have with the members of the Nazi government. They are therefore, unintentionally, of some value as a source of information. An experienced analyst can often deduce from them what is going on in the heads of the ruling Nazis and in the heads of the German people.

The mid-September column was informative through its mere choice of theme. "It is understandable," the Minister began, "that the question how long the war will last should be posed ever more eagerly." Here is authentic news that the German people are "eagerly" asking this question, so eagerly that the highest German morale official feels obliged to take up the matter in his paper.

Of course he has no answer to it. "There is no definite answer. . . . Experience teaches us that often peace does not come when it seems near, and just as often is suddenly here when it was still scarcely expected." Expressed more concretely: in 1940 you were unpleasantly surprised by the continuation of the war; is it not possible, then, that you will be pleasantly surprised by its sudden end?

We can leave aside the question whether many readers will be encouraged by this vague prospect. The core of the statement is that the war's long duration is a subject of talk in Germany and that an early end to it is "still scarcely expected" by the oppressed people. This reminds us that popular psychology in a war is determined not only by successes or failures, by the prospect of victory or defeat, but also by the mere duration of the war. Its length becomes an independent factor in morale. For

Germans, who have really been in the war since 1933, its endless prolongation probably begins to be more irritating than anything else.

The column affords us a glance not only at the mood of the German people but also at that of the government. After Goebbels has tried to offer some comfort for the length of the war, he speaks of its outcome in terms that are well worth noting. Of course everything will come out well—and why are we sure of that? Here he becomes really interesting. For he develops a theory known internationally in the First World War as the "Faust pawn theory." He even uses the same word—*Faustpfand*—that from 1916 on was so often in the mouths of Bethmann-Hollweg and Hertling. In those days the theory ran as follows: We have seized a huge amount of the enemy's territory; that is the pawn which he must redeem from us. Even if we should not be strong enough to win new victories, this pawn guarantees the result. The conquered territories are an article of exchange with which we shall always be able to negotiate a profitable peace.

Exactly the same argument is advanced by Goebbels now. Nothing is so stupid, he says, as the English thesis that a country can lose the battles but win the war. No; battles win territory, and conquered territory becomes the "Faust pawn in the hand of the victor. We possess so many of these pawns that we do not need to be anxious about the outcome of the war. The final victor will be the one who in the last round holds the greatest number of pawns."

Experience shows that in the final round the pawns may be snatched from the hand that holds them—that is the flaw in the theory. But that is not important. What is important is the disclosure that the idea of using conquered territory as a pawn has occurred to Goebbels—and that means to the Nazi regime. For this is a theory on which one leans only when the luck has turned. Only those who no longer seriously believe in complete victory consider the next best alternative: after all, we still have the pawns and we can use them for trading. Two years ago it would not have occurred to the Hitler government for a moment to talk about the outcome of the war in terms of the pawn theory. That Goebbels has now done so, if only in a couple of sentences, is a striking indication of how Berlin's ruling group assesses the war situation.



## The Spider of Ankara

DEVELOPMENTS in Russia are again bringing Turkey into the front line of the political struggle. While the danger of a German attack comes closer day by day, Turkey continues to hold to its policy of "active neutrality." Instead, for instance, of capitulating to German demands for the right of transit and the passage of the Dardanelles, Turkey has sent reinforcements to its eastern frontiers. All demands which represent an encroachment on its sovereignty have so far been rejected. On the other hand Turkey takes great care not to antagonize Hitler. Leading Turks attend Papen's ever more frequent parties, dubbed "propaganda with Rhine wine." And Papen reports to his chief that he is winning the Turkish heart.

When President İnönü made Saraçoglu Prime Minister, one read between the lines of the German press: "At last an opportunist who will be led into the right path by our successes." But Saraçoglu signed the pact of friendship with Berlin only because it served his country. Military decisions had to be postponed at all costs at that time. So with Menemençoglu, who has taken over the Foreign Office. In the opinion of *Free Europe* (London) his direction of it will be solely in the interests of Turkey.

One of Papen's few real successes has been to effect a breach in the Turkish press. When journalists from Ankara and Istanbul recently visited London, no representation of *Cumhuriyet*, the widely read daily, was included. Only two years ago its London correspondent was

able to send it a personal message from Churchill. Now it seems completely under Goebbels's thumb.

Pro-Ally Turks are deeply concerned about the continued abuse of diplomatic immunity by those two headquarters of espionage, the German embassy at Ankara and the German consulate at Alexandretta. Under the management of the notorious Middle East specialist, Ernst Grobba, trained German fifth-columnists—Arab followers of El Hussein, ex-Mufti of Jerusalem, and Indian followers of Subhas Bose—are being sent from the Sanjak on their various assignments. And in Turkey itself plotting goes on incessantly. Ludwig Moyzisch is Gestapo chief. His official designation is "commercial attaché," which makes him the subordinate of Herr Jenke, whose wife, Ribbentrop's sister, is the chief wire-puller in all the Nazi intrigues in Ankara. The excellent Turkish secret police also keep a watchful eye on Victor Friede, representative of the Allgemeine Elektrische Gesellschaft. It was Friede who proposed that Germany supply Turkey with rolling stock and aircraft. This would have opened a previously closed frontier to an army of Nazi technicians—and others.

However, Turkey has so far preferred to buy its locomotives from England and its fighting aircraft from America. It also gets wheat from the British Empire. The Allies show every understanding of Turkey's supply problems.

Mr. Steinhardt, the United States ambassador, is the most popular foreign diplomat in Ankara. Turkey's inclusion in the Lease-Lend Act was his work. But the political value of his popularity, or of that of the Allies in

general, should not be exaggerated. It was the same in Bulgaria and the same in Rumania. The majority of the population was against Germany. But that did not mean anything when the governments were forced at the point of the gun to march with Berlin.

In the case of Turkey the chief danger lies in the fact that its leadership, as a whole, is extremely weak. There is no one who has inherited the political genius or the courage of Kemal Ataturk. It is with rather small people that Papen has to deal, and he knows it. For the moment, he continues to rely on flattery and money. But should there be a major disaster in Russia, his love songs would give way to a threatening roar.





# *The Road to Lublin*

BY MAX MANDELLAUB

**W**HAT will happen to us now?" a Spanish refugee asked. He had served in the French army, and we met him on the day of the armistice somewhere on a road in France.

"Happen to us?" said my Austrian comrade; "we'll all die in Lublin."

"Lublin?"

"Don't you know that place in Poland on the Bistritz River where the Nazis are concentrating thousands of Jews for death?" The Austrian was a bald, fat little fellow with great spectacles on his nose. For months during the retreat he repeated constantly, half ironically and half tragically, "Why are we running in the wrong direction? We'll have to go all the way back for our final destination—Lublin."

News from France now confirms the prophetic words of the fat little Austrian. Thousands of refugees have been arrested, both in occupied and unoccupied France. During the last days of August twenty-five thousand were arrested and concentrated near Lyons. The Paris round-up gave Hitler thirty thousand victims. More than three hundred Jews committed suicide in a few days. Twelve thousand from the occupied zone and ten thousand from the unoccupied are said to have been deported already. They took a thousand from the concentration camp of Gurs, a thousand from Les Milles, seven hundred from Rivesaltes, and seven hundred from Le Vernet. For years these men have been under continual threat; directly under the control of the Nazi Armistice Commission, they have been held ready for the final tragedy—deportation to the east. There are more than a hundred thousand Spanish Loyalist refugees still in France who face the same fate.

We have watched with monstrous impassivity the dénouement of this drama. There have been some feeble protests, some brief announcements in the press—nothing more. Since the collapse of France everyone has known that there were still thousands of human beings who sooner or later would be victims of Hitler's sadism. Everyone has known that France could no longer offer protection. The most one could expect was isolated acts of solidarity from the French people.

When we read that some high officials of the Catholic church in France have made declarations in favor of the refugees, we must realize that this is not enough to save them. When we are told that 50 per cent of the refugees have found asylum in private homes, that French gendarmes have been dismissed for refusing to execute orders of arrest, or that public demonstrations

have broken out spontaneously in many cities, we must doubt the effectiveness of such reactions. It is dangerous to emphasize them for fear they may create the impression that a solution can be found inside France and that we in this country need do nothing.

The French people have been psychologically and politically prepared for a long time to tolerate inhuman measures against the refugees. The gendarme who now receives from Hitler, through Laval, an order to arrest these helpless, miserable people is the same one who guarded the Spanish refugees in inhuman concentration camps in France after the Loyalist defeat, the same one who arrested thousands of victims of Hitler's terror on the day the war against Hitler broke out the same who arrested tens of thousands of Italian anti-fascists the very day that the common enemy of these anti-fascists and of France stabbed the republic in the back. The French people have been witnesses of this inhuman, cruel, and stupid policy. Why should they be surprised that these permanent, notorious "undesirables" are again arrested, this time by order of Laval? Hitler's political machine works punctually to eliminate all possible isolated reactions of a dominated, terrorized population against Laval's man-hunt. These men, "the scum of the earth," have been hunted from country to country, from city to city, from concentration camp to concentration camp. Some of them tried to escape, to cross the Swiss border or, if they were not Spaniards, the Spanish border. Neither Franco nor the federal police in Berne wanted them.

When the enemies of the Spanish democracy were in danger, various embassies in Madrid opened wide their doors to give refuge to the friends of Franco's rebellion. Many embassies rented whole blocks in order to be able to protect, under the cover of diplomatic immunity, the greatest possible number of the enemies of liberty in Spain. The Jews and the friends of democracy in France have found no open door in any embassy.

International law permitted thousands of soldiers—French, Polish, Senegalese, and Spahis—to find asylum for months, some of them until now, in neutral Switzerland. Thus more than fifty thousand men avoided becoming prisoners of the Nazis. These new prisoners of Hitler are civilian refugees, some political, some not, and for them there is no law of asylum. Franco's soldiers on the Pyrenees watch the mountains, ready to fire and to kill. Switzerland, the home of the International Red Cross, has been indifferent and terribly "neutral" toward refugees who are threatened by deportation and



### Leaders and People

*History will show Winston Churchill at his best on the day he flew over the Channel to propose to Paul Reynaud that Great Britain and France merge in a national union. In making this revolutionary proposal he assumed a responsibility that no other Prime Minister would have dared to risk. He allowed neither tradition nor constitutional considerations to stand in his way. He went to France without even summoning Parliament, knowing that if he should succeed in saving France and reducing the danger of a Hitler victory, an immense majority of the British people would support him.*

*Churchill's act stands as a symbol today. Now, even more than in 1940, what the British, the Americans, and all free men want is to win this war. The issue is one of life or death, and they do not care if traditions, prejudices, even laws go by the board. This puts in the hands of the leaders of the United Nations a tremendous power with a corresponding responsibility—a responsibility that can be honorably discharged only if they really are conducting a peoples' war for a peoples' victory.*

death. The guard on the border around Geneva and the Jura has been reinforced. Many fugitives who entered in spite of this have been sent back.

Have we not our share of responsibility? What have we waited for so long? For miracles? For clemency—clemency from Hitler and his lackeys? For more than two years these unfortunates have implored us for visas. A bureaucracy without comprehension of the situation has prolonged the procedure with every increase of danger, often refused to grant a visa. A limited number only have succeeded in leaving France. Those who had no money or personal friends or relatives abroad seldom had even a chance to fill out an application. They waited for the day of their crucifixion. That day has come. Soldiers with fixed bayonets watch the newly established concentration camps; livestock cars are ready to deport them.

Is there really no way at this very last moment to save those who have not yet been deported? Could they not be given provisory visas and held at Ellis Island or some other place where they could be investigated? Could they not be allowed to find refuge for a few months in the numerous embassies still existing in France?

Of course a thousand imperative reasons will be invoked against this, and Hitler will once more have his prey. If these new slaves can still hate, they will not know against whom to turn the greater share of their hatred—the executioner or the friends who let them die.

### "Political War"

"I urge you not to minimize the situation, not to let expense or usual duties influence your response. *This is war.*"

—Edward Babcock, president of the National Council of Farmers Cooperatives, as quoted by Drew Pearson, October 1, 1942.

And this is the spirit that will win the war. But what war is Mr. Babcock talking about? Not, alas, the war against Hitler. Mr. Babcock's war is the one which has been conducted in Congress against the President's anti-inflation measure by one of the largest and most highly mechanized lobbies in history.

Like the Battle of Stalingrad, the Battle of Congress has swayed back and forth for days and weeks. As of October 1, the Russians are falling back, but the farm lobby has managed to advance American living costs by 4 per cent and the morning paper carries the rousing headline: "FARM BLOC LEADER CALLS IT VICTORY."

Inflation, Heil!

### A Vote Against the Axis

IN FORCING the vote by which the Chamber of Deputies asked the Argentine government to break relations with the Axis, the Socialists and Radicals were well aware that nothing immediate would happen; Castillo has the solid backing of the Senate in his pro-Nazi policy. But the opposition deputies had two important objectives: First, they wanted to make the Chamber the symbol and perhaps the last trench of Argentine democratic resistance. Castillo may suppress one paper after another and order his police to charge on the crowds that shout "Down with Hitler" in the street, but for the moment he cannot easily dissolve Congress. Second, they wanted to force the Senate to accept the odium of vetoing this most popular act of the Chamber of Deputies.

The pro-Axis policy of the Castillo administration continues to have a most unfortunate effect on the rest of Latin America. Not only does Argentine neutrality make a mockery of inter-continental solidarity, but the greatest South American power has been converted into the headquarters for all the Nazi agents formerly active in Brazil, Colombia, and Central America.

### National Unity in Rio

THEIR patriotic feelings aroused by the entrance of their country into war, and in response to an official appeal for national unity, several prominent Brazilian refugees living in Buenos Aires and Montevideo went to Rio to offer the government their services. Among them were Jorge Amado, the well-known writer, and Mayor Sisson, former general secretary of the Aliança Nacional Libertadora. All of them were promptly imprisoned on the famous island of Das Cobras. Two months earlier General Flores da Cunha, associate of Getulio Vargas before he became dictator and former governor of Rio Grande do Sul, met with the same reception.



# Beat the Dunderheads

BY ROBERT BENDINER

IF YOU had a servant who went about the house muttering that the most dangerous enemies of this country were not Hitler and Mussolini but the President of the United States and that we compelled a peaceful Japan to make war on us, what would you do? If you are an average citizen the chances are you would get rid of her without a qualm. You might even go so far as to mention her to the FBI, just to be sure that she wasn't a paid agent or that she didn't translate her sentiments into action. Certainly you would not give her a letter of recommendation to help her carry on. What is more, you would probably feel virtuous and would go around for weeks telling your friends how shocked you were and how you told the creature off.

But suppose that instead of dusting off your furniture or cooking your meals, the servant is engaged in speaking for you in the Congress of the United States. What do you do then? You shrug your shoulders, you are not interested in politics. You vote a straight party ticket. Did anyone tell you that your Congressman said in the House of Representatives exactly what you fired your maid for saying? Yes, but that's campaign talk. You can't be expected to follow his every word in the *Congressional Record*. Anyway, what people said before Pearl Harbor is water over the dam. Lots of us were wrong then. So off you go to the polls in November and vote for men you would put out of your house if they talked at your table the way they talk every day on the floor of Congress.

Is the picture overdrawn? If you think so, just pick up a book called "The Illustrious Dunderheads," \* edited by Rex Stout and published none too soon to be of service in the present campaign. Here is a compilation of choice remarks by Representatives and Senators on the foreign policy of the United States, some of them made before December 7, 1941, and some after that date. With an introduction by Frank Sullivan and cartoons by William Gropper, it looks offhand like one of those entertaining little volumes of boners designed to titillate your sense of superiority. It is nothing of the kind. It will entertain you only if you get a lift from "Mein Kampf" or the crafty and bitter lies of the copperhead press.

If voters will take the trouble to equip themselves with this hair-raiser before they go to the polls next month, they will soon see what I mean. How many Michigan voters, I wonder, know that Representative Hoffman had the effrontery to tell his colleagues nearly a month after Pearl Harbor that "all of us know that

there is another war right here within our own government, carried on by an enemy more dangerous than either the one on the Atlantic or the one on the Pacific"? Or that, with a struggle for survival on our hands, he proposed that "perhaps nothing but a march on Washington will ever restore this government to the people"? If these were merely well-intentioned mistakes, then perhaps history has dealt too harshly with Benedict Arnold.

I wonder, too, how many Kansans recall the remark of their man Lambertson that "this hysteria about national defense is 'hooley,' and I am ready to stake my political future on that proposition." This is the same statesman who called Greece "an aggressor nation" and who, like his fellow-demagogues, lacked the courage to vote against the declaration of war even while he insisted that "we were maneuvered into it" by the Administration. Then there is Knutson of Minnesota, whose enthusiasm for the war must surely be tempered by his expressed preference for the Nazi system of government over the British; Rankin of Mississippi, who deplored our being harassed into war by "Wall Street and a little group of our international Jewish brethren"; Short of Missouri, who denounced England and France for declaring war on Germany "after being clearly forewarned by Colonel Lindbergh that it would be utterly impossible for them to compete with Germany's air force"; Brooks of Illinois, who found that the Axis had "chosen not to declare war upon us" but that the Administration wouldn't "let them get away with that"; and far too many others even without counting those who merely placed a misguided trust in three thousand miles of water.

It is a bitter irony that in a world struggle for freedoms which demand representative government the stock of Congress should have fallen so low. One might almost suspect sabotage. The irony is sharpened by the circumstance that a slothful electorate has left the defense of Congress to the very men who have done most to bring it into disrepute. It is they who have now appropriated the role of democracy's savior against the inroads of a dictatorial President (as you will read on every page of "The Dunderheads"). They are in a strategic position. Attack them, and you advertise to the world the antics of parliamentary government; yield to them, and they will wreck that government themselves.

There is only one answer to these gentlemen: beat them so badly in November that they will slink back into the obscurity that becomes them. "The Dunderheads" will help you perform that war-time duty.

\* Published by Alfred Knopf, \$1.75.



# I Worked for McCormick

BY GREER WILLIAMS

IN MY five years as a reporter for the Chicago *Tribune* I had an excellent opportunity to observe the inner workings of the institution which has labeled itself the "World's Greatest Newspaper" and which has indulged in so many reckless utterances since Pearl Harbor. Like many of my colleagues, I had no sympathy with the policies of Colonel Robert Rutherford McCormick, but I stayed on simply because, from the professional newspaperman's point of view, the *Tribune* is a good place to work. In the Middle West, at least, the prestige of working for the *Tribune* is still considerable, and if Colonel McCormick's paternalism at times almost suffocates one, his enterprise does afford a measure of security to its employees. Nevertheless, with the founding of Marshall Field's Chicago *Sun* many *Tribune* men found welcome release.

An important aspect of the *Tribune* story which has been neglected in the volume of well-deserved criticism recently directed at the McCormick institution is the relationship between the Colonel and his staff. It is natural to assume that McCormick is a dictator who personally wills all the crooked thinking that is manifest in the *Tribune*, but the truth is often otherwise. Those who study the paper solely on the basis of its content cannot know that over the years McCormick, like Hitler, has so isolated himself from his fellow-men that he now hears only what his Elite Guard think he wants to hear. A religious reader of his own paper, the Colonel bases many of his strong convictions on what he sees in it. And reporters, copy readers, and editors, with exaggerated deference to his feelings, fit the facts to meet his views whether ordered to do so or not. Thus the Colonel feels quite sincere when he boasts, "In discharging its fundamental responsibility as a newspaper the *Tribune* has no political, financial, or social tie-ups which compromise its freedom to report the truth."

Complete subservience to the boss's prejudices is shown in the treatment given any assignment from the Tribune Tower's twenty-fourth floor, or what is known as an "RRMC" assignment. For example, the RRMC assignment may ask a simple question, "How many WPA musicians are of military age?" The reporter, of course, will not make a straightforward answer. He will probably find that the WPA musicians' project is a haven for young Communists and pacifists. It took me six months to answer the RRMC question, "What is known of the relation between syphilis and unemployment?" I first tried writing a story giving the known

facts, but this was not what was wanted. I was expected to prove that syphilis was more prevalent among Chicago relief clients than among the employed, which I finally did, after hounding four government agencies into making a joint survey.

The Colonel's whim is the reporter's hard work. Many assignments arise from the Colonel's drive to town in an armored car from his estate, Cantigny Farm, in Wheaton. The reporter may be asked to find the offender after the Colonel has jotted down the number of a speeding automobile or has spotted a hole in the pavement. One morning the Colonel's car almost ran down three or four stray dogs. As soon as he got to the office, he issued an edict: "There are too many stray dogs on the street." The next day the *Tribune* was campaigning against them.

On one occasion the Colonel advanced the notion that sap rises in trees because of the pumping action of wind in the branches. The story I wrote on the upward pull of sap by capillary action and vacuum created by evaporation on the leaf surfaces ignored the wind notion as scientifically ridiculous. So the Colonel dictated a note: "Our sap expert missed a trick. . . ." Since I had by that time quit the *Tribune*, someone else had to repeat the painful procedure of having a botanical authority laugh in his face, and then report to the Colonel in delicate terms that he was cockeyed.

I claim to have received the funniest RRMC assignment ever made: "Everyone should be interested to know how hard a lobster pinches. Crabs, clams, oysters. This information should be easy to get I suppose. RRMC." They may be still looking for it; I couldn't find it. The experts on crustaceans and mollusks laughed at me and asked, "Who cares?"

Occasionally McCormick gets an answer that he doesn't like but has to take. About five years ago a state policeman who was an ex-convict was accused of fixing a jury. Because it was embarrassing to the Democratic administration of the late Governor Henry Horner, the *Tribune* began raising a daily question: "How is it that the governor can appoint an ex-convict to the state police force?" The Governor had an assistant search his McCormick correspondence files and make a visit to the state penitentiary; he then wrote McCormick the answer. McCormick, it seems, had asked the Governor to make his chauffeur a state policeman without pay so that he could carry a gun. The Governor had replied, "I'm loath to do so," but had finally yielded to McCormick's nagging.



The chauffeur, Horner wrote McCormick, was also an ex-convict, "and that is how the Governor can appoint an ex-convict as state policeman." The *Tribune* pressed the matter no farther.

When Horner became governor in 1933, the *Tribune*, which had been friendly to him as probate judge of Cook County, suddenly turned against him. Horner went to the Colonel and asked if he didn't think him the same "honest Henry Horner" as of old. The Colonel said yes, he did, but that the *Tribune* would "ride roughshod" over anyone who supported the New Deal.

The *Tribune*, however, has not ridden roughshod over the pro-New Deal Boss Kelly, mayor of Chicago, from whom it has received many favors. One was the passage by the City Council five years ago of a year-round daylight-saving ordinance, which no one seemed to be pushing except the *Tribune*. The public was not impressed, and on the first opportunity voted to restrict daylight-saving time to the customary April-to-September period. Elimination of the one-hour normal time differential between New York and Chicago would have compelled the Chicago afternoon papers to go to press without the closing stock-market quotations. The *Tribune* is a morning paper.

*Tribune* men, while treated like gentlemen some of the time, are often dealt with in summary fashion and given servile tasks. An editor once assigned a reporter to investigate the economic and social status of the patrons of the private school his daughter was entering. When

the Colonel went to the opera, he let the City Desk know, and a reporter was sent over to arrange a proper reception. I was once sent to the railroad station to see that the Colonel had no difficulty in meeting the train on which his wife was coming in.

The Colonel's conception of his high authority was well illustrated in 1935 when he removed Rhode Island's star from the large American flag hanging in the *Tribune* Tower lobby. He had just read the story of a *Tribune* reporter on the "dictatorship" of the Democratic Party set up in Rhode Island through the "packing" of the state Supreme Court. The Colonel suggested a page-one story on his action, but a lieutenant pointed out that mutilation of the flag was a jailing offense.

The big trouble with the Colonel, most people say, is that he has no humility and no humor. Only on rare occasions has he given any sign of possessing these qualities. Once when a Springfield reporter wrote that McCormick had come to town in his Rolls Royce and looked like Republican Presidential timber, the Colonel replied, "The Rolls Royce is a good car and will take a man almost any place except the White House." And when the "*Tribune* family" recently presented him with a framed facsimile of the Stanley Johnston story of the Lexington sinking, the Colonel wept and said, "I am a lonely man; you are all I've got." Recalling similar instances of tearfulness since the tidal wave of McCormick unpopularity started rolling last winter, the hard-hearted say the iron-willed Colonel is beginning to crack.



WINTERHILFE

Drawing by Hoffmeister



# BOOKS *and the* ARTS

## PRIMITIVE PAINTING

BY CLEMENT GREENBERG

PRIMITIVE" painting belongs to the Industrial Age. It emerged toward the close of the eighteenth century and defined itself as independent of tradition, whether that of sophisticated art or that of folk art. It was mainly an effort to find a new outlet for the plebeian "artistic energy" that was left without an object by the dying out of folk art in an urban civilization. This outlet could not be found in sophisticated art, because the persons who embodied such "energy" were too poor or too isolated to possess themselves of the culture that sophisticated art presupposes. All this was pointed out by a German scholar, Nicola Michailow, in a very important, almost epochal, article which appeared in the *Zeitschrift für die Kunstgeschichte*, Numbers 5 and 6, in 1935 (prompted partly, one may suppose, by the Nazis' solicitude for anything and everything that can be construed as "folk"). The practitioners of *Laienmalerei* (lay or unprofessional painting), as Michailow calls it, had to fill by their own independent efforts the vacuum left by the extinction of living folk art. It is to the lack of formal training and of almost every other advantage of a continuous tradition that their painting owes its "primitive" character. The self-taught painter, Michailow adds, is to be found mostly among the petty bourgeoisie, that much-maligned class, which more than any other has inherited the "primeval creative urge of the *Volk*." Yet, paradoxically, the first individuals sufficiently cut off from all pictorial traditions to paint in the primitive way were aristocrats in comparatively backward regions like North Germany. Thus Frederick William I, King of Prussia, was one of the first "primitive" painters of whom there is any record. It was only later on that the masses became traditionless enough to produce such painters.

Why did so much of this popular "creative urge" find its avenue in easel-painting? Michailow does not attempt to answer the question, although it is a crucial one. Answers offer themselves, however. First, there was a demand for portraits and wall pictures by the new middle class arising in provincial towns and villages, which could afford to spend modest amounts on such satisfactions and which at the same time was more or less out of touch with metropolitan culture. This would show that popular painting was in the beginning a move to supply a market as well as to satisfy a "creative" urge. Secondly, industrial methods first made possible the wide circulation of the materials for painting and of reproductions of academic art. The importance of this last is easily overlooked. Michailow and Jean Lipman, in her recent book, "American Primitive Painting,"\* both tend to exaggerate by omission the non-derivative character of primitive and popular painting. Yet I feel sure that in most cases it was through acquaintance with reproductions that the purchaser came to want pictures and the

amateur to want to paint them. Moreover, it is unthinkable that self-taught artists would have dared to paint, as they did so often, pure landscapes and still lifes, had not sophisticated art already provided them with examples. Consider only how long it was before sophisticated art arrived at the landscape and the still life.

Michailow and Mrs. Lipman also fail to touch on a very important distinction to be made in the corpus of work lumped together as "primitive" painting. There were professional "primitive" painters who made a living by their art, and there were and are amateur primitive painters who paint chiefly for their own satisfaction. The professionals were apt to be more responsive to the influence of contemporary academic painting (some of the portraits reproduced in Mrs. Lipman's book seem to derive their conception, if not their execution, from the fashionable painting of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—and it is not altogether a question of similarity in styles of dress); and there seems also to be a sort of craft continuity between the work of one professional painter and another: they had trade secrets in common and tried to meet the demands of a public taste. The amateurs, on the other hand, paint with less technical competence but with more daring and originality. Although no hard and fast line can be drawn between the two groups, it would seem that only persons whose painting had nothing to do with money dared to produce work of such a frankly primitive character as is seen today in the pictures of self-taught artists like Hershfield and Vivin. Such painters are rightly called primitives, but it is the work of professionals, of *popular* painters—including lady watercolorists—not of amateurs and primitives, that largely makes up the American tradition of "primitive" painting with which Mrs. Lipman's book deals; and a *tradition* it was, so much so that it almost escapes Michailow's definition of primitive painting and requires one of its own.

Elsewhere in his article Michailow observes that *Laienmalerei* has flourished most splendidly in those outlying countries of Western civilization over which metropolitan culture was comparatively thinly spread—Germany, the Balkans, and North America. One might add that if it was the absence of tradition that was all-important, then our country was ideally situated to produce primitive art; for here we had in the beginning almost no tradition at all of pictorial or decorative folk art among white people. Those who settled our country as its "folk" were iconoclastic Protestants, and whatever art they maintained was until the nineteenth century dependent on transfusions from Europe. Unlike the German or Bulgarian primitive painter, the American suffered from neither the memory nor the competition of an anterior indigenous tradition. He could begin painting as an independent and original entrepreneur, untrammelled by the tariffs, patents, and prescriptions of the past. For this reason, perhaps, the United States produced the most uniquely native and substantial body of popular painting to be seen before the twentieth century,

\* Oxford University Press. \$5.



Mrs. Lipman's conscientious and coolly written text is an important if brief contribution to the subject. It presents the fact of a school, a trade, and a pastime of popular painting which flourished vigorously in New England and the Middle Atlantic states from the last quarter of the eighteenth century until about 1875. Its practitioners were itinerant "limners" or portraitists, scene and flower painters, decorators, lady water-colorists, and pure and simple amateurs. Mrs. Lipman analyzes their art—stressing its "abstract" quality—describes their methods of work, and quotes extensively from the recipes and hints by which the somewhat quaint tricks of this trade were circulated. (For many amateurs, at least, this painting seems to have been a part of the typically American business of practical self-improvement.) American popular painting was an art characterized by its insistence upon rhythmic design and balance, by comparatively pure color—although not so frank by far as in the work of contemporary primitives, and much more receptive to the half-tones of academic painting—and by strong, unselfconscious emotion translated in both literary and painters' terms. The artist makes up for a certain repetitiveness by his quiet, steady fervor and his appetite for his work. His painting goes back to the first assumptions of pictorial art and reexamines them in all their original freshness, reminding one again of the excitement there is in simply discovering that it is possible to depict three-dimensional things on a flat surface. But unlike children's art, this painting is not simple-minded; it achieves subtleties by means that seem only in themselves simple and crude. Its best common quality, in fact, is this ambiguity created by the simple thing itself and the richness of its effect.

There are, however, demands which this art cannot ordinarily meet. The reliance upon formulas and ready-made elements is often hardly compensated for by the freshness of invention elsewhere. The tight design and the insistent rhythms, to which the naive artist is always prone to surrender himself, are a liability as well as an asset, for they tend to overcome everything else and destroy dramatic movement; and it is only by its very intensity that even some of the best of this popular painting can retrieve itself from decoration. Nor did many of the self-taught artists who worked in oil take full advantage of their medium; they might just as well have painted in tempera so far as the final result is concerned; and perhaps, given their liking for firm contours, flat surfaces, and large areas of uniform color, they would actually have found tempera a more congenial medium. But on the other hand, one of the real charms of their art is precisely the result of their clumsiness with such a flexible medium as oil. Having made these reservations, I find it possible to go on to praise this painting seriously and without condescension, agreeing with Mrs. Lipman that more than one of these popular artists "arrived at a power and originality and beauty which were not surpassed by the greatest of the academic American painters." This was true indeed of such painters as Joseph Pickett, Joseph H. Headley (who did townscapes around Troy, New York, between 1840 and 1860), and the anonymous master of the Runaway Horse (circa 1850), and several others who painted portraits and still lifes before the Civil War. In the cases of Headley and the master of the Runaway, popular painting

approaches sophisticated art in its fluency, while in Pickett's case it is wholly primitive and attains a kind of force only possible to primitive art. But significantly enough, Pickett really falls outside this period—his dates are from 1848 to 1918—and his status as a picture painter was strictly amateur.

The American popular painting trade was unable to survive the competition of photography and the cheap reproduction. According to Mrs. Lipman, it can be considered to have died in the eighteen-seventies. Yet it lingered on in some places. It seems to me that there was a pictorial notion in the design and draftsmanship of some of the Currier and Ives prints which continued as well as superseded popular art. What was lost—and as it seems now, irrevocably—was a precious tact in the use of color.

The illustrations in Mrs. Lipman's book do not sacrifice aesthetic merit to documentary interest. Those in black and white are excellent; the color plates, however, are rather poor, and perhaps less well chosen—four of them are detachable from the book. But Mrs. Lipman's book is valuable enough without them.

## The Appeal to Morals

*A TIME FOR GREATNESS.* By Herbert Agar. Little, Brown and Company. \$2.50.

THOMAS PAINE did not hesitate to write of "times that try men's souls"; so Herbert Agar is in the true succession of our pamphleteers when he demands of us that we meet the crucial days in which we live with high resolve and purged souls. His affirmation of the reality of spiritual values and his appeal to the conscience are reminiscent of the many powerful voices in our history which have couched their appeals in the vocabulary of our evangelical tradition. Bryan, Theodore Roosevelt, Beveridge, and Wilson used this vocabulary in the last generation. In our own day it is not the fashion, but Herbert Agar knows how to use it eloquently. In this book of essays, almost sermons, on America's duty to the world he once again demonstrates the vitality of the moral appeal. He has always seen the present conflict as a moral crisis and warned of its implications in words burning with the fervor of a crusader. This book defines the essential issue between democracy and Nazism as an ethical one, and does so with clarity and skill.

Mr. Agar's preoccupation with the moral issue, however, results in both distinction and limitation. It makes him master of a style that is almost Lincolnesque in its scriptural overtones; yet it also makes him curiously insensitive to the genius of American radicalism. He is an exponent of what he calls "creative conservatism." Basically, he interprets the present cataclysm not as the birth pangs of a new human society but as a struggle between savages who are out to destroy our traditions and civilized men determined to preserve them. Thus in one place he declares, "The savages who assail us may teach us to reexamine our faith, to review the greatness of our tradition, to remember that we have not done it justice"; and in another, "There is no economic reason, no Marxian necessity, which explains why American labor relations had to be poisoned for decades. They were poisoned because American business men did not live up to the



American idea, and because their repressive conduct bred similar excesses, madnnesses, and revenges on the part of labor." Such statements ignore the instrumentalism with which native American radicalism checks the easy generalizations of both religious and social absolutists. They overlook the inherent anti-social elements in human nature itself and the influence of economic and other environmental stimuli in determining whether the social or the unsocial instincts shall predominate in group conduct. Agar falls into the error of a prophet who hopes the world will be saved by his preaching and so does not go on to probe the nature of man and society in order to find a way to make environment an active ally of the better instincts of men. He contributes no radical criticism of our social and economic order.

He feels the Negro's inequality deeply and writes nobly of the need for his improvement. Here he comes closer than in any other part of his book to the radical premise: "Where there are widespread want, considerable illiteracy, and much poor health, it seems natural for man to seize on any chance to oppress or degrade his less fortunate neighbor. . . . If we fail to offer to all our citizens equality in 'recreation for the spirit,' it is not reasonable to blame those who have been denied because their spirits are sometimes warped." Exactly. But to recognize so plain a fact is a critique of our whole bungling effort to relate man and society in such a way as to release the best in the individual and to create the maximum benefits for all. An absolutism that scorns plans for economic equalities as concessions to materialism is based upon a dualism of the "carnal flesh" and the "spirit" which is tenable neither in philosophy nor in sociology. The love of liberty is more than a tradition; it is a creative impulse moving within events to mold things as well as ideas into instruments of human happiness.

Ours is indeed a "time for greatness," greatness of moral passion, as Agar so movingly pleads, but greatness also of brain and muscle to plan and build a machinery for living that will give all men an equal chance in life.

FRANK KINGDON

## Jane vs. Jane!

*JANE'S FIGHTING SHIPS*, 1941. Edited by Francis E. McMurtrie. The Macmillan Company. \$19.

*JANE'S ALL THE WORLD'S AIRCRAFT*, 1941. Compiled and Edited by Leonard Bridgman. The Macmillan Company. \$19.

IN THE War Loss section of the latest edition of "Jane's Fighting Ships" the sinking of the Bismarck is chronicled in two terse lines: "Torpedoed by H.M.S. Dorsetshire after being reduced to a sinking condition by the gunfire of H.M.S. King George V and Rodney, May 27, 1941." This account seems to do something less than justice to the part played by aircraft in the sinking of Hitler's mightiest battleship, but the balance is redressed by "Jane's All the World's Aircraft," which in the course of a rather fuller report of the event states:

It was another occasion on which air reconnaissance and air torpedoes made all the difference, though the actual killing was done, as it usually must be done, by the guns

and heavy torpedoes of the ships. When the Bismarck seemed likely to escape, she was found by a Coastal Command "Catalina" and then was repeatedly attacked by "Swordfish" from both carriers. Torpedoes so damaged the rudders and screws of the enemy that ships of the home fleet were able to overhaul and sink her.

Even this report will be considered by some airmen to overemphasize the role of the fleet, for, the story goes, pilots of the fleet air arm were all ready to dive in and administer the coup de grâce when they were expressly ordered by the admiral in command to keep off and leave that honor to the naval gunners.

As this episode illustrates, experts on both sides of the "ships-versus-planes" controversy will find endless material in these two great yearbooks. Speaking as a complete amateur, my own conclusion is that air power has changed the nature of naval warfare to an extent that the tradition-bound British and American navies have yet to recognize. This does not mean that warships of all kinds are necessarily condemned to the fate of the dodo, but it does seem probable that the huge battlewagons have had their day unless new ways of protecting them from air assault are discovered. The following table compiled from the War Loss section of "Fighting Ships" tells a story confirmed, since this book went to press, by the battles of the Coral Sea and Midway, in which the opposing surface craft never came within sight of each other.

BRITISH NAVAL LOSSES IN WORLD WAR II

Class	Air action	Subma- rines	Sunk by		Miscell. and doubtful
			Surface craft		
5 Battleships ..	2 .....	2 .....	1		
4 Carriers .....	1 .....	2 .....	1		
18 Cruisers .....	8 .....	4 .....	1		5*
71 Destroyers ..	23 .....	4 .....	12		32*

\* Most of the ships listed in this column are reported simply as "sunk" or "torpedoed"; so that it probably includes many victims of planes and submarines.

This is the first year that the two Janes have been published in America, although they have long been widely known and used here. "Fighting Ships," the publishers can claim, is regarded as essential chartroom equipment by every navy in the world, and its younger relative is no less useful to fliers. Both volumes are indispensable items for every newspaper library.

The space of a review does not permit even the baldest summary of their contents. "Fighting Ships" is a complete guide to the world's navies—so complete that it even takes note of the one thirty-seven-ton gasoline-powered patrol boat which constitutes the Nicaraguan fleet. The illustrations are profuse and are selected for their practical value. There are photographs of most first-class vessels and of typical representatives of other classes, diagrams and sections showing general construction and arrangement of fire-power, and silhouettes of individual ships and types to assist quick recognition of friend or foe.

Jane's "Aircraft" is no less complete but is organized on a different plan. Its first, or historical, section provides a detailed description of the flying services of all nations and includes a long review of the achievements of the R. A. F. and the British Fleet Air Arm in the second year of the war.



This covers the concluding stages of the Battle of Britain and the story of the night blitz during the winter of 1940-41, taking us on to the beginnings of the British offensive over Germany. We learn why this offensive was so long in coming and why it has not yet reached maximum effectiveness. Britain started the war with a small air force still in the early stages of expansion. The demand on its manufacturers for planes of all types to carry on the many different missions which devolved on the R. A. F. was terrific. The first task was to build up fighter strength, and concentration on this type proved fortunate, for, even so, reserves were dangerously depleted before the day in mid-September, 1940, when Göring was forced to call off his daylight raiders.

Meanwhile only medium bombers in comparatively small numbers were available for offensive operations, which in consequence were seldom more than nuisance raids. This year giant four-motored bombers are for the first time being turned out in quantity. Jane gives some particulars on three of these monsters—the Halifaxes, Stirlings, and Manchesteres—but notes that no details are available for publication on the latest and mightiest—the Avro Lancaster.

Not all of Jane's "Aircraft" is devoted to military aviation. Part B reviews worldwide developments in civil aviation in a way that suggests the tremendous scope for air travel and transport after the war. Parts C and D are an encyclopedia of modern aeroplanes and aero-engines of all nations, civil and military, with as many details as war-time censorships permit. It is an impressive record of the degree to which man has conquered the air since the Wright brothers first took wings, and one that ought to give pause to blue-water strategists who think they can discern limits to that conquest.

KEITH HUTCHISON

## Blackmur as Poet

**THE SECOND WORLD.** By R. P. Blackmur. The Cum-  
mington Press: Cummington, Massachusetts. \$2.50.

THERE are, it seems to me, two kinds of modern poets—those who want to write poetry and those who do. Those who want to write poetry are forced, depending upon the motivation or intensity of their desire, to seek substitutes, stage effects, claptrap, to simulate the thunders and subtleties of the true poet. A poet cannot even for a moment rely on his political angle to elevate his verse. Nor can he let his "regionalism" carry his work, even partially. And playing up to the fashionable expectations of the day, whether in rhetoric or liberalism, will not hide a failure in performance or perception. If the poet has not achieved the state of perfect rapport with true poetic experience and cannot get the body of a deed into the actual clothes of a poem, nothing will help him, neither the White Cliffs of Dover, the Battle of Bunker Hill, nor the dust which is but plain dust in the eyes.

R. P. Blackmur belongs with those who do write poetry. This new volume, his second, is slender compared with "From Jordan's Delight," published in 1937, but it shows a substantial advance in technique and content if not in lyricism. Nowhere is there evidence that the poet has had to call on sleight-of-hand for insight. Nor has he fallen into

## "A Bullfinch for our time . . .

but that is hardly a description, even a suggestion of what Miss Hamilton has done."

—IRWIN EDMAN, *The Nation*

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the other extreme of writing in a vacuum or trying to row a paper boat on the surrealist stream of fiery muddiness. Rather the poems in this book are nakedly of and about the human spirit, seriously concerned with the state of the individual caught in the enormous trap of a universe of things and theories.

It isn't easy to write poetry of a high metaphysical order. Blackmur avoids rhetorical bombast, occult mystification, over-modernized trimmings. In the longest and best poem in the book, *Before Sentence Is Passed*, the individual is presented as the accused prisoner in the courtroom of the world, and the speech of defense—and accusation—is the entire poem. It is one of the keen pleasures of this poem that the poet does not resort to the accoutrements of up-to-dateness to prop a failure of spiritual integrity. Yet the eloquence of the prisoner's despair is shrewdly balanced by the everyday quality of the poem's idiom.

As to "influence," the border line at which the modern mediocrities pretend to write poems, I find it an achievement in itself that Blackmur has refused to work by the poetic headlights of the last five years. For it was during this time that the reputations of Auden and Spender shone their brightest, with the additional luminaries, Dylan Thomas and George Barker, not to mention Delmore Schwartz on the American side, helping in their own way to make the poetic scene brighter. Blackmur's tie with the academic school—Tate, Ransom, and others—is more evident, but even there he emerges as himself rather than as a reflection. To go into one technical example of how Blackmur avoids the usual sin of serious parody and transcends his "influence," I quote from Allen Tate's excellent poem *The Wolves*:

There are wolves in the next room waiting  
 With heads bent low, thrust out, breathing  
 At nothing in the dark; . . .

When Blackmur writes,

There is disorder, like heavy breathing in the next room,  
 Like people making way when no one comes.

we have a new creation out of the "waiting," the "breathing," and the "zerness" (no one, nothing); the natural disorder of all things is brought to comprehensible terms of sheer insight.

I have spent time on the long poem because it is practically half of the book. There are eight other poems, more lyrical perhaps than this one but all of a high order. Some of the lyrics are polished to the point of hardness, as the fine *Missa Vocis*, and the short title poem is memorable and apt. The fault of Blackmur is his deadly seriousness unlightened by even the grim humor of irony, a lack of playfulness, an overearnestness which results at times in such rawness as "Ambassador plenipotentiary, / he says, to bargain fleas for lice"—a combination of words only a humorous poem could carry off with equanimity. Another fault of this volume is its slowness, a little thin for five years' work, the restraint—if it is that—a bit overdone. But considering its general excellence, perhaps I am carping. Definitely, Mr. Blackmur is writing some of the most technically perfect poems of today.

A word about the format: "The Second World" is exquisitely done—neatly bound, hand-set by Katharine Frazier, and hand-printed on, shall I say, pre-war quality paper.

OSCAR WILLIAMS



## Post-War Economics

**AGENDA FOR A POST-WAR WORLD.** By J. B. Condliffe. W. W. Norton and Company. \$2.50.

**PROBLEMS OF POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION.** Edited by Henry P. Jordan. American Council on Public Affairs. \$3.25.

**FEDERALISM AND FREEDOM.** By Sir George Young. Oxford University Press. \$2.50.

J. B. CONDLIFFE has tucked the basis for a good peace into "Agenda for the Post-War World." Lucid, forceful, and not over-ambitious or visionary, it deals with immediate realities in a satisfactorily hard-headed fashion. Its essence can be conveyed in a phrase—a phrase that needs to be repeated daily until the end of the war: Peace begins at home. It is clear to Mr. Condliffe, and perforce clear to his readers, that international policies, whether short-range or long-range, can be enforced only by supra-national institutions. Effective supra-national institutions can in turn be established soundly only to the extent that the power to act in specific fields—rather than general power—is ceded by national sovereignties. It is necessary to delegate specific powers to supra-national institutions to gain specific ends, and the war-time United Command can be considered the first such delegation; talk of a general delegation of power is merely a kind of intellectual game, and unnecessarily abstract.

The nations of the world, always assuming our total victory, will perforce diminish their own national sovereignty exactly in the measure that the United States diminishes its own. This is just political horse sense, both because of memories of 1919 and because of pure power calculations. But we are not asked to diminish our national sovereignty for the sake of a vague internationalism; we are asked to conceive and to implement international policies. Our government is one of de jure regional representation, modified by de facto pressure-group representation. To achieve a national policy we shuffle obliquely through expedients and compromise, with the outcome often left to the baleful accidents of committee seniority. It is this government which is to have the ultimate and effective responsibility for making peace.

There can be no effective international settlement without the abatement of the intensive claims of pressure groups—even of the claims of progressive groups which we have hitherto approved. Mr. Condliffe notes that a great part of the economic war which has been waged for the past twenty-five years springs from motives of social welfare directed toward improving national or group standards of living. "Social security and employment were not safeguarded after the last war by breaking up the world market into a series of protected national markets," since tariffs and immigration laws and crop subsidies could not remove the causes of maladjustment in the national economic systems, but instead sheltered them. "Stability which leads to stagnation gives no security." It is our dreary habit to freeze things when trouble brews, as if there were some special beatitude in the status quo. We do this in the name of security; but every freezing order imperils the mobility of capital and labor and engenders a conflict with advancing technology; and, worse,

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every such gain in security, if it is a gain, is made at a very real sacrifice of freedom.

The increased mobility of capital and labor in a diminished world is one of the keys to the situation. Legislation pressed for by labor unions unfortunately all too often decreases the mobility of labor. And after the war the large proportion of savings that will be invested in government bonds will tend perilously to immobilize capital. On one point Mr. Condliffe is weak: he envisions a large-scale government program of public works as a protection against depression. Public works are indeed a sort of stop-gap, but since they are not means of production, they are much less desirable than other forms of new investment.

As a footnote to Mr. Condliffe's views there is small prospect of the present Congress assisting in abating the claims of pressure groups; and that is why, in spite of the wails of the Klocks and the Sokolskys, the President must intervene to the extent that his time permits in every possible primary and election in which a Congressional seat is at stake; only thus is there a faint hope of obtaining legislators capable of at least a national, not to mention a global, view.

I have been dwelling on Mr. Condliffe's general views, but I have by no means done justice to the brilliance of his detailed arguments. Avoiding the sophistical traps of a purely historical approach, he nevertheless makes the simple point that peace treaties have never failed for lack of expert advice. Actually, Versailles failed because of the unwillingness of trading nations to adapt their economies to international necessities. A simple statement, that, but loaded. Think of what it means in terms of the wheat farmer or the shoe worker; think of what it would mean to work toward the large welfare goal of allowing goods to be produced wherever in the world they could be produced best and cheapest, without regard to political barriers and pressures!

Mr. Condliffe then explains in terms that might even make an impression on Henry Luce why no enduring peace of domination is possible. A period of United Nations domination might usefully become an interval in which supra-national institutions might be founded. Mr. Condliffe does not propose to act the benevolent fool: an equal voice in international affairs will not immediately be lavished upon the Axis nations. Upon the cessation of hostilities we must use our power for certain obvious ends; but the very process of pursuing these ends offers the opportunities of erecting sound and genuine supra-national institutions.

This is where we run into the problem of cleaning house at home. The great danger is that we shall try to cure troubles by treating symptoms, with different experts called in for each symptom. A dreary forecast of the result is to be had in the symposium edited by Henry P. Jordan. Each of his experts is here to be seen patently grinding his own ax. What could one expect from an expert on the gold standard but a plea for its resurrection? The present expert, George S. Hirschland, has rationalized his view of world affairs to the extent that he can commit a sentence such as this to paper: "We have seen the most vicious economic nationalism and totalitarianism growing out of foreign-exchange control." Specialists invariably develop monomanias. The only contribution of real value is the article by the late Donald W. McConnell on Latin American trade. He sees that no nation,

in a truly pacific world, will have the right to insist on the export, or even the financing, of monocultural surpluses. Stop-gap loans, such as those we are now making to South America, are merely storing trouble for the future. The only genuine solution to the economic problems of South America—and indeed of Asia and Africa and Eastern Europe too—is the gradual industrialization of these countries. The real meaning of an agricultural surplus is that a nation has advanced its production potential to the point at which it can afford to draw labor and resources off into industry; which means an advance in living standards.

True, in the short run this policy will curtail our export market. But as McConnell says, "our trade will not suffer in the end. For if the economic history of the last hundred years has proved nothing else, it has shown that mutual industrialization increases trade among the countries involved rather than otherwise." Latin America will ask where the capital is to come from, wanting none of dollar diplomacy. Modern governmental practices are amply able to marshal capital, which is as much labor and material as money; it is only the old-fashioned banking capital which is not presently available. Given a vigorous internal mobilization of resources, any South American nation can work wonders for itself with only technical assistance from the outside. And this, by abating the pressure of surplus politics, would be a very real contribution to the peace.

In this field we have done nothing. As I write, a report comes from Puerto Rico concerning "the catastrophic economic situation there," in which 40 per cent of employable labor is unemployed. The eyes of the world are on the United States. If we can accomplish so little in one of our own dependencies, how shall we claim the trust and confidence of undeveloped nations anywhere? No final solution of the Puerto Rican problem can come until the island's standard of living is raised approximately to the level of ours. That means a vast job in education and technical training, as well as industrialization and the cessation of monoculture. And what is true of Puerto Rico is true of the world.

Mr. Condliffe hardly thinks it worth while to name and describe the needed supra-national institutions; everyone knows pretty well what they should be, and the naming and describing of them has become a sort of game of pushing abstractions about. "The acid test of all such proposals," he writes, "is their application, not to the little and weak countries, but to the great and powerful." And that means that in the end the United States will determine by its own actions what degree of international cooperation will be possible. "The alternative to international action is the resumption of the struggle for power."

In contrast to the institutional approach of Mr. Condliffe, we have the giddy constitutional approach of Sir George Young in "Federalism and Freedom." Sir George is a brilliant disputer, trained in the best British tradition. His polemics are overwhelming, momentarily. But his abstract constitutional approach—which incidentally advocates a United States of Europe as both the necessary and the only feasible form of federalism—is like playing with blocks: what do you do when you have put up your edifice? Why you knock it down and begin all over again.

HAROLD STRAUSS



# Letters to the Editors

## There Is So a Santa!

*Dear Sirs:* Fearing that some of your young readers may have been upset by Keith Hutchison's article *There Ain't No Santa* in *The Nation* of September 19, I have endeavored to reassure them in the following letter.

No, Virginia, Keith Hutchison is wrong and the New York *Sun* is still right. There is so a Santa! If you have given the proper attention to your arithmetic homework, Virginia, you should not find it too hard to see that he has not disposed of Santa by the mere process of subtraction.

Let us reconsider the case of Keith Hutchison's friend, Mr. X, whose tax ten his 1941 income amounted to \$100,000. When at the end of last year Mr. X liquidated a lot of his investments and put the proceeds into tax-exempt bonds, resulting in a reduction of his 1942 tax bill to only \$10,000, what Mr. X really accomplished by his substitution of investments was a reduction of his income to a fraction of what it had been formerly. Mr. X must be an incredibly ridiculous investor to have made such a change in his investments at the end of 1941 after his investment adviser had told him, as he must have, that high-grade bonds weakened very badly during the progress of World War I, whereas equities pursued an opposite trend during that time.

At any rate, Mr. X could not permanently retain the \$90,000 refund which he would get if the Ruml plan were adopted. An investor who can reduce his tax bill by \$90,000 by switching his holdings into tax-exempt bonds must be a very rich man. We cannot live forever, Virginia, and death is surely as certain as taxes. When Mr. X dies, if his net estate is only \$1,000,000, and apparently it must be very much in excess of that, at least one-third of that \$90,000 refund will find its way back to Uncle Sam's Treasury even if the rates of the 1941 federal estate tax should not be increased. If the net estate of Mr. X exceeds \$4,000,000, then one-half of that refund will go back to the treasury by way of the federal estate tax at the 1941 rate.

But even were this not so, it would be worth all the refunds to men like Mr. X if all the working people in America could be relieved from the

worry of being a year behind in their income taxes. That, Virginia, could never be measured in cash terms.

Our soldiers are not earning in the army what they formerly earned in private life, but they have to pay their taxes on what they earned last year, and they must also worry about taking care of the loved ones whom they left behind them. Having considered the case of Keith Hutchison's Mr. X, let us now consider the case of Mr. Y. His 1941 tax bill was \$1,000. He will be drafted soon, along with hundreds of thousands of other married men, and may be in the army shortly after Christmas. His 1942 tax bill, at increased rates, will be much more than \$1,000. His army pay will not enable him to keep his life insurance in force, much less relieve him from worry about how his wife and child will meet the constantly increasing cost of living. He has not completed paying the tax on his 1941 income, and next year while he is learning to shoot and drive a tank he will be considerably worried about paying his 1942 tax bill.

Buck Private Y will need Santa very much, and so will his buddies. But do not be alarmed when someone tells you that there is no Santa. The hearts of the American people will not permit them to forget Private Y and his buddies.

SEYMOUR J. WILNER

New York, September 29

## Mr. X and Private Y

*Dear Sirs:* Mr. Wilner ought to know that taxpayers in the highest brackets must earn more than 10 per cent on equities in order to get a return after taxation equal to that obtainable from tax-exempt bonds. So that Mr. X may very well have increased his net income by reducing his gross income and is by no means a ridiculous investor. Nor, at the moment, does it look as if he were weakening his capital position by the change. It is true that high-grade bonds slumped badly during the last war, but this time, both here and in England, they have held up extremely well. As for the Treasury finally catching up with Mr. X after his death, even on Mr. Wilner's own showing, his estate will only be liable for part of that \$90,000 refund, assuming it is still intact. But if Mr. X celebrates the enact-

ment of the Ruml plan by a spell of riotous living and thus dissipates his refund, the Treasury will be out of luck except for whatever it receives from additional liquor taxes.

Now to turn to the case of Buck Private Y. Sudden changes in income have always created hardships, and the Treasury has always been willing to make a deal with the honestly harassed taxpayer. But, as Mr. Wilner was no doubt taught at law school, hard cases make bad law, and relief for men in the position of Buck Private Y should not be made an excuse for easing the load on Mr. X's broad shoulders. Nevertheless, I am prepared to agree that the present situation does call for special consideration—beyond that proposed by the current tax bill—for men joining the forces at a great sacrifice of income. This, I think, could be accomplished simply and fairly by forgiving such men taxes on their *earned* income for the six months prior to their joining up.

KEITH HUTCHISON

## What Did Cripps Promise?

*Dear Sirs:* Louis Fischer has written in *The Nation* (September 19), "Cripps failed because he promised India a responsible government at the beginning of his negotiations and then withdrew that promise." When confronted with the charge, "Cripps made no . . . denial." "Something had happened behind the scenes."

Sir Stafford has certainly met the assertion with a vigorous and forthright denial. On April 11, the date of the exchange of letters on which Mr. Fischer places such store, Sir Stafford said of the demand that the constitution might now be changed, "In this respect I would point out that *you made this suggestion for the first time last night*, nearly three weeks after you received the first proposals, and I would further remark that every other representative with whom I have discussed this view has accepted the practical impossibility of any such legislative change in the middle of a war and at such a moment as the present" (*italics mine*).

Upon his arrival on March 23 and again on March 25 and 30 Cripps had reiterated the principle that "no real, major, fundamental changes can be made in the War Cabinet's conclusions."



# EARL BROWDER

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Mr. Fischer accuses the British government of sabotaging negotiations that might have been successful "if Sir Stafford Cripps had been able to stick to his promise." Speaking in the House of Commons on September 12 about the scheme which he brought with him to India and which he maintains was never subject to any fundamental alterations in the course of the discussions, Sir Stafford said, "The Congress Working Committee had passed a resolution accepting the proposals. *Mr. Gandhi intervened*, and the resolution was subsequently reversed" (*italics mine*).

In his farewell broadcast he complained, "Criticism has been showered on the scheme from all sides; parties and individuals vied with one another in competition to discover the greatest number of defects. . . . Had the Congress leaders felt themselves able to join hands with other leaders who were willing, then indeed a great work ought to have been accomplished." At Karachi he said that the Indian National Congress Party "wanted all or nothing—they couldn't have all, so they got nothing."

MARVIN B. GELBER  
Toronto, Ont., September 25

*Dear Sirs:* When a person undertakes to correct a statement in a printed article he should be accurate himself. Mr. Gelber says that Cripps has met "with a most vigorous and forthright denial" the charge which I made in my *Nation* articles that he offered India an immediate national government and then withdrew his promise. Mr. Gelber thereupon quotes the alleged Cripps denial: "In this respect I would point out that you made this suggestion for the first time last night." But if you will reexamine Sir Stafford's letter of April 11 from which Mr. Gelber takes this quotation you will find that the denial refers not to my charge of a promise made and withdrawn but, as Cripps puts it, to Azad's suggestion "that the constitution might now be changed." As Cripps said in his New Delhi interview on March 29 (see *The Nation* of September 26), a Cabinet government could be introduced without changing the constitution. "A good deal could be done by changing the conventions or adopting new ones," Cripps said.

Mr. Gelber says, secondly, that Cripps reiterated the principle that "no real, major, fundamental changes can be made in the War Cabinet's conclusions." That is beside the point. We are not the judges of whether Cripps's offer of a national government consti-

tuted such a change or not. The fact is that he made the offer.

Finally Mr. Gelber accepts Cripps's allegation, made in the House of Commons on September 12, that "the Congress Working Committee had passed a resolution accepting the proposals. Mr. Gandhi intervened and the resolution was subsequently reversed." Mr. Rajagopalachari, who was then a member of the Working Committee and is probably the only one of the members not under arrest now, has vigorously denied this assertion by Cripps (see the *New York Times* of September 15). If Sir Stafford wishes us to believe this he will have to produce the resolution.

I would like also to make a very brief reference to the letter which you printed in your issue of September 26 from W. T. Stace. Having "worked for twenty years as a British civil servant in Ceylon," Mr. Stace inevitably repeats the obsolete British argument of Indian disunity. I take vigorous exception, however, to his statement that "Congress demands that it be a single government of a united India." Where did he get that? Congress does not demand that it rule India. Mr. Gandhi said to me, as he has said in writing, and as Nehru and others have said, that if the British surrender political power, "a provisional coalition government consisting of the princes, the Moslems, and Congress will be formed." The Indian situation is bad enough without the injection of unfounded statements.

LOUIS FISCHER

New York, October 5

### Ambassador Hayes Denies

*Dear Sirs:* The article in your issue of August 8 entitled A New Plan for Spain has just come to the attention of Ambassador Hayes in Madrid. He requests me to deny for him quite categorically the allegation that he is, or at any time has been, a party to any plan for establishing a new Spanish provisional government or for restoring the monarchy in Spain.

His speech at Barcelona on July 30, which you describe as "amazing," dealt almost wholly with American war preparations and with the firm determination of the United States, in conjunction with its allies, to fight the present war through to a victorious conclusion in support of the fundamental principles enunciated in the Atlantic Charter.

W. P. MICHAEL GEORGE,  
Madrid, September 3



# THE *Nation*

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## *The Shape of Things*

STREET FIGHTING IS STILL CONTINUING IN Stalingrad despite the Berlin radio announcement that assault tactics were to be abandoned and that the city was to be destroyed by heavy guns and bombers. But the intensity of the struggle seems to have diminished, and the latest German thrusts may be designed to cover the construction of siege lines. Such lines, however, would offer very inadequate winter quarters, and unless the long-distance pounding of Stalingrad succeeds where direct assault failed—a most unlikely contingency—a Nazi retreat westward to less exposed positions appears inevitable. There are some indications that the German High Command may be hoping to stabilize the Volga front sufficiently to enable troops to be diverted to the Caucasus. The capture of the Grozny oil fields would not only be an important success materially but could be presented to the German people as compensation for the failure to take Stalingrad. However, Timoshenko's relief army, which has been exerting strong pressure north-west of Stalingrad, is likely to inhibit troop transfers on a large scale. Meanwhile, it is not enough to cheer Russian stubbornness. Portents of German difficulties in the east ought to be a signal for stronger action in the west. And in this connection the striking success of the American heavy bombers over Lille is encouraging. The raid proved emphatically that these machines combine tremendous offensive power with the ability not merely to resist enemy fighters but to destroy them in wholesale lots. If sufficient numbers can be made available, they seem destined to play a big part in establishing absolute air superiority over the invasion coast.

✱

HITLER'S EXECUTIONERS CONTINUE TO work overtime in all parts of occupied Europe, but the reports of their rifles cannot blot out the defiant voices of their victims. In the past week the Trondheim district of Norway has been suffering a reign of terror. Following the successful dynamiting of a key electric plant and other acts of sabotage the Nazi authorities proclaimed a state of emergency along a 500-mile strip of coast and started wholesale arrests. Within four days at least thirty-four hostages were shot. There was



not even a pretense that these men were the "guilty" parties. Some were prominent citizens who were placed against a wall without even a drum-head court-martial; others were taken from prisons where they were being held as hostages in connection with quite different incidents. According to some reports reaching here, mostly via Stockholm, the Nazis garrisons are in a jittery state, fearing invasion and hoping to forestall any possibility of an uprising behind their coastal defenses. But such stories must always be received with caution. They could be of German origin, despite their neutral labels, and intended perhaps to encourage an Allied invasion attempt with insufficient forces in a part of Norway where the Nazis are particularly well prepared.

★

THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH INDICATES A MUCH stiffer attitude toward the man-power situation in the capital. Boys of eighteen and nineteen are to be drafted; a national labor service is inevitable. But as yet there is no indication of a decision on the vital question of balancing military and civilian needs for man-power. Our high military authorities are still talking of an army and navy totaling at least ten million men. It is admitted that not more than three or four million of these men can possibly be moved overseas in 1943, and that our productive resources will be strained to the utmost in supplying an armed force of this size—particularly since it cannot be raised without withdrawing about five million additional men from production. Such a decision, as a correspondent of the *New York Sun* points out, can only mean that plans are being laid to make the United States secure first, "after which the Allies can be helped." It assumes the worst possible eventualities in Europe and Asia—the collapse of Russia, the successful invasion of England, the defeat of China, and the loss of Australia and India. It is, in a word, isolationism at its blindest. For the experiences of the past few months show that Russia, China, and Great Britain, with some aid from us, are capable of withstanding the worst that the Axis can offer. But they also show that victory can only be achieved by greatly stepping up our assistance, both in men and supplies. Since the number of men that we can send and maintain overseas is drastically limited by the shortage of ships, it would seem only common sense that we should concentrate on producing supplies for the Allied armies now in the field and ships to deliver these supplies.

★

THE SENATE DESERVES LITTLE PRAISE FOR its prompt passage of the tax bill. For on every test vote it sought to increase the tax burden on the little man in order to reduce the tax on the well-to-do. It adopted the so-called victory tax, which falls primarily on the lower middle-income groups. The La Follette amend-

ment, which would have substantially increased the tax on corporation war profits, was decisively defeated. On the following day the Senate, by a vote of fifty-two to thirty-four, removed from the bill a provision to tax income from local and state securities issued after January 1, 1943. Although this provision would have yielded only \$15,000,000 next year, it was of crucial importance as the first step toward the elimination of tax-exempt securities. The sharp increase in surtax rates in the present tax bill greatly magnifies the inequity resulting from tax-exempt securities. While previously it could be argued that the holders of such securities paid a tax in their willingness to accept a low rate of interest on state and municipal bonds, such an argument has little meaning in the face of present surtax rates or the necessity for curtailing consumer spending power in every way possible. The Senators apparently know only one rule when it comes to tax policy: stay off the toes of those who squawk the loudest!

★

FROM TWO HIGH CATHOLIC AUTHORITIES within the past month have come a pair of interesting reversals. One was voluntary, generous, and humble; the other was three years overdue and made on pain of a \$100,000 libel action. Both are welcome. For the first we have to thank the Reverend Robert I. Gannon, president of Fordham University, who is not satisfied merely to insist that although he was an isolationist before Pearl Harbor he is all for a vigorous prosecution of the war now that we are in it. Scorning that easy formula of the unconvinced, he said to 1,300 students at the annual Mass of the Holy Ghost:

We used to say that if the Soviet were wiped off the face of the earth it would be good riddance and that the feeble and guilty old British Empire was not worth one American life. We protested violently when we saw our President, as we used to put it, "spoiling for a fight." . . . Today it is humiliating, but many of us are ready to stand up and confess that we were wrong and he was right. It was our war from the first.

★

THE SECOND *MEA CULPA* IS RECORDED IN the withdrawal by the Brooklyn *Tablet* of the libelous attacks on Lawrence A. Fernsworth which appeared in the pages of that pro-Coughlin diocesan journal in 1939. The articles in question accused Fernsworth, a reputable correspondent for the *New York Times* and the *London Times*, of having accepted money from the Loyalist government of Spain and implied that he had "betrayed his trust as a news correspondent." The *Tablet* now admits it "has no evidence in its possession supporting the charges" and is consequently withdrawing them. One of the authors of those attacks is the Reverend Joseph F. Thorning, one of the most active Franco



propagandists in this country. We are delighted to have Mr. Fernsworth's name publicly cleared in this fashion, but it is well to note that the irresponsible Thorning is still gunning for correspondents. His most recent victim is Harold Callendar, whose reports on South America conflict with Thorning's friendly feeling for the *Falange*.

★

THE UNION FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION HAS come through its first test by fire with integrity and courage. It has given up what no struggling young organization of the left can readily afford to sacrifice, namely, a dynamic and popular leader with a gift for oratory and an invaluable flair for raising funds. These, among others, were the assets which the U. D. A. yielded when it invited its president, Dr. Frank Kingdon, to take a "leave of absence." Valuable as they are, we believe the Union would have lost more—ultimately its very life—if it had chosen to countenance Dr. Kingdon's decision to take the stump for John J. Bennett in the campaign for the governorship of New York. It is no sin to support Bennett, and the U. D. A. has made it clear that aside from its three top officers its members are free to do so, though its Board of Directors unanimously adopted a resolution in favor of Dean Alfange, the American Labor Party candidate. Dr. Kingdon's action, however, raises problems considerably deeper than the right of a U. D. A. member to support the candidate of his choice. Not only was he the organization's spokesman and identified in the public mind as such, but he happens to have been one of the prime movers in securing the Labor Party's nomination for Alfange. A member of the innermost councils of the party, he made an impassioned plea a few weeks ago for a strong campaign in order to prevent the Democratic Party—and the Administration—from being thrown on the mercy of the reactionaries gathered around James A. Farley, and in order to preserve for the A. L. P. the balance of power without which it would lose much of its political reason for being. Dr. Kingdon has given no adequate explanation for his change of heart, nor did he consult either the A. L. P. or the U. D. A. itself in making his lightning switch. His continuation in office would have nullified the Union's usefulness both as a support for the New Deal and as a liberal check on the Administration, and would seriously have compromised its position as an independent force.

★

COLONEL ROBERT R. McCORMICK AND WHAT he calls the world's greatest newspaper—the Chicago *Tribune* to you—are given their due in a pamphlet recently issued by the Chicago branch of the Union for Democratic Action. In seventy-two brisk pages, further enlivened by numerous and pointed cartoons, the pamphlet tells the fantastic tale of a newspaper which in the

name of national defense and patriotism has praised and pampered fascists and near fascists at home, parroted the propaganda of the Axis, played fast and loose with military secrets, and in general done everything it could get away with—and a great deal it shouldn't have been allowed to get away with—to discredit the war effort. It makes interesting—and hair-raising—reading, and the U. D. A. of Chicago is to be commended for its enterprise in bringing together for the first time, so far as we know, all the pertinent and damning facts about Colonel McCosmic and his blatant journal.

## Caught in the Networks

PLANS for a national radio series under the sponsorship of the Cooperative League have been disrupted by the refusal of the National Broadcasting Company and the Columbia Broadcasting System to sell time for this purpose. The series was to take the form of thirteen dramatizations of cooperative history followed by an appeal to listeners to write for a booklet explaining how to join an existing cooperative society or form a new one.

While agreeing that these programs were unacceptable, the two networks failed to agree on reasons. N. B. C.'s explanation was that the Cooperative League's advertising campaign was designed to promote new memberships and thus contravened the company's "very long-established regulation" barring the sale of time to anyone for this purpose. Columbia based its refusal on the code of the National Association of Broadcasters, which prohibits the sale of time for programs devoted to "public controversial issues." In its view, the programs offered by the league were barred by this clause since they "were designed to promote a fundamental change in the present system of marketing and distribution of goods and services, whereby cooperative associations would largely supplant retail stores and other common distribution establishments."

Columbia specifically stated that it would be willing to accept a program sponsored by a cooperative store so long as it advertised goods offered for sale. But apparently if such a program went beyond the merits of cooperative branded goods and talked of the cooperative idea or of cooperative methods and organization, it would be taboo. Yet unless such matters can be mentioned, the cooperative movement is severely handicapped in attracting new members and in encouraging consumers to form cooperative societies in new localities.

We do not dispute the merits of Columbia's policy, which is founded on the reasonable premise "that the ability to buy time should not determine the extent to which a particular side of a public controversial issue should be broadcast." But we do question the assumption that consumers' cooperation is an issue of this kind.



Who, we would like to know, has ever challenged on political, economic, or moral grounds the right of consumers to go into business for themselves? Who has challenged their right to govern such a business on the democratic principle of one member, one vote, their right to buy goods from such a business on a cash basis, their right to divide up the profits among themselves in proportion to the amount of their purchases?

Perhaps the broadcasting companies are not aware that the economic basis of consumers' cooperation is so simple and so unassailable. Perhaps they do not know the extent of the movement or the fact that it has many friends and no *public* enemies. Columbia might have learned this from its experience in giving free time to the cooperative movement. In accordance with its policy it would have had to allot equal time to any responsible person or group that wished to state an opposing view, but, it admits, no unfavorable reactions or complaints have ever been evoked by broadcasts on consumer cooperation. A strange kind of controversy!

This is not the same thing as saying that consumers' cooperation has no enemies at all. It has plenty—many of them clients of the radio networks—who will be delighted at any interference with its plans for expansion. These enemies, however, have never challenged the movement openly, nor could they do so without attacking their own cherished faith in private enterprise. So they have always resorted to undercover methods—attempts to divert supplies from cooperative organizations, whispering campaigns, and so on. But the mere fact that there must be two parties to an assault and battery does not make that crime a public controversial issue unless the assailant is prepared to come out and defend his action as in the public interest.

We believe, therefore, that the Cooperative League is thoroughly justified in appealing to Congress, the Federal Communications Commission, and other government agencies for a searching inquiry into the reasons why its programs have been refused the air. We wish it luck in this new battle with monopoly.

## The Coming Oil Shortage

A SUBCOMMITTEE of the Senate Public Lands Committee has opened a series of hearings of the greatest importance to the war effort. These hearings have yet to attract the attention they deserve in our press. Senator O'Mahoney of Wyoming, one of the ablest and most progressive members of the upper house of Congress, is chairman of the subcommittee. Its purpose, as announced, is to find means "to encourage the discovery of oil and gas on the public domain during the continuance of the present war." An enormous quantity of petroleum will be needed to fuel our ships,

trucks, tanks, and planes. We are also dependent on petroleum for large quantities of synthetic toluene for TNT and for a major share of the materials which go into synthetic rubber. One set of figures will serve to illuminate the problem. We are producing less than four million barrels of crude oil a day; we may soon be needing five million barrels for aviation gas alone. The committee wants an answer to several questions: How can we best encourage the development of new sources of oil? What can we do to speed up the finding of new oil fields? Are coal and shale a feasible source of synthetic oil? Must we not begin to plan now for a possible oil shortage? "The mistakes in the production of rubber and steel," as O'Mahoney told the Senate on September 21, "must not be repeated with respect to oil."

Many contending motives, factions, and interests are attempting to use these hearings for their purposes. One of the keys to an understanding of them lies in a controversy between Leon Henderson and Harold L. Ickes. As Secretary of the Interior and War Petroleum Coordinator, Ickes, with the backing of the oil companies, wants an increase in the price of oil to encourage the development of new wells. Henderson, as head of the Office of Price Administration, is trying to apply to oil a policy he has consistently followed in other spheres. He has sought to encourage expanded production by offering a premium price for new production rather than by allowing an over-all price increase.

In every case, industries have naturally preferred the over-all increase. Oil is no exception. From the consumer's and the government's point of view, this means paying a higher price for the oil we already have in the hope that we shall thereby encourage some proportion of those who get the higher prices to go out and look for more oil. Most of the prospecting for new wells is done by independents. Most of the profits of the price increase would go to the big companies, many of which prefer to sit tight on their oil reserves. Senator O'Mahoney pointed out at the opening of the hearings that while the major oil companies now produce from about 3,800,000 acres, or 80 per cent of known reserves, these same companies control some 49,000,000 acres of "oil lands" which may also hold large quantities of oil. Would it not be wiser to have the government take these lands over and subsidize drilling on them than to raise the price of crude and then hope and pray that the majors will drill? Present conditions are not exactly ideal for the operations of Adam Smith's classical economics.

The real purpose of the majors is to get a higher price for oil, and they are backing a move to take control over prices away from Henderson and vest it in Ickes. An executive order which would do so has been at the White House awaiting signature for some time. We hope the President will not sign it. New sources of oil are worth money, but let us pay it to the men who really



find them. If we want to speed discovery, the way to do so is to expand the work of government geologists, to plan and organize oil prospecting instead of leaving it to chance and an increase in prices. The war will not be won in any sphere by reliance upon *laissez faire*.

As important as finding new sources of oil is the finding of alternative sources of war materials we are now obtaining from petroleum. The impending oil scarcity makes it more than ever essential to develop and expand the production of ethyl alcohol and butyl alcohol for synthetic rubber. Butylene from butyl alcohol could also be used in the making of aviation gas. We are bringing an oil shortage nearer by depending too much on petroleum—and on the oil trust—for war materials which can be made as well from the fermentation of farm and forest products.

## On the Diplomatic Front

BY FRED A. KIRCHWEY

IS IT the genius of the democratic nations to come to life only in the face of defeat—after a Dunkirk, a Pearl Harbor—and to relax at the first sign of improvement? This last week has witnessed one of those discouraging waves of optimism following a mood of grim awareness generated by the heroism and horror of the Stalingrad siege.

The wave rose on Hitler's speech acknowledging that the period of great offensives was over and the job of defending and using gains had begun. It swelled as the Germans announced the end of the frontal assault on Stalingrad. It mounted to a crest in the announcement by the Belgian Minister of Justice that "we are in 1918," and that the only remaining question is how long Germany's final struggle will last. With Churchill's speech on Monday the wave broke and rolled up the beach.

I don't doubt Mr. Churchill's sincerity. The British Prime Minister has never been afraid of unpleasant truths. But truth is not merely a set of facts. Undoubtedly the Germans are not advancing as they did in 1940 and 1941. Undoubtedly they are tired. And surely the crucial question is—how long will the struggle last? But the use made of those facts and the answer to that question depend partly on how our leaders want us to feel. And today, I suspect, they want to distract our attention from the continuing bitter struggle in Russia and the desperate need for a major diversion in the west. They want us to feel that the tide is about to turn. We have worried too much for their peace of mind; we have demanded too much for their comfort. So they draw a long breath of relief over the miracle of Stalingrad and emphasize the signs of weakness in the Reich. Optimism, used at the right moment, can be a most effective political weapon.

All of this makes me glad that Wendell Willkie spoke as he did. His blunt and undiplomatic diplomacy sent a lot of pretensions crashing, and it obviously served as a tonic to whole populations. As usual after stimulants, there will be a let-down unless action follows the urgent warnings broadcast by Mr. Willkie. But in the long run the relations of the Western nations with their Eastern allies will, I am sure, be bettered as a result of the warm feeling and vigorous opinions expressed by Mr. Roosevelt's maverick ambassador.

An even less official—and far less useful—venture in diplomacy was the Open Letter from the Editors of *Life* to the People of England. The excitement produced in Britain by this outburst, though a tribute to the power of Mr. Luce, is hardly justified by the facts. *Life* may be read—or looked at—by millions of people, but it isn't their elected spokesman.

When *Life* talks about "Your Side" and "Our Side," implying that the first is a selfish devotion to the idea of empire while the second is a passion for freedom for everybody, its foolishness is as embarrassing to sensible Americans as it must be infuriating to Englishmen. The root of *Life's* error lies in its blowzy use of the words "you" and "we." It ignores the fact that many thousands of British subjects are far more critical of their government's policy in India, to take the one concrete example mentioned, than any editor of *Life*. It ignores the equally pertinent fact that Americans are not all convinced fighters for freedom but include also such contrary elements as Mr. Hearst and Mr. Dies and Mr. Fish and Mr. Breckinridge Long. (And incidentally, it fails to mention the considerable embarrassment occasioned in England by the efforts of American army officers on British soil to discourage friendly and democratic relations between the local population and American Negro soldiers.) It forgets, too, that "Your Side" is not only India and Colonel Blimp but a courageous willingness to fight on alone before "Our Side" even came into being, and a readiness to accept more social change and to sacrifice more social privileges than "Our Side" has yet contemplated. It forgets, or pretends to forget, that "Our Side" includes the long and unended appeasement of Vichy and Franco and a dozen other capitulations to the spirit of fascism at home and abroad. "We" had better wait about issuing invitations to other nations to "move over," until we sweep out a little of the debris that litters "Our Side."

And meanwhile the British people needn't worry. We'll keep on fighting along with them in spite of *Life's* ultimatum. And we'll fight for the empire, too, since the empire includes not only India but the great self-governing dominions, and the islands of the Caribbean, and Malta, and other sources of the power and will to win of the alliance against Hitler. We can't spare the British Empire; everybody knows that, really; even Mr. Luce.



Secretary Welles deserves the full support of everyone in his energetic exposure of Nazi activities in Argentina and Chile. It is unfortunate that these two nations have been linked in a bond of disloyalty to the democratic cause, since Chile is, essentially, sympathetic to the Allies, even officially, while Argentina's government is openly pro-Axis. But their joint insistence on "neutrality" forces them into a common role. And it was essential that Mr. Welles speak out and denounce the effect of their policy. Even if the result is a growth of ill-feeling between both countries and the United States—expressed in the case of Chile by the postponement of President Riso's long-expected visit to Washington—the price will not be too high.

But this final exposure of activities which have been going on for months and years more than justifies the stand *The Nation* has taken on the State Department's attitude toward Latin America. Criticized for our undue suspicions and attacked for endangering the Good Neighbor policy, we have insisted since long before the Rio conference that the existence of pro-Axis dictatorships was a certain source of danger to the whole hemisphere and have pointed out the undenied evidence of Nazi intrigue spreading through the continent from Argentina to the Rio Grande. We have shown the close relationship of Fascist Spain with every reactionary clique and government in Latin America—especially with the Castillo regime in Argentina. And so it is interesting but not surprising to discover through the official stories from Washington that the threads of plotting and spying run through

Chile and Cuba to a center in Madrid. There is the headquarters of Spanish-American fascism, of Axis intrigue, focused in a government with which we maintain friendly relations, which we pamper and appease with precious cargoes of oil and wheat and with promises of future trade and money for "restoring cultural treasures." And so we go on feathering Hitler's nests—the nests of spies he is so assiduously building in our own threatened hemisphere.

The best move along the diplomatic front was the announcement by the United States and Britain, timed to coincide with China's Independence Day celebration, that both nations would immediately open negotiations to end extra-territorial rights and privileges in China. The political importance of this move can hardly be exaggerated. Long overdue, it will help to wipe out the underlying sense of injustice which has always corroded China's relations with us and added to the bitterness created by our long appeasement of Japan. Now that China is no longer to be treated as a "second-class power" by its allies, other important developments become possible. The proposal made by the Chinese Foreign Minister, T. V. Soong, that the United Nations should set up an executive council during the war as a basis for a permanent post-war international organization is a logical sequel to the promised end of the unequal treaties. It is, moreover, the most constructive suggestion put forward yet by one of the Allied leaders and deserves full and general discussion.

## *The Return of Bernard Baruch*

BY I. F. STONE

*Washington, October 9*

**B**EST news of the week is the appointment of Benjamin V. Cohen, of the old team of Corcoran and Cohen, as chief counsel to Director of Economic Stabilization James F. Byrnes. This country never had two public servants who were harder working, more devoted, less concerned with personal interests, and more maligned than Corcoran and Cohen. A younger New Dealer of great promise who is also going on Byrnes's legal staff is Edward F. Prichard, once Justice Felix Frankfurter's law clerk. Appointments of this kind inspire confidence in Byrnes.

May I dwell for a moment on the story of Corcoran and Cohen and the broader trends it reflects and illumines? The first ebb of the New Deal as a creative and positive force set in with the Little Steel strike; the President's "a plague o' both your houses" voiced the

fact that the middle classes were tired of reform. The second ebb set in with the appointment of the National Defense Advisory Commission in the spring of 1940, when the President felt that he had to make his peace with big business if he were successfully to mobilize the country for the war he had long seen coming. King John gave the barons a charter; F. D. R. handed them the heads of Corcoran and Cohen on a platter.

In the spring of 1940 a visitor to the offices of Corcoran and Cohen, then in the new Interior Building, encountered an unaccustomed atmosphere of relaxation and quiet. The President felt, so went the story, that he could not win a third term and prepare the country for war unless he had at least part of the big-business crowd with him, and that this was not possible so long as the bogymen of the right press, Corcoran and Cohen, were central figures of the New Deal. At first, there



were whispered assurances that after election all would be different, but the coalition with big business was the line of least resistance. Cohen became a glorified messenger boy to London and elsewhere and, though still comparatively a young man, a kind of elder statesman for the surviving New Dealers; Corcoran became a successful corporation lawyer.

In Washington, a curiously febrile and rootless town, where it is often thought that history can be made by getting a great man's ear, the decline and fall of Corcoran and Cohen was sometimes regarded as the result of palace politics. People "in the know," which includes almost everyone in the capital, said that Harry Hopkins, Corcoran's rival, had got closer to the royal bedchamber and made off with the President's confidence and affection. No doubt there were many at Paris who knew from the very best confidential sources that the mob would never have broken into the Bastille if Marie Antoinette had not been so dissatisfied with her new hair-do.

Politics on the grand scale is impersonal as well as amoral, and it is only in Lilliputian and moralistic pulpits that the passing of Corcoran and Cohen from power could become a sermon on Presidential "ingratitude." The real meaning of the Scripture text "Put not your faith in princes" is that princes are not their own masters. Those who possess great power are prisoner to the necessities which govern its retention and use. The forces which pushed Corcoran and Cohen aside are the same forces which have converted the fifth floor of the Social Security Building in Washington, where WPB's topmost are housed, into a scene from Wall Street. Our limited government, if it was to fight the war, had to come to terms with the independent sovereignties that dominate our economy. The eclipse of Corcoran and Cohen was part of the bargain.

Those who think in terms of personality and palace politics say that we have entered upon a Baruch period. Byrnes, like Baruch, is a South Carolinian; they are supposed to be old friends; Baruch has supplied campaign funds for Byrnes. It is said that "Baruch men," notably Ferdinand Eberstadt and C. E. Wilson, are now in control at the WPB. Eberstadt is probably the most powerful figure in the War Production Board. Nelson has become more and more ludicrous with a "get-tough" policy that gets tough only with those who offend the big-business crowd. He has grown less and less important, not because he has less power but because he shows less and less capacity for issuing it. Eberstadt, as vice-chairman of the Office of Program Determination, has the power to coordinate and revise all the war-production schedules. As former head of the Army-Navy Munitions Board, he represents the army bureaucracy, a combination of brass hats and dollar-a-year men in uniform, as against the WPB bureaucracy of dollar-a-year men in mufti slightly seasoned by New Dealers and a

few stray laborites. The chief advantage of the latter over the former is that when you put a dollar-a-year man in a uniform, the camouflage makes him harder to spot, and the sense of being a "military man" makes him feel above criticism.

Eberstadt is a small-time Wall Streeter, once a partner in Dillon, Read, then head of a banking firm of his own. He is likable, hard-working, well-meaning, and patriotic, but his mental horizons are not much broader than those of the Bankers' Club. He is shrewd enough and man of good-will enough to be friendly to labor, but neither the feeling nor the man are big enough to have much effect on the course of events. The first branch chief he appointed was a Standard Oil executive, Thomas R. Armstrong, who is disliked and feared all over Latin America. Armstrong as head of the Foreign Requirements Liaison Branch of the WPB will be able to coordinate and revise all export programs. Eberstadt appointed him, in upstanding, Boy Scout, *American Magazine* fashion, because "he's the best man for the job." Armstrong remains on Standard Oil's pay roll while serving the government, and Eberstadt is the kind of man who honestly does not understand why people should be upset by Armstrong's connections. Yet Armstrong's record is so bad that even the State Department is on the war path.

The extent of Baruch's influence is open to question. But Baruch is the symbol of this kind of naive acceptance of the view that only the big-business crowd can run a war economy. Baruch's War Industries Board was a paradise for the dollar-a-year men; labor and liberal influences were shunted off and neatly compartmented in spheres where they could have no effect on production problems. The term dollar-a-year man in that far-off era was one of honor, and though Baruch talks of victorious clashes with industry, these reminiscences, like all autobiography, are tinged with fiction. The automobile industry thumbed its nose at Baruch and got away with it; he never did succeed in curtailing the output of passenger cars, much less in forcing conversion of the industry.

The report of Baruch's War Industries Board contains much that is useful, but it must be read as a work of the imagination. The good things of which it tells did, indeed, happen but usually on so slight a scale as to be guideposts rather than feats. The Baruch report on rubber is the measure of the man's trustful attitude toward big business, his gullibility in dealing with its experts. For all its defects, industrial mobilization under Roosevelt has been more effective than it was under Wilson and Baruch, in part because the emergency is greater, in part because popular forces like the labor movement are better organized, though still only half awake. From this point of view, the return of Baruch, whether as influence or symbol, is not encouraging.



# When Do Americans Fight?

BY MARGARET MEAD

**A**T ANY time in their history, in war or in peace, the way in which a people handles the problem of aggression is important. Cultures have patterned aggression in many different ways: they have regarded it as primary and rewarded it; regarded it as incidental and undesirable and extinguished it; regarded it as primary and punished it; regarded it as secondary and developed it. The degree to which one individual will fight, attempt to dominate or destroy persons or objects which interfere with his attainment of a goal, is of very great concern in human societies, and almost all societies of which we know are, in some measure, concerned with the problem—with staying the baby's hand, with slapping the baby's hand, or with reinforcing the baby's aimless slap by a cheer or the comment: "How fierce and cruel he is." And there is a definite relationship between the expectancy, the fear, the disapproval, the cheer in the parent's voice and the later fighting behavior of those babies grown to manhood.

The question is not: Are we aggressive enough? as if aggression were something which merely varied quantitatively from high to low, like temperature or blood pressure or the amount of a vitamin stored in one's liver. Such a question gets us nowhere. Let us ask instead: What kind of pattern of aggressive behavior have we, as Americans? When is aggression justified in our eyes and when is it condemned? Who can be aggressive to whom, where? And with the answers to such questions as these we can look at the present world scene, which calls for the exercise of certain types of aggression, and ask: Have we, as Americans, the kind of aggressiveness that the present world developments demand? If not, what has to be done to alter the way we see the world—something actually easier to do than to alter the form of American aggressiveness?

A good place to study the American pattern is a playground where each mother is shouting her admonitions at her child. "Stand up for yourself! Don't come crying to me when he takes your shovel. Get it back. You're big enough to look after yourself." "Jimmy! Look out, he's just a little baby, don't hit him." "Well, hit him back if he hits you. Don't stand there like a sissy and take it." "Go on, make him learn he can't hit you without getting hurt." "Tommy, don't pull that little boy's hair. He's smaller than you are. He doesn't know any better. If you want to fight, pick on someone your own size." "No, I won't ask his mother to make him give it back. Go and get it yourself if you want it. He's not

much bigger than you are." And as each mother leads her dirt-smeared champion home, she thinks to herself either: "He can stand up for himself all right. He can take it, and he can dish it out. He's got what it takes," or in a worried unadmitted undertone: "I wish he'd stand up for himself more. He's brave enough when it comes to teasing kids smaller than he is or pulling the girls' hair, but he won't stand up to anything his size."

When the children get a little older, when a teacher instead of a parent is in charge, a playground director instead of a nurse, a new note, the notion of rules, enters in more prominently: "Play fair." "It's his turn now." "Let him have it for a while now, Jimmy. You've had it a long time." "No, boys, turn about is fair play." "It's not fair to take the little boy's ball, Jimmy, he's smaller than you are." "Billy! do you think it's fair to grab everything just because you're bigger than the others? I'm ashamed of you."

Educators commenting on the contradictory threads in our culture have stressed that we confuse children about aggression; that we teach them to be tough and to stand up for themselves and at the same time teach them that aggression is wrong and should be suppressed. But actually there is a pattern which underlies these contradictory orders, and a very clear one. It is obscured, however, in the mind of the educated thinker by his knowledge of Anglo-Saxon institutions. To him fair play means certain definite things. It means "obeying the rules," and the "rules" are thought of as a device for keeping people from bullying or taking an unfair advantage of the other person. One's character is defined by the way in which the rules are embodied in one's behavior—and "That's not cricket" may even be applied to making love to the wife of a man who is in a weaker position than oneself. Our games traditions, although altered and transformed, are Anglo-Saxon in form; and fair play does mean for us, as for the English, a standard of behavior between the weak and the strong—a standard which is curiously incomprehensible to the German. During the last war articles used to appear in German papers exploring this curious Anglo-Saxon notion called "fair play." The phrase was always rendered in English—for there was no translation.

Now the element which is so difficult to translate in the idea of "fair play" is not the fact that there are rules. Rules are an integral part of German life, rules for the behavior of inferior to superior, for persons of every status, for every formal situation: rules for the hunter, who is



ashamed if he does not hit his quarry in the appointed, difficult, and honorable spot; rules for the man of honor, who must know when to be insulted or be forever disgraced. The point that was incomprehensible was the inclusion of the other person's weakness in the rules, the exclusion of the idea that the purpose of strength is to triumph over weakness. According to the rules of the game, when one's opponent is stronger than oneself, maximum effort is called forth; when one's opponent is weaker, maximum effort is no longer compatible with fair play. The Anglo-Saxon fear that a boy will be a coward contains in it the fear that he will also be a bully. The "fair play" character always finds the greater strength of his opponent a stimulus. When the other is stronger, he puts out more effort, is "braver," and when the other is weaker, he reduces his effort, is "gentle." The coward, however, doesn't see the situation that way at all—another person's greater strength is a signal to him to cringe; and such an attitude finds its counterpart in bullying whenever the chance occurs.

In America a new twist has been given to this Anglo-Saxon view. Our attitude toward bullies and cowards, toward hitting below the belt and hitting a man when he is down, is the same as the English attitude. But the American child is taught to think about each situation as it comes up rather than to relax into an implicit acceptance of a set of rules which all those whom he meets will play by. And for a very good reason. Practically every American boy who is not tied to his mother's apron strings is going to encounter other boys whose ideas of fighting are very different from his own: perhaps Negroes, whose view of what is fair is dangerously distorted by the fact that they themselves have been too long "fair game" for white people, or perhaps Puerto Rican and Mexican children, whose romanticism takes a direction other than fair play. He may meet Irish children to whom fighting is something that one does naturally, like eating, rather than part of an elaborate game. When one ten-year-old American boy—especially in a large city—meets another bigger than he is, he can never be sure that the other boy knows the rules. He has to be tough, gauge the situation on its merits, shift his expectation one way or another in quick response to the look in the other boy's eye. He is growing up and going out into a world that is not orderly and dependable—as was the world of English boys before the war, when the toughest public house had its established code—but into a world which is too mixed and too unpredictable to allow him to rely on a code.

So the American mother, watching her three-year-old learn to make his way among other children, is faced with a very real dilemma. She shares the Anglo-Saxon attitude toward relative strengths, toward bullies and cowards and hitting a man when he is down. She also

shares the Anglo-Saxon belief that fighting should be curbed. The type of legislation which outlawed dueling and the attitude which has never wanted a standing army are parts of American culture as they are of English culture. Fighting is crude and uncivilized, especially if the weapons are efficient. Guns and knives are the weapons of foreigners and criminals; fists, if you must fight, for the Englishman and the American. At the same time the American mother is more impressed with the dangers which little boys will encounter in a world full of tough, strange foreign characters, of mixed breeds and manners, than she is with her little boy's potential aggressiveness. "He has to learn to look after himself" means something different on the edge of an American slum even from what it means in the East End of London. Will he be tough enough? That is the question which lurks in the American mother's eyes as she watches her two-year-old stand passive while another child yanks his toy out of his hand. Where the English mother can see—in her mind's eye—generations of schoolmasters and policemen umpiring the roughest games, assuring that 99 per cent of the children of the land will play by the same rules, the American mother sees instead a melee of frontier battles, gangster battles, tong wars, feuds, Indian attacks, and hijacking. American history mixes with the front pages of the tabloids; G-men and gangsters stride through her imagination. Her baby boy is going out to face this world of violence—and she looks across at her husband, belt unbuttoned, slumped comfortably, reading the sports news. He hardly ever gets angry, doesn't half stand up for his rights, could have had a raise years ago, but didn't like to start a row about it. If her small Jimmy, standing with toes turned in, looking very small in his new overalls, is going to get along in this world and be more successful than his Dad—and for what else did she bear him?—he'll have to be a good deal tougher than his Dad, who lets himself be pushed around.

Thus the American boy's capacity for aggression is determined by various influences: the respect for the rules, the insistence on fair play, which we share with England; the confused, turbulent, unpatterned quality of American life; and the American insistence that the child shall be more successful than his father, which means tougher than his father. All these influences are given a special tone by the fact that it is women, the mother and the nurse and the sister, who exhort the baby boy to be tough.

When a man is teaching his son to double up his fist or throw a spear, he is teaching him something that he himself has learned, a skill, a way of doing things. He is not teaching the child merely to be aggressive or even to be assertive, but how to behave once his aggression is aroused, how to defend himself and how to attack. He is able to concentrate on the way of doing it and



need not emphasize the necessity or the inappropriateness of aggression. For the mother's contradictory, "Don't hit that little boy, Jimmy," and, "Stand up for yourself, can't you?" the father can substitute, "Here, not like that, son. Plant your feet now, plant your feet." Fighting behavior which is taught to males by males has inevitably a different quality from fighting behavior which is taught to males by females. American women, ambivalent toward fighting, considering it at once wrong and necessary, succeed in teaching their children that fighting must always be done in self-defense, and yet that you have to practice getting angry. Where a male mentor could emphasize practicing a technique of throwing spears or shooting arrows among savages, or of boxing, fencing, or wrestling among ourselves, it is not appropriate for women in our culture to stand about on street corners and give instructions in the technique of upper cuts. They must confine themselves to vague exhortations about "standing up for yourself" without giving any detailed advice. So the American boy learns that aggression and fighting are wrong, to be avoided as low, and likely to arouse his mother's and often his father's disapproval, and also that aggression and fighting are necessary and, in fact, compulsory whenever anyone tries to pick on him, push him around. "You have to be tough to get along in this world."

The chip on the shoulder is the folk expression of this set of attitudes. By putting a chip on his shoulder and then waiting to have it knocked off, a boy can epitomize all the contradictory orders which have been given. He isn't being aggressive, going about knocking nice little boys down. No, indeed. He doesn't hit anybody. But he has to get some practice in fighting; he must have a few fights to his credit just to be sure he can fight. So he sets the chip on his shoulder which defines the situation: here is a boy who knows he shouldn't start a fight, but who wants to prove he's game; the boy who knocks off the chip must be strong enough to be a legitimate opponent, and it is always right to fight back. The other boy, the boy who has to knock the chip off, can argue: "He started it, Mom. He was looking for a fight, or he wouldn't have put the chip on his shoulder. He'd a thought I was a sissy if I'd pretended it wasn't there." Out of a number of conflicting traditions, out of the confusion which can be built in the male mind when females urge his maleness insistently upon him, there has emerged a special American form of aggressiveness; aggressiveness which can never be shown except when the other fellow starts it; aggressiveness which is so unsure of itself that it has to be proved.

When will the American fight? When the game is fair; when he can't be told that he started the fight, or that he is pushing around someone smaller than he is?

Yes. And with his back to the wall, as the English fight best? No. The back-to-the-wall position depends on the English basic assurance that they have more aggression than they need. When your back is against the wall, then, by the rules of the game, every ounce of aggression that is in you must come out. And if you keep the rules and hit hard, you always win. That is the English conviction. But the American is a little different. His gaze has been concentrated not on the rules, but upon his strength in the face of variable and unpredictable circumstances. He doesn't know whether he has enough aggressiveness, and he doesn't need the same absolute license to display it. Back-to-the-wall positions are therefore not best for him. His best position is in a fight which somebody else started, for which he cannot blame himself and for which no one else can blame him, getting in good hard punches and surprising himself at how well he is doing. And despite his characteristic boasting, his "We won the last war, and we'll win this one," the American is always surprised when he does do anything like as well as he says he is going to, if his aggressiveness is at stake.

Boasting is part of the American character—the child is expected to outdistance the parent, to be brighter, stronger, more aggressive, more successful. For the American child boasting is a sort of whistling in the dark, a necessary precautionary measure as he tries to live up to an unknown demand upon his unknown strength. In war time great and unknown demands are made upon young men who had learned to settle down into the friendly human relations which men, as opposed to women, expect from men in this society. They must suddenly display again the aggressiveness which their mothers enjoined upon them and in which they are relatively unskilled. Boasting is very necessary. When Mersa Matruh fell to Rommel, in June, 1942, the headlines blazoned it for an hour, but later editions of the evening papers came out with: "American Planes Bomb Wake Island." Were we escaping from reality, smuggling away into small print the news that our side had taken a terrible defeat? Or were we merely indulging in the extra touch of boasting which was necessary if, in the face of defeat, we were to go on fighting? I think the latter.

Speakers, editors, and propagandists—consciously and unconsciously—are dealing every day with this two-edged problem of how to phrase the conflict so as to bring out our full fighting strength. We must see the enemy as stronger—either in men or resources or wickedness—or we cannot fight at all. That "must" we share with the English; it is part of the rules of the game. We may, of course, interfere unendingly in the affairs of very small countries under the heading of "keeping order," but that we rationalize as a policeman's job, not as a real fight. If the fight is to be real, the enemy must



be as strong, preferably quite a little stronger. There must be a good chance that we may lose. But at the same time, since our pattern of aggressiveness is based on the undefined, excessive demands made by mothers who articulately disapproved of all the techniques of aggression in small boys—who told them at one and the same time to “stand up for yourself” and “not to keep getting into fights”—there is an unsureness in our approach to a battle which has to be compensated for by boasting and overconfidence in our side. The taxi-driver in Detroit summed up this position when he said to me on the day MacArthur’s arrival in Australia was announced: “It just makes me feel good, it makes me want to go and enlist. I was in the last one, and I think I’ll get into this one. Makes you want to fight to hear about a man like that.” What exactly had MacArthur done at that moment? Merely reached Australia. But he was the symbol of our side, and he had come through to fight again. Everybody felt good; everybody could go on now.

Pearl Harbor has been compared to Dunkirk—to Dunkirk which woke the English up. But the Pearl Harbor which woke the Americans up was not the defeat we suffered there—because we didn’t know about that for quite a while afterward and we reacted to the later details negatively and poorly. The Pearl Harbor which woke America up was just the fact that Japan came along and pushed the chip off our shoulder and left us free to fight where our hands had been tied before. For two years we had been engaged in “national defense”; unwilling to start anything, watching our enemies strengthen their lines about us, hog-tied by our phrasing of life, which forbade our starting a war—a phrasing which we share with the other democracies and which will some day be the basis of a better world. But right at the moment it was a handicap. And then Japan pushed the chip off, and we could fight—fight with a clear conscience, because we didn’t start this fight; Japan did.

## *What to Tell Germany*

BY HEINZ POL

THE propaganda directed against Germany by the United Nations has not yet hit the nail on the head. Primarily the fault lies not with the propaganda agencies, which have greatly improved in recent months. It is a result of the failure of the United Nations to work out a concrete and effective policy with regard to post-war Germany. For lack of certain well-defined objectives, our propaganda experts have been unable to affect the morale of the enemy in any appreciable degree or to influence the hidden currents of opposition within the Reich. During the First World War German military and civilian authorities feared nothing more than the propaganda of the Allies. By its quantity and its quality this propaganda was devastatingly effective, while German counter-efforts were weak and after the first few months became purely defensive. After the war the German propaganda experts concentrated upon learning from their own previous mistakes and from the successful technique of their opponents. Hitler’s advent to power was to no small extent attributable to the conviction of these experts that the propaganda methods of the Nazis would be tremendously effective in the coming war.

The propaganda of the Allies in the period 1914 to 1918 was successful because it was not limited to destructive demands. It did not simply appeal to the German people to get rid of the Kaiser and his clique; it declared most emphatically that peace could be made the

moment the German people elected a free democratic government. It also stressed the importance of the reconstruction of Europe and the creation of a League of Nations. In other words, it pointed to the goal and showed how to reach it.

German books on war propaganda agree that Allied promises had a decisive influence in breaking down the resistance of the German people. Karl Pintschovius, General Ludendorff, General von Metzsch, Oberst von Altrichter, Major Albrecht Blau, and other leaders who have written on the subject reveal an almost panicky fear that in a second world war the enemies of Germany might use the same methods, and they conclude that this second war must be so brief that the propaganda of the anti-German powers will not have time to make itself felt. Fear of a collapse of the German people’s spirit of resistance in a long-drawn-out war is fully justified by the events of 1917-18. In those years Allied propaganda made a far deeper impression on the people than Germany’s seemingly brilliant military situation.

There can be no doubt that today, after three years of war, the disappointment among the greater part of the German population over the unexpected length of the war is much deeper than it was in 1917 or 1918. This disappointment is breeding doubts about the meaning of the war and misgivings about its outcome. There is a growing desire to find an acceptable way out. Of course, conditions within Germany in 1914-18 were en-



tirely different from what they are today. Organized liberal and Socialist parties existed in those days, and their legal press served as a forum for the discussion of such questions as Wilson's Fourteen Points or the form of a democratic government. Opposition exists within Hitler's Reich, but it is not organized; it has no forum, and nobody knows how strong it is. The present propaganda of the United Nations, therefore, must not only carry to the German people the message of 1914-18 but, beyond that, do the work of the German democrats and Socialists of that time. All slogans must be given a positive content. All demands must be concrete and all proposals submitted in detail—not, moreover, in a threatening tone but in one of helpful understanding. This means that we should not hold out to the German people the advantage of being rid of Hitler unless we are able to suggest by whom they are to replace him and his party. The British are especially weak in this respect, the American propagandists having tended in recent months to abandon this line of attack.

It is poor propaganda to urge people to start an insurrection against their government. Good propaganda tries to bring latent ideas of revolution to maturity by showing the way to a better future. This fundamental principle was well understood by the Allies in the last war. Most of the people who might be influenced by United Nations propaganda today are fully aware that Hitler and his machine must be destroyed. What they do not know is what will happen afterward. Unfortunately, our propaganda gives them barely a hint. The German people do not know exactly who is included under the term "Nazi" or who, in the opinion of the world, is expected to take over power once the present regime has been overthrown. Even among the oppositional groups in Germany there is no unanimity on who comes under the heading of Nazi. Clever propaganda would announce that Nazis are all those who deliberately brought the Hitler regime to power and all who are today supporting it as party or state officials or as responsible leaders of industry, education, or the armed forces. Many of these men are not members of the Nazi Party and do not call themselves Nazis. Nevertheless, they are the backbone of Hitlerism.

On the other hand, there are hundreds of thousands or even millions of party members—or members of the countless party organizations—who cannot be held guilty. Many became members because they were forced to or because they did not understand what it was all about; others believed in Hitler's promises of social betterment and his pledges of peace. These millions, soldiers and civilians, should be reached by a carefully worked-out technique. After three years of victories which have brought peace no nearer, the masses have become confused. If rightly or wrongly they get the impression that "all Nazis" will be punished after

the war, their determination to continue the struggle is strengthened and all hope of turning their confusion into defeatism is destroyed. Goebbels will say—as he does already: "You see, the world wants to destroy the German people to the last man. We are all in the same boat." The simultaneous declarations by President Roosevelt and the British government of an intention to put "war criminals" on trial after the armistice should go far to dispel this fear, since both statements repudiate the doctrine that the German people as a whole share their leaders' culpability and are therefore to be punished.

It is equally important to present the anti-Axis view of the future reconstruction of Europe, and of Germany in particular. And of course a propaganda dealing with the problems of peace can be effective only if the powers engaged in it have themselves reached an agreement about the post-war world. Only then will it be able to answer the questions which an ever-increasing number of people in Germany are asking: Will Germany be occupied by military forces for an indefinite period? Will the German people be allowed to elect for themselves an independent government, after the last traces of Hitlerism have been wiped out? Will the victorious powers be satisfied with confining Germany to its pre-Hitler boundaries or will they dismember it? Will they be willing, after the end of the Nazi regime, to support the German people economically; above all, will they lift the food blockade at the beginning of an armistice? Will there be another Versailles, only a hundred times worse in every respect? Goebbels has given clear answers to these questions. He keeps telling the Germans that the Allies will destroy and dismember their country, that Germans will become slaves, that Germany's wealth will be turned over to foreign powers; in other words, that the Treaty of Versailles was mere child's play compared to what they must expect if they capitulate to the enemy now. Unfortunately, Goebbels can base his predictions on various statements made by spokesmen of the United Nations.

Nevertheless, it would be a relatively simple task to widen the already existing breach between the various groups inside Germany and precipitate an uprising or at least a breakdown. "In the army the belief is gaining ground that Germany would obtain a decent peace if she had a people's government," wrote Ludendorff in his "War Memoirs," adding that this belief, nourished by propaganda from the outside, was weakening the will of the German people to continue the war. Today the situation is fundamentally the same.

To give clear answers to the questions of the German people does not mean to promise more than one is willing to keep. Promises given merely for their effect do not pay. The German people must be made to realize that they share responsibility for Hitler's crimes. They must be told that they are under a moral obligation to



pay for the damage, that reconciliation will be impossible as long as they look upon their obligation as a punishment instead of as a moral necessity. They must be told that the sincerity of their conversion will be tested during a cooling-off period, and that after that period Germany can have full participation in the future organization of Europe and the world. Naturally it is not feasible to discuss openly every detail of the war and peace aims of the United Nations, but basic conditions should be clearly outlined.

It goes without saying that propaganda cannot rely on short-wave transmissions alone. Germany must be systematically bombarded from the air with pamphlets, leaflets, newspapers. Comparatively few persons can listen to short-wave news in Germany, but a leaflet can be easily concealed and passed on to hundreds of people. Moreover, written or printed words are usually more impressive than anything heard over the radio.

An effort should also be made to obtain favorable discussions of the United Nations' peace aims in the press of neutral countries. One of the great virtues of Allied propaganda during the last war was its reasonable and disguised influence on the neutral press. Papers in neutral countries are ordinarily eager to discuss war and peace aims if definite, interesting material is available. Persons who have arrived here recently from Stockholm, Zurich, Lisbon, or Ankara report, however, that the propaganda of the United Nations is definitely deficient both in quality and in quantity. Nor is enough attention paid to the production and distribution of various types of propaganda booklets, printed in a number of languages. These ought to be available at all newsstands and bookshops in neutral capitals. As a matter of fact, almost the only ones to be seen are imported from Nazi Germany, which has for many years turned out a great deal of excellent and psychologically well-adapted propaganda material for foreign consumption. Germany is posting observers everywhere abroad—not only Gestapo agents and saboteurs, but business men, financial experts, and artists. If a clever propaganda were conducted in the press of neutral cities, these German visitors might have a good deal to report at home.

Furthermore, we have the German prisoners of war. Though the number up to now is not high, it warrants the effort to influence them. It is true that the Geneva Convention prohibits propaganda against their own country among war prisoners, but the Nazis have never paid any attention to the rule and try frantically to convert their own prisoners into supporters of the New Order. The Russians for their part report extremely encouraging experiments in turning their German prisoners against National Socialism and the Hitler regime.

And now a last hint: no propaganda addressed to the German people should be anonymous. The average German has great respect for the authority of prominent

persons, and statements or promises in the name of the American or British people are not one-tenth as effective as those coming from Roosevelt, Hull, Sumner Welles, Willkie, Churchill, Eden, or Cripps. A message of such "authenticity" demands a reply; the German propaganda machine must invent denials. Anonymous statements can be ignored, and anyway the German people are inclined to mistrust them.

The basic requirement of anti-Nazi propaganda is that it be specific: it must have specific aims, deal with specific facts, and have specific authority behind it.

## *Everybody's Business*

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

### Scrap: the Next Step

THE current scrap-collection drive sponsored by the newspapers has created a widespread scrap-consciousness and seems likely to achieve the immediate objective of the War Production Board—the accumulation of sufficient old metal to see the steel industry through the normally lean winter months. There is, however, always a danger in campaigns which are nine-tenths ballyhoo and one-tenth organization. They go over with a bang, but the publicity tap is apt to be turned off before sufficient moisture has reached the roots of organization.

In this matter of scrap the essential job is to keep an adequate supply of material flowing to the steel mills for the duration, and while the bulk of the supply will be, as it always has been in the past, produced from commercial sources, we shall have to rely on voluntary effort for the marginal tonnage which is likely to make all the difference between victory and defeat. In the past few months the steel industry—the pivot of our war-production program—has been in a critical position. Its output has been a long way short of meeting the demands on it, with the result that armament production has been curtailed; yet it has not been operating at capacity, mainly because of a lack of scrap iron and steel. By the middle of next year capacity is scheduled to increase from the present 88,000,000 ingot tons annually to 98,000,000 ingot tons, but this expansion will be wasted if there is insufficient material to charge the furnaces.

Most steel is made out of a mixture of pig iron and scrap, with the latter averaging between 50 and 60 per cent of the total. This means that next year at least 50,000,000 tons of scrap will be required in order to keep the industry working at capacity. About half this quantity will come from within the industry itself; it will be the "home scrap" derived from trimming and cutting ingots into usable shapes and sizes. The proportion of "home scrap" is, however, rather below normal



at present, partly because an unreported but appreciable tonnage of steel is being shipped under lend-lease in the form of raw ingots.

To this extent the dependence of the industry on "purchased scrap" has become greater just at the moment when the usual sources of supply are tending to shrink. For instance, the railroads provide the greatest steady supply of scrap, having sold 4,700,000 tons in 1940 and 4,500,000 tons in 1941. This year, according to a statement in the *Wall Street Journal* of August 29, the total may be only 3,500,000 tons. The reason is that with traffic at record levels and new equipment restricted, the railroads are making do with track that would normally be discarded and patching up freight cars and locomotives instead of sending them to the scrap heap. Similar considerations are restricting the flow from the utilities and other industries. On the other hand, the intense activity of the metal-using industries means the furnaces will receive a large reflux of steel scrap in the shape of borings, shavings, and so on.

Supplies of scrap in bulk from normal industrial channels will not, however, produce the 25,000,000 tons which will be needed next year, and the balance must be made up from what may be termed marginal scrap. This may be divided into three categories—dormant industrial scrap, household scrap, and what, for want of a better description, I shall call disowned scrap. Household scrap is self-explanatory, but the border line between the other two is sometimes blurred. By and large, dormant industrial scrap includes abandoned railroads, factories, large buildings, sunken vessels, bridges, and other forms of structural metal, the salvaging of which is not commercially profitable. This category is the special pigeon of War Materials, Inc., a government corporation provided with large capital funds. Its purpose is to organize and finance the demolition of scrap-rich property without much regard to cost, and if it does not get tangled in legal snares, it should make an important contribution.

Disowned scrap arises partly from our national habit of moving on to the next pasture and partly from another national habit of dumping in the nearest empty lot any property for which we have no further use. By definition it is rural rather than urban in character, though I think a good deal might be brought to light by the systematic search of empty city houses. It is to be found on the sites of abandoned enterprises too small to be worth the attention of War Materials, Inc.—in sawmills, quarries, and mines, on deserted farms and in tumble-down houses, in fields, woods, and ravines.

I have recently had opportunities to survey the prevalence of disowned scrap in a sparsely inhabited district of New England and in a prosperous New York suburban area and, as a result, have reached the conclusion that a systematic combing of the countryside would produce a very large tonnage of material. But the job will

require a lot of hard voluntary labor. In every community we need a band of Scrap Scouts of all ages prepared to use their eyes, legs, and muscles. Their first task would be to survey their district, marking down scrap accumulations and reporting any big stuff to the nearest branch of War Materials, Inc. They would then devote themselves to gathering in everything they could handle with the aid of simple equipment and cart away in trucks. In some cases that I have in mind, small-scale demolitions and excavations would have to be carried out, but a great deal of scrap only needs to be disentangled from the undergrowth and dragged to the nearest road.

Work of this sort makes an appeal to the sporting and collecting instincts, and I do not believe there would be any difficulty in recruiting volunteers. Perhaps the newspaper publishers, who have reason to be proud of the success of their salvage campaign to date, will take a lead in promoting Scouting for Scrap on a national scale.

## In the Wind

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY LEADERS are apparently in a state of utter confusion over the issues of the coming election. Last week this column reported Representative Patrick Henry Drewry, chairman of the Democratic Party's Campaign Committee in the House, as saying, "There are no issues in this Congressional campaign." Now Senator Joseph Guffey of Pennsylvania, chairman of the same committee in the Senate, says that the only issues are local ones. Harry Hopkins, who is handling many election problems for the President, says that the only issue is the war.

ESSO MARKETERS, a subdivision of Standard Oil, is distributing free to school teachers a map of the world which, it says, students and teachers will find "of real assistance in following the complicated strategy of this global war." On the back of the map is an article defending the oil industry's position in the dispute over synthetic-rubber processes.

GOVERNOR FRANK DIXON of Alabama, now fighting the government order against racial discrimination in war industries, once wrote a lyrical introduction to the guide to his state published by the Federal Writers' Project. "We want the readers of this volume to realize that although we take pride in what it shows, we are not yet satisfied. When our land closely resembles paradise, we will rest content with Alabama."

THE REORGANIZED FORCES of the prohibition movement are making rapid headway if recent election results are any indication. This year there have been thirty-one "local-option" elections. Before they were held three counties were dry and twenty-eight wet. Now fifteen are dry and sixteen wet.

[The \$5 prize for the best item received in September goes to R. G. S. of New York City for his story about the State Department and Vichy's "slave labor" policy, published September 26.]



## Free Spain

BY JUAN NEGRIN

*[Among the Spanish refugees lately arrived in Mexico were three members of the constitutional government who had been living in France. On their arrival they joined the other Spanish ministers now in Mexico in a message to Dr. Juan Negrín in London asking him for instructions to guide the emigration. Dr. Negrín replied in a cable addressed to the Republican leader Antonio Velao, chairman of the recently created Spanish Democratic Union. His message, which constitutes the first political directive he has issued to his followers since he left Spain, is reproduced below, with the omission of a few brief passages dealing with matters of interest only to Spaniards in exile.]*

THANKS for your loyalty, which I reciprocate. It is sealed by the acknowledgment of our common duty—not to cease until the moment arrives to answer to our country for the tasks intrusted to us in 1937<sup>1</sup> and ratified unanimously by Parliament, as prescribed by the constitution, up to its last meeting in Figueras in February, 1939.

I regret that the impossibility of communicating with you by means free from outside intervention obliges me to reply with these general considerations, which I cable for greater security of reception.

For the same reason I ask to be granted as heretofore full powers to act as the march of events may require, until the joint deliberations I desire become possible.

I have made my acts conform—and I think this should inspire our whole attitude—to the policy and decisions adopted without dissent at meetings in Paris and Montgeron in 1940, in the firm decision to accept those responsibilities that we cannot decline without deserting our duty and to await imperturbably the day when the Spanish people can freely judge our conduct and pronounce the verdict to which we all must bow. We know this day can only come with the liberation of Spain—already discernible today—in which our faith has never wavered even during the most trying periods.

Every instant has its dominant desire, and the present one is to win the war. On that we must concentrate our energies without allowing ourselves to be distracted by those things which later will be essential but today are secondary. Let us devote ourselves to that and advise all our friends to do the same, serving where we can even

<sup>1</sup> In May, 1937, Dr. Negrín became Prime Minister, and formed his first Cabinet.

if our collaboration is not asked for or is even avoided.

Let us advise those who follow our inspiration not to allow themselves to be swept away by the hysteria of a "dynamism" which would reduce itself to shadow boxing and which might endanger other subtler efforts whose value is not immediately apparent.

It is essential not to waste our forces.

It is necessary to persuade our people, if they trust us, to wait without nervousness, reminding them that five more months of resistance would have changed the destiny of Spain and of the world.<sup>1</sup> They must be convinced that now the equivalent of resistance is patience.

For our part, we must preserve the same calm that through three years enabled us to keep open the only possible road toward the establishment of the constitutional legality of the Spanish republic, the calm with which we disdained all maneuvers and intrigues and endured all calumnies and instigations to persecution.

The government cannot, without abusing the hospitality that it is obliged to enjoy, act through its own proper apparatus in a way that is adequate to the political needs of Spain. Such functions belong rather to the political parties which fought in Spain and of which the government is a representative coalition. But it is in our power to stimulate persons and organizations to keep alive faith in the recovery of our country and to promote unity among all who consider it their immediate duty to prevent the totalitarian Nazi regime from consolidating itself in Spain.

The limits of unity are defined first by the purpose to secure the liberation of Spain and the reestablishment of the legal institutions which the nation created and which only the nation can modify.<sup>2</sup> Secondly, unity is limited by men's behavior, in the past as well as in the future, since we cannot permit ourselves to be confounded with those who, having delivered the defenseless people to the enemy, tried through calumnies to find an excuse for their crime.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand we cannot reject those who through blindness or error let themselves be used as unconscious agents of the totalitarian powers and who accept in advance the definitive and undoubtedly gener-

<sup>1</sup> The Spanish war ended in March, 1939; the European war began in September, 1939.

<sup>2</sup> Here Dr. Negrín clearly refers to current attempts to restore the monarchy through diplomatic action.

<sup>3</sup> A reference to the coup d'état of Casado which delivered Madrid to the enemy and ended the policy of resistance.



ous verdict that the country will pronounce in due time. Even less could we shut out those former comrades who fought with us in the alliance forged by the unequivocal and sovereign command of the people's will and consecrated by sorrow and death.

We would be compounding indignity with cowardice if, in order to cajole an enemy who pours his hate over our persecuted countrymen without distinction, we were to repudiate those that have paid and are paying to the common cause the costly tribute of blood.

Repudiations, which no one dared to make during the fight, must be reserved for the moment when we are restored to Spain, and the Spanish people are in a position to decide. Until then all who were faithful to the policy of resistance to the last must hold together.

Though from this distance it is impossible to appreciate in all its details and implications the development of the Spanish Democratic Union,<sup>1</sup> I consider its work of unification very efficient and hope that it will take root and spread.

If the circumstances to which I referred at the beginning prevent me from being more explicit in regard to our problems, I am obliged to be still more general when referring to our relations with the countries to which we are linked by a common cause. But a few words will be enough for our mutual understanding.

Since the destiny of Spain is bound up today with that of the United Nations—just as for three years their destiny hung on us although we were unable to make them understand it—our interests require us not to interfere in a war policy which, unhappily for everyone, we cannot influence. Having been deprived by the temporary defeat of the Spanish republic of any chance actively to affect the course of the war, we should abstain from recriminations and complaints which amount to baying at the moon, diminishing the morale in our ranks with profit only to the enemy.

Spain, always positive rather than negative in its opposition to fascism, will always be able to point to the epic and incommensurable sacrifices of those three years in which it could have served as an impregnable barrier to the Axis had it not been for the suicidal mania of the very people whom it defended. Spain's government, today dispersed, was able to foresee and understand. When we escaped from Spain we calculated accurately, as events have shown, what was going to happen. Therefore we limited ourselves to protecting our people and trying to avoid any dissension in our ranks.

When, in the summer of 1939, the war broke out in exactly the circumstances that we had predicted to influential and friendly elements in the countries affected, we offered to undertake a mediation which, judging by

### War Criminal No. 1

*On a man like Himmler the Allies' decision to demand the surrender of the "war criminals" after the war will have little effect. Like the other Nazi leaders he knows that there is no corner of the earth to which he can escape. But it will have an effect on the servile officials in the vassal countries. And for every European fighter for freedom it will mean more than all the other statements by Allied leaders put together. It is to be hoped that President Roosevelt's announcement will for weeks and months be used to close every daily broadcast to Europe from Britain and the United States.*

*But in taking action against the war criminals in general, "war criminal number 1" should not be neglected. More than any Hitler or Himmler, it is fascism itself which in the last twenty years has been responsible for the major crimes against mankind. It is fascism that must be outlawed. No pretext of "self-determination"—even of the generous sort embodied in the Atlantic Charter—should be permitted to countenance the survival of a single fascist regime.*

what happened just two years later, was not entirely unrealistic.

Afterward we did everything in our power to help crystallize the present Allied coalition, the only one that, acting with initiative, audacity, decision, and inspiration, can obtain victory. Fortunately for the entire world, the extraordinary difficulties inherent in a coalition of such heterogeneous countries are offset by the coincidence of exceptional leaders in the four principal nations—it is not our function to determine the wisdom or the ineptitude of the others.

In regard to our formal relations, we must not conceal the authority with which we were invested, and rather than agree to an "ex" we prefer to omit the titles we claim.

Through information from the most direct source, I know that last summer only unforeseen developments in the war prevented the Nazi proconsuls in Spain from fully adhering to the Axis. In the fall the threat was repeated. To foretell the exact moment when it will occur again should be left to devotees of roulette or astrology, but we can be sure that it will happen when Hitler gives the order; in accordance with the German general staff's strategic plans for shifting the war toward Western and Equatorial Africa and South America.

May that development never take place, but if the prognostication should fulfil itself, the Spanish people whom we represent, forgetting their injuries and once more ready to make the sacrifice, will perform their duty.

<sup>1</sup> Composed of the Committee of Unity of the Spanish Republican Parties, the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, the Communist Party of Spain, the General Workers' Union, the United Socialist Party of Catalonia, and the Union of Rabassaires (an organization composed mostly of farmers).



## No Neutrals Today

**R**EAL neutrality is impossible for any European nation today. In one way or another the few governments not yet drawn into the war are compelled by the Nazis to cooperate with them.

Until very recently the Swiss, in spite of their well-known technical ability, had built no airplanes. Now they have started an airplane factory deep in the heart of Switzerland. The *Journal de Genève* carried an interesting account of this new activity:

In the heart of Switzerland a new airplane factory, the Pilatus Flugzeugwerke, has started operations. . . . By taking part in the official ceremony of inauguration the authorities have shown that they are in sympathy with this new industry, which will be devoted primarily to the construction of airplanes for mountainous countries in which, as here, landing possibilities are very limited. Thus the new factory has a promising future in our export industry.

There is no doubt that this new venture has received Germany's blessing. First, Germany is particularly interested in finding safe places for the production of airplanes, and Switzerland, by reason of its geographical position and formal neutrality, seems to be ideal for this

purpose. Second, British bombers flying to northern Italy have frequently trespassed upon Swiss territory. The Swiss with their few planes could not protect their sky against these intrusions. Now Germany figures that Switzerland, in defending its own sky, will at the same time protect the Italian cities of Turin and Milan.

The Swiss papers speak openly about plans for the export of these new Swiss planes. There is no doubt that the direction of the export is Germany. One new type of Swiss plane—the so-called SB-2—is specially designed to land on a very small spot. This is of particular importance to Germany not only in the Caucasus but also in Norway.

The chairman of the board of directors of the Pilatus Werke is Herr Bührle, who is associated with the metal works of Winterthur, which exports almost exclusively to Germany. The financing is handled by the Elektrobank, whose German connections are well known.

There are no available figures covering the extent of the new Swiss plane production and export. However, it is known that the quantity of raw aluminum shipped to Germany from Switzerland has fallen off considerably. It is probable that Germany consents to the reduction because it will get the aluminum anyway in the form of manufactured goods, of which the most important will be the specially constructed Swiss airplanes.



CORONATION IN MADRID

Drawing by Louis Quintanilla

From left to right: German Ambassador Baron von Stobrer, Generalissimo Franco, the Minister of Justice who administers the oath, King Juan, British Ambassador Sir Samuel Hoare



## Political Warrior

WHETHER he has fulfilled his mission adequately or not, only the President who charged him with it can judge. But from the standpoint of political war few



Drawing by Hoffmeister

Wendell Willkie

would deny that Wendell Willkie has done a remarkable job. He brought to all the countries he visited a sense of the eagerness of the American people to strike. He brings back to America the clamor of the other United Nations for a general offensive against the Axis. For four weeks he was a kind of anti-Goebbels trying to reach the masses with a message that would fire their imagination.

Others may criticize him for being indiscreet.

For super-discreet behavior we give them the leading statesmen of the period before 1939. They were most admirable in their restraint. They did not think, they did not talk, they did not act. And the result of such wise statesmanship is the world as we have it today.

## Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

AMONG the morale vitamins which are administered regularly to the German people the favorite is the allusion to the hell which would begin for every German if the war were lost. This inferno is usually described only in general terms, but at times Goebbels considers it appropriate to be more specific. Then for some weeks the public is flooded with details about the suffering that would follow defeat.

At the end of September one of these floods was let loose. A "devilish plan concocted in England and America" was unmasked. If Germany should be beaten, all children between two and six would be torn from their parents. All would be dragged off to foreign lands. Only victory will save German mothers and fathers from this monstrous atrocity.

The rock from which Goebbels's rod brought forth this flow was a letter to the editor in a Dutch newspaper published in London. The *Vrij Nederland* had discussed the needed reeducation of the German people, and a reader proposed that German children, instead of being brought up at home, might be transported to a democratic milieu abroad; then when they were grown up and returned to Germany they would form the nucleus of a true democracy there. The thought was not exactly

a brilliant one. In any case it was only the individual idea of an individual Dutchman living in London.

In Goebbels's presentation, however, it underwent two changes. The extravagant method of reeducation suggested became a design to "exterminate the German people"; and the proposal of a newspaper reader became "the plan of Churchill and Roosevelt," those "British-American race fanatics." "Here, and not in the so-called Atlantic Charter," Goebbels wrote, "we see their true devilish purpose. . . . The world is stunned by the revelation."

Without interruption since then, the German propaganda machine has harped furiously on the rape-of-the-children fable. Obviously Dr. Goebbels is convinced that stories of this kind stand a good chance of being believed by a large part of his public. And we should be closing our minds to useful information if we did not try to understand why this chance in fact exists.

It is clear that the present-day German mentality cannot grasp the difference between a private and a public printed statement. The English radio, to which so many Germans listen, admitted that the proposal was actually published. Therefore, to the German mind, the voice that uttered it was the voice of Churchill. Can anything be printed in any country, especially a country at war, which is not ordered or at least sanctioned from "on high"? After ten years of the Nazi system very few persons in Germany can conceive of such a thing. In consequence German internal propaganda finds it fairly easy to present any private brainstorm in the Allied countries as the plan of the Allied governments.

But stories like that of the rape of the children are supported by still another circumstance. The average German knows of course that his government is capable of every brutality and every crime. And the conclusion he draws is not "This government is like that—in distinction from others," but "All governments are like that—all, without distinction."

It should also be remembered that even before Hitler just such stories as that of the children's deportation made a peculiarly strong impression on the German imagination. In 1919 millions believed the tale that Clemenceau demanded the death of twenty million Germans. In 1929 during the plebiscite "against the Young plan," millions believed that the plan provided for the deportation of hundreds of thousands of German workers to forced labor in foreign countries. Today the knowledge that many crimes of this type—mass deportation and the like—have been committed by Germany makes the idea of a retaliation in kind so much the more credible.

Most Germans consider it inevitable that they would be very badly treated after defeat. This conviction is so strong among them that to combat it becomes one of the real problems of Allied propaganda.



# BOOKS *and the* ARTS

## ORDER OF THE DAY

BY THOMAS MANN



I HAVE days now," says Tonio Kröger, the hero of one of my early tales, to his Russian friend, "when I would like to state things in general terms rather than go on telling stories." Certainly I should have to go far back in my life to find a time when my narrative output was not accompanied by theoretical excursions, critical analyses, yes, controversial productions. The novel of the young man of twenty-three, "Buddenbrooks," was the only one not interrupted in its composition by one or another piece of topical or occasional writing; and almost immediately after it was finished the era of that kind of work set in. From the beginning it always had for me an active and combative character, in contrast to the dream life of imaginative writing. In the German edition of my works there are five volumes containing hundreds of articles and essays; that shows how strong, throughout my life, has been the impulse to direct exposition, analysis, assumption of a controversial position. Indeed, it has often enough seemed to me that this wish to contribute through the medium of language to the enlightenment of the world has been, though not a more profound, at least a warmer and more passionate feeling than the careful, patient devotion to the weaving of epic music.

Not in vain had the masters of our European critique of morals—Montaigne, Chamfort, Macaulay, Emerson, Taine, Renan; Schopenhauer with his intellectual world-grasp; Nietzsche and his cultural dicta; Georg Brandes, the northern Saint-Beuve, with his illuminating analysis of literatures—not in vain had all these played upon my youth, and the impression they made upon my eagerly receptive young mind was as great as that made by the masters of imaginative writing—Tolstoi, Dostoevski, Thackeray, Balzac, Ibsen. The world of intellect seemed to me a unity; variation of form did not much matter; there was as much critique of life and society in imaginative writing as there was artistic vision and sense of form in truly great criticism. I felt annoyed at what seemed to me the tendentious distinction between the "poet" (*Dichter*), the naive genius, and the "publicist" (*Schriftsteller*), the mere intellectual, which was accepted and current in Germany; and I envied the Western languages the more general and generous terms they commanded to describe the man whose tool is language—the term "writer," the term "*écrivain*." The distinction preserved in Germany between *Dichter* and

*Schriftsteller* is in fact the same as that between culture and civilization, to which also my youth paid some literary tribute. But my distaste for its special aesthetic concepts might have taught me that I was not made to find satisfaction for long in its more general political ones. In any case, it was evident that poets with brains and a good style were not a Western monopoly; for there was Lessing, in whom Germany actually experienced something that might be described as the birth of poetry out of the spirit of criticism. Germany's greatest dramatist, who was at the same time its greatest rhetorician and dialectician, Schiller, presented it with the most profound and brilliant essay in the language, the immortal "Naive and Sentimental Poetry." Figures like Heine and Nietzsche bear witness to the close bond between lyric and critique. What, I asked myself, are the Germans after, with their mechanical antithesis? Mechanical, because it draws a rigid line between "writing" and "creating," whereas the line does not run outwardly, between products, but inwardly, inside the organic personality. Enthusiasts for simplification underestimate the difficulties of such a division, which is constantly being blurred and blotted out by the operative principle in language. An art whose medium is the word must always evince a high degree of critical creativeness; language itself is criticism of life; it calls by name, it hits things off, it characterizes and judges by virtue of giving life to what it deals with.

For my own part, I have always felt like both author and publicist at once; indeed, I reject the view that an author may not be controversial, that he must accept the world as it is, in all simpleness and high-mindedness, not saying a word, and then give it back transmuted in his art. I know full well the feeling which Lessing called "that rascally irascibility"; though I did not believe that the artist was degraded when he recognized badness, stupidity, baseness, and corruption in the world, when he felt irate and gave expression to the feeling. The author as a being who sees nothing, marks nothing, guesses nothing, whose pure simplicity calmly lets itself be used as a front by wickedness and self-interest—that may suit our beloved "things as they are," but true artists have never been such simpletons as that.

The Hebrew prophets, wrathfully warning and admonishing their people, were poets too, and mighty ones, though their poetry took critical form; and proph-



ecy, on the other hand, as sensitive anticipation, suffering and clairvoyant perception of the time and the future, is an essential element of all higher employ of language, of all creative writing. I have only to look round in my own small domain to be aware of the fact; and I can but smile when I hear it said of me that my stories have no inner reference to the new time and its problems; that exile was needed "to force him out of his aristocratic retirement and make him assume his natural role of leadership."<sup>1</sup> Really? "Fiorenza," "Death in Venice," "Mario and the Magician," to say nothing of "The Magic Mountain"—all that was aristocratic retirement, unconscious and unconcerned about the problem of the time? But as for my political heart-searchings and the kind of leadership usually bound up with them, they are not merely nine years old, they go back almost a generation, and it took not exile but the year 1914 and the moral and political world crisis in the midst of which we still are to make of me an avowed and confessed combatant.

It was then that I wrote "The Reflections of a Non-Political Man," a work of shattering introspectiveness, passionate self-assertion, and militant defense of an intellectual Germany, in which was rooted all that I had so far had to give, all my product up to "Death in Venice." This book, then, was the extended prologue to a long series of manifestos and attestations.<sup>2</sup> They serve to mark the crises of events, and sometimes of my own personal destiny as well. Only two of them go back to the time before my emigration. Of the German Republic was originally written for the leading German periodical, *Die Neue Rundschau*, as a tribute to Gerhart Hauptmann on his sixtieth birthday; and then it was given as a lecture, already against considerable opposition, in the Beethovensaal in Berlin. It was addressed particularly to the youth of Germany, in an effort to reconcile them with the domestic political results of the war of 1914-18; the voice of traditional culture sought to speak out on the side and in favor of the new necessities; to give democracy a gloss of the familiar by linking it with German romanticism. At the same time it is a good illustration of the way self-examination and self-justification go hand in hand with intent to instruct; and good evidence for the social character of intellectual effort, which, for all its solitary nature, yet claims to be representative and is inwardly concerned to help others attain clarity. However, this address, written ten years before Hitler's seizure of power, and to some extent keeping within the academic frame, bears witness to my early horror of German nationalism in defeat, and of what—having already provoked the assassination of Rathenau—was brewing

within it. When I spoke out in favor of the Weimar Republic, whose officials applauded my words amid the catcalls of the gallery, I did not do so for its own sake, for I knew its weaknesses, its inadequacy to a revolutionary situation, and even its errors of principle. That which, quite against my nature and inclination, drove me into the arena was the feeling that it was my duty to pledge all the intellectual credit I had—and that not only in a literary but a personal sense—in a public hall, before an actual audience, to the struggle against the frightful, world-menacing thing which I saw growing and increasing, and of which the world was to learn—too late.

In 1925 appeared the novel of which the Republic speech was an offshoot, "The Magic Mountain." Its almost riotous success in Germany might have reassured me that a feeling for my kind of Germanness was not lacking there, nor a freely arising sympathy and concern for the problems of the time. But such a consolation would have been illusory. The Reichstag elections of 1930 resulted in the first mass successes of that demagoguery, committed to every sort of violence and lies, which already bore the name of the National Socialist German Workers' Party, every single word of the combination being a fraud. And with the feeling that it might soon be all up with free speech in Germany, I repeated, now almost at the eleventh hour, my attempt to avert the calamity by persuasion. It sounds quixotic now. On the spot where I had talked of the German Republic I addressed the Appeal to Reason to an audience some elements of which were in noisy opposition. Its essential purpose was to make the German citizen understand that if German freedom and world peace were anyhow to be saved, his political station in the struggle was by the side of the workingman. A bourgeois-Socialist alliance, a compromise between democracy and socialism, which to-day the whole world sees as the indispensable condition of future well-being and the price of victory in the present war, might at that moment have saved Germany and the world from catastrophe. But the idea was only sentimental raving, doomed to be drowned out by peals of mocking laughter. There are acts at the recollection of which one shakes one's head, yet is aware that one was obliged to commit them, and would commit them again.

These addresses of 1923 and 1930 were still directed to Germany only; they were contributions to a still free or at least half-free internal discussion. Europe Beware, written in Switzerland five years later, was a warning addressed to the world at large, a world which had long ago given signs of not caring at all to be warned. The essay originated in an address which I had intended to make before the *Comité permanent des lettres et des arts* of the League of Nations, then sitting at Nice, of which I was a member. Circumstances prevented me from being present at the sittings of that year, but my speech

<sup>1</sup> See "Today We Are Brothers, the Biography of a Generation," by Leo Lanla.

<sup>2</sup> A selection of these "manifestos and attestations" under the title "Order of the Day" is to be published by Alfred A. Knopf on October 20. This essay forms the introduction.



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was translated into French and read in my absence; there was a lively discussion, some members agreeing but the majority dissenting. The French in particular found *très exagéré* the pessimism of my description of the state of Europe and the dangers threatening the Continent. Poor France!

The democracies of the world had pocketed up the Japanese attentat in Manchoukuo. They had submitted to the affront in Abyssinia. There followed the Spanish civil war and that shameful connivance at a fascist insurrection by the governing clique of the great powers; it took the form of "non-intervention" and it paved the way to Munich. The article called I Stand with the Spanish People I wrote for the paper of a Socialist-feminist organization in Switzerland.

The creation of a German-language organ for the free discussion of moral, political, and aesthetic problems, the bi-monthly periodical *Mass und Wert*, was decided on in collaboration with the courageous Zürich publisher Emil Oprecht, and it was arranged that I should be its editor. The restrictions upon its sphere of influence due to the forays of Hitler Germany ended its existence after twenty-four numbers had appeared. An essay bearing the same name introduced the first number.

Of all my political utterances the one which has made the profoundest impression and had the widest circulation is the reply to the communication of the dean of the philosophical faculty of Bonn University apprising me that in consequence of my loss of German citizenship I had been divested of the doctorate I held from that university. It was written at the end of 1936 in the same study at Küsnacht on the Lake of Zürich where I finished "Joseph in Egypt" and wrote the greater part of "The Beloved Returns," while already preparing for my Princeton professorship. Oprecht was to bring it out in pamphlet form, and I well remember how he grasped my hand in his emotion after I had read it aloud to him that New Year's Eve. How great and splendid is the writer's mission! His it is to couch in adequate and permanent form matter which moves thousands to their depths to read. How the dignity and the recognition of the mission are heightened in times like these! This letter—by the way, it did actually go off to the dean to whom it is addressed—was quickly translated into almost all languages, even Japanese, and was talked about everywhere. In Germany it circulated in typed copies or in the quaint camouflaged pamphlets of the underground propaganda. Possession of the text was dangerous; so the young folk learned it by heart, thus owning it in a way the police could not fasten on.

I wrote *The Coming Victory of Democracy* while still in Switzerland, and it was printed in German in Stockholm. This was the first piece of work entirely for the American public; thus it constitutes the bridge in my life, the literary transition from the Old World, whose

ground was slipping from under my feet, to the new, where, however, I had formed contacts through repeated visits since the year after leaving Germany.

On my first visit to California, in 1938, in Beverly Hills, I wrote down the considerations set forth under the title *A Brother*. This is the only one of my political articles directly occupied with the personality whom fate has ordained as the instrument to test the courage and conscience of our society, to say nothing of its wisdom—a test which for too long it has ill sustained. Thanks to his own baseness he has indeed succeeded in exposing much of our own. The ineffable disgust this man has always inspired in me is here held in check by an ironic approach which seems to me to bring the little study closest to the artist sphere.

It pleases me that owing to the chronological sequence the piece on Pastor Niemöller's last sermons should form the conclusion of the forthcoming volume. The little preface was conceived in sincere admiration for the witness here borne for his faith by a priest and churchman with whose intellectual sphere I have otherwise not much in common. What makes it an appropriate close to the collection is that it repeats and reaffirms the leading theme of the whole—namely, the indivisibility of the human being, the totality of spirit. It flowed from the subject that the political should frankly speak the language of religion—and rightly so. For religion is man's ultimate concern; and the moving principle of all thinking and writing is that which, in the "Joseph" series, I have called "concern with God."

## VIRGINIA WOOLF AS CRITIC

BY LOUIS KRONENBERGER

AT THE same moment we are given a posthumous book by Virginia Woolf and two books about her.<sup>1</sup> Of the two, Mr. Forster's, originally a Cambridge lecture, is the brief memoir of a friend, charming yet candid, full of sharp comments and animating touches, but too short to say all it might; that of Mr. Daiches is the interpretation of a critic, painstaking, sometimes penetrating, and too long for what there is to say. Virginia Woolf's own book, like the two "Common Readers," is made up mainly of critical essays, and coming when it does, perhaps serves to emphasize what Mr. Forster and Mr. Daiches tend to slight—the importance of Virginia Woolf's criticism in the general body of her work. Mr. Forster gives but two or three sentences to her criticism, and Mr. Daiches a dozen of his 157 pages. The fact is easily explained: Virginia Woolf nowhere altered the face of criticism as she did the face of the novel, she extended no critical frontiers, she attracted no critical disciples. All the same, Mr. Forster's and Mr. Daiches's relative allotment of space may not be posterity's, for Mrs. Woolf forged

<sup>1</sup> "The Death of the Moth and Other Essays." By Virginia Woolf. Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$3.

"Virginia Woolf." By E. M. Forster. Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$1.

"Virginia Woolf." By David Daiches. New Directions. \$1.50.



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her criticism into something quite as distinctive as her novels, and the best of it may well survive everything else she wrote except "To the Lighthouse" and "Mrs. Dalloway," and may conceivably survive them.

Which is all the more interesting seeing that, in addition to being no critical innovator, Virginia Woolf was in one sense really no critic. At least her real strength did not lie in any remarkable powers of mind, any systematic principles of criticism. In fifty pages of any first-rank critic we shall find more inminating ideas than in all three volumes of Mrs. Woolf. Where we do find a purely critical perception, it is likely to seem neither new nor old, and we are likely to value it for its pertinence rather than its originality, or for the light it throws on Virginia Woolf. Thus she says of Euripides, "To understand him it is not so necessary to understand Greek as to understand poetry"; or of the Elizabethans, "The Elizabethans bore us because they suffocate our imaginations rather than set them to work"; or of Sterne, "Sterne, from fear of coarseness, is forced into indecency." These are things, we feel, that beyond any question Virginia Woolf discovered for herself, but we feel too that they say more succinctly what someone else has said first.

With rare exceptions (Modern Fiction, How It Strikes a Contemporary, Mr. Bennett and Mrs. Brown—all of them more or less critical defense of her creative methods), Mrs. Woolf is hardly more a suggestive critic than she is a systematic one. She seldom reacts to literature in a purely critical way: to the writing of her own time she reacted as a writer; to the literature of the past she responded, for the most part, as a reader. She was in the one case more combative than critical, and in the other more appreciative. What seems best in her approach to the classics is a superb responsiveness: she had fine imagination and extraordinary sensibility; she was a born reader and could assimilate effortlessly, but she was also a very cultivated reader, and could correlate and compare.

Having both an aesthetic and a historical sense, she was capable of really informed appreciation; but having an artistic gift also, she chose not merely to record an author's quality but to reproduce it in a form, a framework, of her own. What she distills is much less the meaning of a writer or a period than the temperament, the savor, the personality: she is a kind of highly skilful portrait painter who catches the style of her model while imposing a style of her own. We shall not learn from her just what the Greeks or the Elizabethans, Montaigne or Chaucer, signify, but we do know how they look. She reveals them, with beautiful clarity, in a mirror: it is for others to peer down at them through a microscope. Accordingly her best work, most of which will be found in the first "Common Reader," has about it a real charm of artistry. One reads it a little less for profit than for pleasure, for its freshness, its shapeliness, its sensitiveness, for its language, its wit, its sense of poetry. The poet in Virginia Woolf constantly pleads for a hearing in these essays, as in her novels it ultimately insists on being heard.

After the first "Common Reader" the language becomes a little too fine; the style, at moments, tends to inflate the contents. For like too many other writers Virginia Woolf began to evolve something approaching a formula; she lost the secret of her earlier distinction as soon as she discovered

in what it lay. What had once been highly individual begins to seem, in "The Second Common Reader," merely professional. There is less submerged poetry and more protruding rhetoric. The particular insights become fewer, the generalizations and analogies more frequent. Virginia Woolf is not so much writing about what she has read as reading something in order to write about it. A note even of cleverness has crept into it. On one page of an essay on Hazlitt a painfully smart sentence crops up, and on the next page a curiously flat one. There is something overwritten about the essay on Hardy. Mrs. Woolf still writes extremely well, but one feels that she has no desire to write differently. There is no sense here of trying to break the mold, to alter the pattern, as there always was in her fiction.

"The Death of the Moth" reveals a further decline, though some of it must be judged as early work and some as in not quite final form. But additional polish would hardly have given additional weight. Here, to be sure, are many things that give pleasure. Here is urbane and witty writing on urbane and witty writers—Gibbon, Walpole, Mme de Sévigné. Here are quick flashes of insight: Strachey, says Mrs. Woolf, succeeded with "Queen Victoria" because he respected biography as a craft, and failed at "Elizabeth and Essex" because he tried to make it into an art. "The phrase," she says of George Moore, "came before the emotion." Here are pointed, though sometimes rather shallow and even querulous, comments, as this one concerning modern poetry: "The poet is much less interested in what we have in common than in what he has apart." Here, indeed, is a good deal of the old skill. And yet there is far too much emptiness and inadequacy—nothing, for example, could be more disappointing than the essays on Henry James. Too many of these pieces are book reviews, lectures, *jeux d'esprit*, made-to-order things that disappoint even as they divert us. The style, moreover, is full of horrible Stracheyan flourishes.

And then we turn to the book again, and to our amazement we find that the rocking-horse has left the ground; we are mounted on a winged steed; we are sweeping in wide circles through the air and below us Europe unfolds; the ages change and pass; a miracle has taken place.

Tradition, which hampered Virginia Woolf in fiction, greatly helped her in criticism, but only up to a certain point. She was at home in the past, and happy there; she accepted what the classics had to give without quarrel, sometimes without challenge; feasted off them, time and again envied the terms on which the old writers could write—with a sense of their age and their audience behind them. Aware—heavily aware, as a novelist—that all this had broken down in her own age of flux, she was possibly a little undiscerning and literary about the past, a little too fascinated with its décor and not quite enough concerned with its large outlines. For acute as her historical sense clearly was, it preeminently reflected the student of manners; she was most at home, after all, in the eighteenth century. What almost equally drew her to the past, however, were its echoing corridors, its grace of distance, its poetry. Both these interests reveal that intense literary feeling which was so distinctive and valuable a part of Virginia Woolf, and which she could embody in entirely consonant prose. This is what she could



do best, and what she could do better than anyone else of her time. She will survive, not as a critic, but as a literary essayist recording the adventures of a soul among congenial masterpieces. For on the whole she did not approach—modern authors excepted—what she could not in some real sense enjoy. Her tastes in the classics were surprisingly catholic, and her range, at first glance, seems amazingly broad. Yet the writers who are most downright, and masculine, and central in their approach to life—a Fielding or a Balzac—she for the most part left untouched. (They fathered, of course, the contemporary fiction that she most disliked.) Her own approach was at once more subterranean and aerial, and invincibly, almost defiantly, feminine.

## G. B. S. Unrevealed

*G. B. S.: A FULL LENGTH PORTRAIT.* By Hesketh Pearson. Harper and Brothers. \$3.50.

**H**ESKETH PEARSON is the justly popular author of several very entertaining biographies. Apparently he has known Bernard Shaw, casually at least, over a period of years, and the present volume, written "with the active assistance" of the subject, carries one of those very guarded imprimaturs which Shaw occasionally allows to be placed on books about himself. According to the jacket, it is "the most Boswellian biography since Boswell's 'Johnson,'" and the minimal meaning of that grandiose claim is evidently that the intention of the author was, first of all, to reveal a personality.

To the best of my knowledge none of the many previous books about Shaw has succeeded in doing anything like that, and the present one does not do it either. Mr. Pearson, in preparation for his substantial volume of nearly four hundred very closely printed pages, has obviously carefully studied previous biographers and also addressed to his subject various questions which Shaw has answered with that deceptive air of hearty frankness he previously assumed when replying to the queries of Archibald Henderson. As a result, Mr. Pearson appears to have got a certain number of new facts, as well as possibly more accurate versions of several incidents. But somehow neither the new material nor the old adds up to a warm or intimate portrait, and it is evident now if it was not before that G. B. S., who looks like one of the best subjects in the world, is actually either unrewarding or so difficult that no one yet has done a really good job.

Since it is a personality that he is after, Mr. Pearson neither attempts to synthesize the elements of Shaw's bewilderingly centrifugal philosophy nor offers any elaborate critical analysis of the plays. Like Henderson before him, and following, no doubt, Shaw's own insistence on the importance of the epoch, he devotes a great deal of space to the pre-playwriting days of Socialist activity. But Shaw remains merely a man who did energetically an amazing number of different things. He is still merely the maker of certain speeches, the author of certain pamphlets and books and plays. The heart of the machine is as obscure as ever. What old-fashioned biographies used to call "the man" as distinguished from "the works" simply isn't there—as, of



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course, he isn't in Henderson's even longer and even more official biography.

One difficulty with Shaw as a subject is simply that a writer has to be "explained" in terms other than his own and that Shaw is so voluble and so explicit that the critic all but inevitably finds himself using the author's own explanation of what is to be explained. But though that is the reason why criticism of Shaw has generally been less interesting as well as less rewarding than criticism of writers far less original than he, it still leaves open the question why the personality should remain so very elusive. Perhaps, of course, Shaw's own insistence that he has no personality in the ordinary sense of the term may be true. Perhaps he is only that thinking and writing and talking machine which he likes to present to the public, and is therefore one of those great men who are what they are because they are less as well as more than ordinary human beings. But the photographs are the photographs of a man, not the photographs of a machine, and the suspicion arises that there has never been anything remotely approaching a "Boswellian" biography for the simple reason that what the biographers know about Shaw is precisely what he wants them to know and not one thing more.

Of course the biographer of any living man is working under very severe limitations, and in the imprimatur mentioned above Shaw reminds his present biographer of the fact by remarking that "no sane publisher will touch a biography or essay unless he has some assurance that I am not going to be unpleasant about it." But not all living men have been so anxious as he to remain a voice and nothing else, or so successful in keeping from the public knowledge of anything except a public career. Both the present biography and Henderson's give the impression of being fully documented. But does either, or does any other book about Shaw, contain anything of importance which did not come from Shaw himself or at least pass through his censorship? Did any biographer ever actually discover anything, or did he ever present any account of any incident of importance except in the Shavian version? Shaw evidently sends acceptable inquirers away very happy indeed with written answers to all sorts of questions—which written answers obviously enhance the value of any book. But he always seemed to be laughing at Henderson's delight with the official hand-outs, and I am not sure that he is not at least smiling at Pearson also, who is so anxious to print what Shaw wants him to make public. Like a wily witness under cross-examination he seems to have nothing to conceal. Even the most personal questions concerning his sex life or the lack of it he answers with a hearty, "Why, you see it is like this." The questioner cannot think of anything else to ask. But the upshot of it all is that there wasn't really anything to tell. Being a master of rationalization Shaw neatly rationalizes away his own personality.

Since he is hardly the kind of man who keeps indiscreet private papers in a trunk where they may be discovered by prying eyes after his death, perhaps the secret of his personality or the secret of his failure to have one will die with him. But if a real portrait ever is drawn it may be by someone who has peeped through some keyholes to which no eye has to date been successfully applied. In so far as any

writer has tried the method, he has always seen only what the inquisitive biologist saw when he tried to spy on the private behavior of an ape. He has, that is to say, looked straight into the eye of the subject on the other side of the door.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

## The Great Issue

*EUROPE, RUSSIA, AND THE FUTURE.* By G. D. H. Cole. The Macmillan Company. \$2.

THAT the peace, if it is made by the present governments of the United Nations, will be a reactionary one is more or less a foregone conclusion. It has seemed to many European liberals that the entry of the United States has tended to guarantee that the present imperialist governments will be carried over into the immediate post-war world. In Britain, also, partnership with the United States, while it has given new confidence, has encouraged the Conservatives to stand pat. One doubts whether the Tories would have been so adamant on India had Britain's only major ally been the Soviet Union. Most Socialists have had similar thoughts, I suppose, but have been too fearful of damaging the war effort to voice them. Mr. Cole has been thinking about these and germane matters, and he will not be silent. Almost every problem that lurks behind the superficial arguments of the day is courageously and often illuminatingly discussed in "Europe, Russia, and the Future."

It is the easier to draw profit from this book because its author starts from a single strategic assumption. Mr. Cole, who did not wait until June, 1941, to discover the anti-fascist character of the war, nevertheless believes that Hitler's attack on the U. S. S. R. has radically changed the political nature of the conflict. There are now, he says, only two possible endings: the establishment of Nazism as the dominant force in Europe, or the establishment of socialism. The restoration of the old state system upon a basis of capitalism he believes to be possible only if "reactionary capitalism comes back to power in the United States and finds itself in a position to dictate terms," or if the British capitalists decide to place themselves under American protection, as they may well do. That the power of the capitalists continues unbroken in Britain Mr. Cole seems well aware, though he grants some force to the fallacious argument that the institutions of war-time collectivism will turn out to be obstacles to the "restoration" of capitalism. Those institutions have in no fundamental sense altered the class relationships within Britain. Taking all these factors into account, however, Mr. Cole states clearly that because its basic economic and cultural institutions are Socialist, the Soviet Union must necessarily be the rallying point for the forces of socialism. That belief, Mr. Cole insists, does not logically involve a surrender to the Communists, nor does it mean that one should shut one's eyes to the political defects of the Soviet system. But the preeminence of the U. S. S. R. must be the guiding axiom of Socialist thought.

The reviewer agrees with both the positive demand and the reservation but wishes that Mr. Cole had more rigorously followed out the Marxist element in his thinking. At times he seems to regard Social Democracy and Sovietism as pos-



sible alternatives. At other times he appears himself to alternate between the two philosophies under the impression that he is thereby harmonizing them. One does not put oneself above factions by paying week-end visits to both, or by commuting between them in successive paragraphs. And toward the end of his book Mr. Cole's original laxity compels him to do exactly that. To one who believes, as Mr. Cole does, that the soviet is the rallying point for socialism, it is utterly inadmissible to say that though one dislikes certain features of Soviet life, it is more important to fasten one's attention upon the valuable features. If there are distortions in Soviet socialism, even though they be temporary and removable, then they will necessarily have their effect on every action and phase of the world struggle. Just as the hostility of the capitalist democracies and the cowardice and insincerity of the Second International inclined the Soviet government to mistaken policies—though this is by no means the entire explanation of those errors—so it is natural that so powerful a force as the Soviet Union, if its structure contains important defects, will, in adopting wrong tactics, deflect every other nation, government, class, and party. That such is the case the course of history visibly proves.

The result of this general weakness is that Mr. Cole is obscure at critical moments. The all-important revolution is the German revolution. Shall we, then, work for a Soviet or a Social Democratic type of revolution? he asks; and in posing the question in that fashion discloses a curious misunderstanding of revolution. We are, I suppose, to understand that a Social Democratic revolution is one that sets up a parliament and avoids or instantly curtails the period of "dual power" by suppressing the soviet or whatever organism is born of the insurrection itself. The Soviet type of revolution, one supposes, denies existence to or curtails the life of any parliament or democratic institution of the ordinary type. It is not a very good formulation, one may remark.

But Mr. Cole's answer is at least courageous, if unsatisfactory. German exiles and their friends must work for a Soviet revolution as the one that has the greater chance of success. And after the Hitler regime is overthrown, it would seem, the question of parliament must be thrashed out in the German soviets. That both the Social Democrats and the Communists are likely to be controlled by other powers, Mr. Cole hints when he says that the German revolution will be impossible if the Social Democrats push one kind of revolution and the Soviet Union another. It is here that he shows some awareness of the consequences of Soviet malformation. The Communists, he seems to think, will try to obtain control of the soviets with the intention of suppressing all other parties. He deplors this but constantly allows one to get the impression that, democratic as true soviets can be, and as he asserts they are, there is an opposition between soviets and democracy. And, he says, "If the Germans adopt Soviet communism as a means of overthrowing Hitlerism and building their new state, they will be very thorough about it . . . terribly thorough in many ways. I do not want this to happen. I want it not to happen." And strengthening one's belief that he opposes soviets to democracy in his innermost thought, Mr. Cole asserts that totalitarianism is much more natural to Germans than to Russians. He would like the new German republic to "come

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into the Western family of [Socialist] nations." "But frankly I doubt the possibility of this happening." Apparently he would have us work for a revolution he does not want.

One is bound to say that all this offers poor theoretical ground for unity. And yet, with Mr. Cole, one is forced to declare that close cooperation between the Second and Third Internationals is absolutely essential if we are not to be doomed to the endless disaster of consecutive wars. The problem is tremendously difficult. As I see it, the Communist Party, while remaining the only vigorous and unfailingly resolute socialist party, is nowadays incapable of valid revolution because of its too close dependence upon the present Soviet regime. Its socialism, if it did succeed in obtaining power, would duplicate the Russian Soviet defects. On the other hand, the other socialist parties have been so terrified of struggle and of the possibilities of capitalist insurrection, in the Franco style, that they have virtually ceased to be socialist. What we should have liked from the author is a discussion of the problem of surmounting this disastrous division. Is it possible that historical events will mold the two movements and in so doing knead them together? From time to time Mr. Cole seems to be on the point of discussing this question.

Liberal readers will perhaps be surprised that Mr. Cole has no interest in debating about the nature of peace treaties. That abstention, of course, is due to his realistic socialism. On the other hand, he does spend some time in somewhat ideal discussion of the principles of European reorganization. In place of these latter questions there are others which ought to have been given fundamental treatment.

The lesson of last time is that when the European Socialist revolutions begin, they will meet opposition from the Allied governments unless these latter have been changed or unless the phenomenon of dual power, with its threat of revolution, appears. (The Westminster Labor Congress of 1920, in defense of the U. S. S. R., was an embryo "state.") This is primarily a European problem, of course, but the attitude of the American people toward the new Europe will be so important that we should have been well served had Mr. Cole dealt with this aspect of the war.

However, this book so much surpasses in realism any other Socialist discussion of the post-war world that, with all its weaknesses, it cannot be ignored. Nor should plain liberals fail to read it. For the lesson of last time is surely that the immediate problems raised by the collapse of the Axis will be those Mr. Cole discusses. RALPH BATES

## Anna Seghers

*THE SEVENTH CROSS.* By Anna Seghers. Little, Brown and Company. \$2.50.

ANNA SEGHERS is perhaps the most talented German novelist to appear since Thomas Mann and Hermann Broch. Her abiding theme is the Socialist revolution—more specifically, the Communist Party's efforts toward it in Germany and Central Europe in the twenty years between the two wars. Her novels are "activized," filled with political activity, its problems and dangers—not those of politics pure and simple but of political action, of performance. Feminine

sensibility is caught up by movement and the drive of large issues. Notwithstanding their theme, her novels really have little of what is commonly associated with the political novel. They cannot be confined within such categories as proletarian literature or "socialist realism"—however much Seghers may have tried to cut her cloth to their measure. She has too much art.

Seghers's latest novel has not the perfection of her first, "The Revolt of the Fishermen" (a fishermen's strike on an island in the North Sea); nor has it the vitality and regional flavor of "The Price on His Head" (rural Germany on the eve of Hitler); it lacks the panorama and interest of "Companions of the Road" (the Third International in exile and underground in Eastern Europe) and the excitement of "The Road Through February" (the uprising of the Austrian Socialists in 1934). It does not constitute the step in Seghers's development that was to have been expected after her previous book, "The Rescue" (a mining suburb in eastern Germany between 1929 and 1933). This was in some ways her most ambitious work. "The Seventh Cross" is less ambitious and less serious. It wants to move more by the facts of plot than by the modulation of character and situation. The balance between external adventure and interiority so characteristic of Seghers's writing is upset slightly in the direction of the former. Technically, the book is a model of tension and cumulative effect; Seghers knows her trade, and her outright talent leaves its trace on anything she touches. Thriller that it is, "The Seventh Cross" has enough of her very original obliquity of perception to place it on a higher level than any other novel about Nazi Germany that has been translated into English.

Seven men break out of a concentration camp in the Rhineland. Six of them are recaptured, alive or dead, within a few days. The seventh, after a week of wandering and hiding and of agonizingly tight scrapes, makes good his escape, aided not only by his own moral and physical toughness but even more decisively by the solidarity among conscious and unconscious anti-fascists in Germany that rises to the surface when acted upon by the right catalyst. That only one out of seven should succeed in escaping from a concentration camp is not a defeat; on the contrary, it is a triumph. For "the strong can afford to be wrong at times without loss of prestige, because even the most powerful are after all only human—yes, their mistakes make them all the more human—but he who claims omnipotence must never be wrong because there can be no alternative to omnipotence except insignificance. If one stroke, no matter how tiny, proved successful against the enemy's alleged omnipotence, everything was won." This is the first of Seghers's novels to have actually as well as morally a happy ending. Before this, the moral victories with which they always closed were unadulterated by any real ones.

The typical motifs of Seghers's previous novels—the fugitive, the awakening of political consciousness, and the intrusion of politics upon the family and the community—reappear in "The Seventh Cross." No one has got the family and the humble milieu into writing better than she has. The constant argument of her other stories is also here: how one meets the challenge to one's moral and physical courage of revolutionary action. And just as in most of her other books,



the narrative is developed along multiple threads. There is a succession of discontinuous scenes, the writing eye now falling on the fugitive, now on his friends, now on the friends of his friends, now on his family, now on his pursuers, now on those whose path he is about to cross. Characteristic of Seghers's writing is the taut atmosphere in which all relations are intense, every fact evidence in a test, and each move results in a disturbance of equilibrium that exposes one to the trials of another test. Sense impressions not only establish for her the physical context but color and are colored by the struggle of the protagonist with his enemies within and without. And her style itself is a triumph, for it is as well as communicates her story. The very word order tells something, and her supple prose, with its power of understatement, accounts as much as anything else for the weight, the nervous substantiality, of her world. Much of this cannot come over into another tongue—the present translation, while satisfying the requirements of smooth English, is not adequate to Seghers's unique German.

The difficulty is to puzzle out why, Seghers being as good a writer as she is, her novels are not really first-rate. This latest book gives us perhaps more light than before, because here she has frankly embraced her weaknesses. The task of art is to impose the greatest possible organic unity upon the greatest diversity. The gauge of achievement is not only the degree of unity or perfection of form—any piece of kitsch has that—but also the resistance of the material unified. How far does the artist strain toward completeness before applying the controls of his art? The material Seghers attempts to shape is diverse, vivid, resistant to any simple logic, and pregnant with the half and double meanings of authentic experience; her initial interest in it seems to go beyond the points she extracts from it. Yet it is all weighted toward a significance and a moral derived from an incomplete—in so far as it is only political—view, which infects everything with its obligatory optimism and makes it come out as it is expected to. The trouble is not with politics in itself but with the incomplete resolutions offered by the merely political view. Either the political artist poses too elementary a situation, or else, which is much more rare, he resolves too simply, as Seghers does, situations presented in all the complexity of the real. The first does business with counterfeit money; the second practices dishonest book-keeping with genuine cash. Professor Kress and his wife, both of them genuine characters in a genuine situation, are on cool terms, but after they have taken the tremendous risk of sheltering and helping the fugitive they find a new understanding and warmth for each other. Again, one of two friends together in a restaurant recognizes the fugitive and mentions it to the other; they decide not to tell the police, and as a result an estrangement between them is healed. The difficulties of personal relationships, a problem in two terms, is solved in only one.

How could Seghers's feeling for the ambiguity of experience—which she has—have permitted her to invent such a character as Wallau? Moving spirit of the prison break and a leader of the underground opposition, he is without a flaw, infallible in principle and an absolute source of moral power. Such a character makes it too easy to exploit faith, loyalty, fortitude, and physical courage as unshaded virtues.

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And then there is George Heisler, the hero of "The Seventh Cross." His character is so given through the memories of a friend that we have trouble in making up our minds about him, as about any character seriously presented in fiction. Yet at the same time his psychology, as it is presented immediately by the author, conforms too patly to what we expect—in our weakness—of the hero of any story. Outside his friend's mind George is just a tough Bolshevik, and the Stalinist prescription for that kind of hero is as trite as any other, almost.

The trouble, however, is not that Frau Seghers is a Stalinist. Let us be thankful that she is at least that, that she is for socialism. Rather—what lack in herself of intelligence or of depth or patience has allowed her extraordinary talents to be short-circuited by her political convictions? It devolved upon her own conscience as an artist to recognize that a good deal of life is as yet only explicable through its imitation in art and that it is the business of the serious novelist to explore questions in person before delivering their answers.

CLEMENT GREENBERG

## Memoirs of André Maurois

*I REMEMBER, I REMEMBER.* By André Maurois. Translated by Denver and Jane Lindley. Harper and Brothers. \$3.

MARCEL PROUST said: "Wisdom cannot be handed down or taught. We must discover it ourselves after a voyage that no one can spare us, for it is an attitude toward life." André Maurois, who greatly admires Proust and certainly knows this maxim, might have used these lines as an epigraph for his memoirs, which reflect on every page the wisdom of the brilliant schoolboy, that of the Norman industrialist, that of the soldier, that of the cosmopolitan and man of the world, that, finally, of the writer who achieved the highest recognition in his own country only to find himself exiled by the same invaders who forced his parents in 1871 to emigrate from their native Alsace.

But despite the official honors bestowed upon him, a great component of André Maurois's wisdom is the very modesty which prevents him from thinking of himself as wise. Indeed, the charm of his memoirs comes chiefly from their admirable discretion. The biographer of Shelley, Byron, Disraeli, who began his literary career with a subtle and effervescent commentary upon the British during the First World War, allies a truly Anglo-Saxon discretion with a Gallic love of clarity. Just as forty years ago on the benches of Alain's famous class in the Rouen *lycée* he applied himself to abstruse metaphysical problems, so today he strives to understand clearly the events of his own life.

The story of his evolution from the rich manufacturer Emile Herzog into the urbane writer and academician André Maurois and that of his first idyllic marriage with a Russian girl whom he schooled as Molière's heroes used to do are related with consummate tact and grace. For the first time one is able to appreciate justly the autobiographical element in such novels as "Atmosphere of Love" and to see just how, like all really creative writers, Maurois has nourished his imaginary characters on real emotions, as he so happily says.

The last chapters of "I Remember, I Remember" present an attractive portrait of the second Mme Maurois, a worthy granddaughter of Anatole France's Egeria, Mme Arman de Caillavet, and an analysis of the weakness of France in 1940, which adds little to what the writer had already said in "Tragedy in France."

But André Maurois's memoirs do not provide a mask for political arguments. The index does not contain the name of De Gaulle, and Pétain figures here only as a member of the Academy and personal friend. Ignoring the unhappy dissension which then divided the French in America, the writer expresses thus his attitude upon arriving here in 1940: "My duty, it seemed to me, was to serve unhappy France to the extreme limit of possibility without asking anything in return. I determined in my speeches to defend, not of course what seemed to me indefensible, but French culture, the memory of our dead, the honor of our army, and above all the French children and the French prisoners who had such great need of aid from America." One cannot but approve, but is it quite loyal of Maurois to suggest that the alternative was to follow his own interests and "make a conspicuous break"? Even though the Germans have confiscated his French holdings and Vichy would outlaw him as a Jew, it is not so easy for a man whose mother and children are still in France to discern where his interests lie. Beyond a doubt André Maurois is daily performing his duty as a French citizen, but so are others who have made the break with no more thought of interest than he.

JUSTIN O'BRIEN

## Dictionnaire Philosophique

*A NEW DICTIONARY OF QUOTATIONS ON HISTORICAL PRINCIPLES FROM ANCIENT AND MODERN SOURCES.* Selected and Edited by H. L. Mencken. Alfred A. Knopf. \$7.50.

IF IT was astonishing to hear last winter that H. L. Mencken had been spending twenty-five years compiling a "Dictionary of Quotations," it is now equally surprising that this long-nursed compilation of the ages' wit and wisdom—a testimonial of mankind's undiscouraged search for the clues to its being and the laws of its existence—should never have seemed an inevitable feature of the shelf that holds the six volumes of "Prejudices," "The American Language," "Americana," "Notes on Democracy," and the bales of uncollected journalism that may some day yield the most exhaustive encyclopedia of American and human lore yet written by a single hand.

*The book lacks an index!* No reviewer has omitted to snatch his opportunity of revenge against Mencken for committing the classic crime he has laid against hundreds of authors in his own reviewing career. But if the practical usefulness of his "Dictionary" is curtailed by this lapse from virtue, it may be that it is precisely by this lack that the nature and motive of Mencken's performance may best be seized. The 1,347 double-columned pages of his book already give it a body larger by 200 pages than those of its standard rivals: Bartlett's, whose body runs to 1,131 pages; Hoyt's, 927; and the new Oxford, 577. To have included



author indexes and key-word concordances on the scale these boast—Bartlett's with 447 pages, Hoyt's with 416, the Oxford with 302—would perhaps, as Mencken argues, have meant swelling its volume to the point of making it both schematically baffling and physically unmanageable; and as for surpassing or supplanting these competitors, the answer is that there can never be such a thing as a *best* book of this kind. There exists no definition of what a quotation is, or what makes it worth perpetuating. Anyone can make his list of Mencken's omissions and—a more serious matter—his inaccuracies by comparing his entries with those of Bartlett, Hoyt, Apperson, Smith, and the Oxford editors, and add a list of his own treasures found in none of these compilations. I have, in three months' delving, made my own list of over 200 items; they can't be crowded into a review; but in any case the labor would be in a sense irrelevant. Moreover, we are all asked to send "corrections, suggestions, and remonstrances" to 1524 Hollins Street, Baltimore, where they "will be received in a properly humble and grateful spirit"; and it is prudent to recall an admonition of Landor's which is to be found neither in the body of the "Dictionary" nor, more inexplicably, on its flyleaf: "In our censures we are less apt to consider the benefits we may confer than the ingenuity we display." No reference shelf will henceforth be complete without this book, but it does *not* supplant Bartlett, Hoyt, or the Oxford. In fact, it is a totally different affair, and its lack of an index was probably designed to enforce the discovery of that fact upon its readers.

Mencken has arranged his material not chronologically or alphabetically by authors' names, as in Bartlett and the Oxford—an arrangement which somehow robs such a book of all dramatic interest and human novelty—and not under a system of standard key words, as in Hoyt, but under his own elaborate, freely subdivided and discriminated system of rubrics, these being suggested mostly by the characteristic word in a passage. We find headings for both *Freedom and Liberty*, *Doctor and Physician*, *Death and Dying*, *Philosopher and Thinker*, while *Love* may be consulted under eighteen subdivisions and seventy-two cross-references. But another principle soon declares itself. Mencken says he has omitted "as much as possible all mere platitudes" and confined himself "to authors who really had something to say, and said it to some effect. The immemorial tags and scraps of wisdom, real and false, have been included, and most of the purple passages that everyone knows, but I have tried to leaven them with better and less hackneyed stuff." The key word here is "leaven." Without it Mencken would be describing his plan and scope but not his intention or final achievement. For it could hardly fall within the scheme and instincts of a man who spent forty years chronicling and indexing the data, facts, follies, words, folkways, and driving forces of modern humanity to turn out a book fit only for a reference shelf. What he has produced may be ascertained by turning to some of the salient rubrics of his "Dictionary"—for instance, *Love, Fame, Poetry, Critic, Criticism, Philosophy, Prayer, Democracy, Saint, Revolution, Revenge, Applause, Freedom, Authority, Mankind, Wife, Marriage, Woman, Old Age, Politeness, Politics, Revolution, Reason, and Sense, Common*. Several points spring out. Human beings have tended to be wittiest and most memorable when

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giving vent to doubt, skepticism, rage, or scurrility; Mencken's emphasis, despite the latitude of his selections and inclusions, falls unmistakably where one might expect it to; and since the quintessence of human sense and experience has usually been arrived at not by men of letters or sages but by common folk, he has, by arranging his entries in chronological sequence (this is what his title means by "historical") except for the closing items under each rubric, which are made up of folk proverbs and the imperishable coinages of mass anonymity, seldom failed to let the accent fall precisely where it is intended.

The entries under *Imagination* begin with a line from Genesis: "The Imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth," and end with Wilde's "Imagination is the result of heredity. It is simply concentrated race-experience." Herodotus begins *Riches* by saying that their advantage lies in "that they enable a man to indulge his passions, and help him to bear up against whatever harm befalls him," while Danish and Scottish folklore end it by telling us that wealth is "often abused, never refused" and that "a fu' purse never lacks friends." *Love: Its Course* opens with Richard Whitford's "Hot love is soon cold" (1537) and ends with the Spanish proverb, "Love is like war; you begin when you like and leave off when you can," and the Welsh "Perfect love sometimes does not come till the first grandchild." *Love: Its Effects* opens with Confucius's "Can there be a love which does not make demands on its object?" and ends with the Welsh "No one acts more foolishly than a wise man in love." *Love: Its Nature* begins with Plautus's "Love is perfidious" and ends with the Old English catch, "Calf love,/ Half love;/ Old love,/ Cold love." The famous utterers of so many of these gems are themselves similarly snared. On Ruskin we have Carlyle's "A bottle of beautiful soda-water"; on Shelley, Birrell's "He would have died a Tory had he lived to be fifty—and president of the Bible Society"; on Spinoza, Novalis's "A God-drunk man"; on Shakespeare, Greene's "An upstart crow, beautified with our feathers" in 1592 and Tolstoy's "Nothing whatever in common with art and poetry" in 1906; on Napoleon, Hugo's "God was bored with him."

The impression soon becomes inescapable that what Mencken has produced as a "Dictionary of Quotations" is really a transcendent "Prejudices: Seventh Series," a "Notes on Humanity," or more expressly "Mencken's Philosophical Dictionary, Written by Others"—the first notable successor to a parent classic in its field which appeared in 1764, by an ancestor of whom David Hume (*cf.* p. 1,257) said, May 1, 1760: "I know this author cannot be depended on with regard to facts; but his general views are sometimes sound and always entertaining." Which is also to say that while Mencken may have produced no infallible *vade mecum* for journalists and banquet speakers or God's gift to librarians, he has achieved a time-killer and wits' treasury to delight men, gods, and librarians alike, a work of literary and popular ethnology that is a worthy successor to "The American Language," a survey of human wit, prejudice, wisdom, and scurrility whose contempt for the human species is equaled only by the love and zest for it that inform every page, and a volume that immediately wins a classic rank by being the first and only readable book of its kind. MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL



## Vargas of Brazil

**BRAZIL UNDER VARGAS.** By Karl Loewenstein. The Macmillan Company. \$2.75.

**H**ERE is the first book to tell anything of importance about the government of Getulio Vargas. And Vargas and his Brazil are of such immediate and critical interest as to give the volume a chief place in current reading.

Mr. Loewenstein brings to his task solid study of the sources, substantial experience in Brazil, and a mind thorough, fair, and wise. Brazilian politics, he says, must be described against the realities of Brazil: its "fundamentally liberal climate of social and political life," its lingering feudalism, its immensity and obstinate regionalisms, its Latin American proneness to fall into *caudillismo* checked by Brazil's traditional reverence for rule by law.

The author handles his subject as a good scientist does his white rabbits. He neither storms nor rhapsodizes. Vargas started out in 1930 "with much energy, good-will, circumspection, and moderation"; even since the launching of his *Estado Novo* in 1937 his energy and moderation have not failed. He is a dictator, but a gentle one compared with the Hispanic American Francia, Rosas, and Gomez. He puts people in jail one day, lets them out the next. Of the 200 who bombarded him in the palace in May, 1938, not one was sentenced to death, not one remains in jail. Getulio is no villain, but neither is he a democrat.

The *Estado Novo* is one of the more curious political institutions of our times. Its character is "a ghost constitution . . . it was born, yet it never has lived." It promises elections not yet scheduled—"the jest has a sardonic tinge. It is the Brazilian's way of talking through his hat." Getulio rules; "all the rest of the 186 articles are legal camouflage." Vargas is the constitution; he names "interventors" who rule the several states; the interventors name the prefects who rule the municipalities. Vargas also names judges and all chief officials. Mr. Loewenstein credits Vargas with naming men of capacity; they are not puppets. Vargas allows debate in the inner circles, although he reserves the right to demote the debater—witness Francisco Campos.

Is Brazil a fascist state? Official spokesmen describe it as a "disciplined democracy," which Loewenstein dismisses as a play on words. The government is a dictatorship but is not totalitarian. There is plenty of elbow room left to Brazilians. The formal pattern on paper is fascist; the actual working permits large freedom. To be sure, admits the author, the ground plan is all laid for a thoroughgoing totalitarian state, but it is not such today. Brazil under Vargas needs no imported labels for description; it is simply personalist rule.

The debit side is heavy. Constitutional security, a firm Brazilian heritage, falters. Respect for the judiciary has been undermined by arbitrary and retroactive use of executive power. "Due process" has often been denied. Arbitrariness has too often prevailed against legality. Even on this score Brazil cannot be compared with the fascist states of Europe.

The credit side is impressive. The nation has flourished under Vargas, cities have been built, industry has been strengthened, economic life has been bettered. Social legislation has brought limited relief to driven industrial and agricultural workers. There are bold social services "well

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FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, Labor Day Speech

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handled by capable and socially inclined officials." A brave beginning has been made in improving agriculture.

Will this Brazil of Vargas play fair with the United Nations? Mr. Loewenstein does not pretend to answer. He furnishes clues which give solid ground for hope. In the meantime Brazil has declared war. Vargas has placed his bet on the United Nations. He is a smart man, this Vargas, not given to wrong guesses.

HUBERT HERRING

## Who Seeks Shall Find

*HAVE COME, AM HERE.* By José Garcia Villa. The Viking Press. \$2.

DEPTH is not the fashion, and even the well-disposed reader may startle at certain paradoxical avowals in these bravely deep poems by José Garcia Villa. A new poet, "a young native of the Philippines," this author; and his work is for the most part new to print, but final wisdom encountered in poem after poem merely serves to emphasize the disparity between tumult and stature.

Mr. Villa thinks of a poem as musical, slender, secret, wise, humble, and rapt; with Deity housing that "hidden voltage" in it which only fire may safely touch. In some of the poems a new rhyming—"a principle of reversed consonance never used in English poetry before, nor in any poetry"—substitutes for the crudeness of rhyme a more gently weighted, more richly textured effect:

It's a mastery of death	(a)
And that's Love. It's the bequeathed	(a)
Mind of Christ. It's I, it's Love,	(b)
What the great deaths reveal.	(b)

Here, d-followed-by-th in the word "death" rhymes with th-followed-by-d in the word "bequeathed," and the l-followed-by-v of "Love," is rhymed with the v-followed-by-l of "reveal." The delicacy with force of such writing reminds one of the colors of black ink from a hogs'-hair brush in the hand of a Chinese master. "The antique ant" is a drawing; the watermelon, yellow strawberry, giraffe, and leopard poems are, in effect, paintings; nor could reticence be more eloquent than in the poems beginning "And if the heart cannot love" and "She has gone."

"It is easy to become obscure if one says too little of too personal an experience," Charles Mauron says in another connection; and surely tenderness devoid of mawkishness is a thing which personality makes difficult. But only the purblind would dissect a rose to determine its fragrance, or a poem to discover its secret; for a poem deprived of its mystery would no longer be a poem. And mystery is different from obscurity. So Mr. Villa is with great effect, at times, "deliberately aiming just beside the mark"; as when he says, "Sir, there's a tower of fire in me/Binding me with terrible strength," or:

The wind shines  
The sun blows:

. . . . .

The birds bloom,  
The flowers fly:

The bees sing,  
The birds sting!

. . . . .

Some of Mr. Villa's marvels suggest similar ones.

Dared my groveling bloodscape,  
It to a dazzling diamond made

and various reiterated sighs and mortal groans are not unconscious of G. M. Hopkins. E. E. Cummings, who would consider it blasphemy to interfere with another's poem, has none the less provided subsequent palmers and templars with a certain antecedent courage in the matter of odd diction. Mr. Villa's uncapitalized "am so very am/and speak so very speak," his "Angelity" and "instancy" and "desistance" have a kind of two-twilled authority; nor should Mr. Cummings deprecate Poem 13 on the ground that it has no title, or for other reasons.

There is a one that createth me,  
He that of me is my sun my sum  
My father and my only child:—  
Behold—we do wander, wonder  
Which of us is the uplifted candle,  
Which of us will read, will rede  
The image of our living shadow;  
O there's a Third of us will live,  
There's a Third of us will dive  
Out of the Light, out of the Wooed,  
Into eternity dazzling dark;  
O but here shall turn, shall spring  
The word young, young, blue-eyed yet,  
Slender as an infant fawn and  
Whole without death's antlers yet.

The lyric beginning "Always did I want more God" is beautifully made: the wording is so natural one does not at first perceive the fugue-like recurrence of God, rood, blood, yield, field, distilled. Nor has Mr. Villa been indifferent to those illumined wayfarers, Dante, Spenser, and Blake, who adjure us to "speak with moderation; but think with great fierceness."

Amid the mysteries of the poems about divinity, the principle of reversed consonance has been extended to content, with a result that is indeed strange, and deadly to self-esteem. Though severe responsibility is imposed by the statement

The shadow of a great man  
Is always Christ,

it is not conventional to say "Christ progresses from me," or "Greatly imagine me, my God." But is it not true that "God is messageless" unless one listens? Is it not true that God has been cast out unless we "permit him to be of our Own Blood"? John Bunyan could have understood José Villa's statement, "I saw myself reflected/In the great eye of the grave," and could have accepted the confession that with "the Nativity of Everness" "My human eyes" become "God's lens/Through which I see—all of Love."

Since Mr. Villa does not disguise exaltation, one must not feign to be unimplicated. And would not Everyman—however camouflaged from himself—be glad to believe that God is present and is accessible to personality?

How shines my dark-world  
Upon the sun! and gives it  
Light . . .

is humility's paradox. It truly constrains us to admit that transfiguration is not incompatible with intimacy and that what one seeks one shall find.

MARIANNE MOORE



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STATE OF NEW YORK  
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Before me, a notary public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Hugo Van Ark, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the business manager of The Nation, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

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55 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.  
Managing Editor, Robert Bendiner,  
55 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.  
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55 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

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Signature of Business Manager.

Sworn and subscribed before me this 28th day of September, 1942.

[SEAL] JOHN J. DIAMOND, Notary Public.  
My commission expires March 30, 1944.

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# Letters to the Editors

## Consumers Union Protests

*Dear Sirs:* Richard Rovere, in his piece on J. B. Matthews in your Dies Committee Supplement dated October 3, seems to feel that the strike at Consumers Research back in 1935 was tied up with an effort of Communists to get control of or to wreck that organization. And since Consumers Union was formed by former Consumers Research subscribers as an outgrowth of that strike (Mr. Rovere says the strikers started it; they didn't), there is an inference that CU is tied up with the "plot."

These charges have been repeated many times. We hardly expected to see them bobbing up again in the pages of *The Nation*.

Many persons and many publications answered them when they were first made, and there is hardly need for us to add to the answer now. Here is what *The Nation*, for example, had to say in its December 4, 1935, issue. Then the editors passed judgment on the report of a committee, headed by Professor Reinhold Niebuhr of the Union Theological Seminary, which had investigated the strike at Consumers Research. *The Nation* stated then that the committee had "made a careful survey of the strike situation which can hardly be considered other than an impartial and just report. . . . On the question of responsibility for the strike, the committee finds that the setup of Consumers Research . . . lends itself to arbitrary and capricious management. The strike occurred after the dismissal of three employees who had been active in union organization. . . . The committee found no basis in the charges by the management that the strike was a plot to seize control of the organization, that it was financed by big business interests . . . or, conversely, that it was a plot to further the interests of the Communist Party. The dispute seemed to the committee a bona fide struggle over the question of working conditions between management and a duly organized trade union. . . . The committee found that every offer of mediation or arbitration made since the strike started had been refused by the management."

When the case came before the National Labor Relations Board, this body reached the following conclusion, after

hearing every scrap of evidence that Matthews and his colleagues brought forth to prove that the strike was part of a plot to seize control of Consumers Research: "We conclude from the entire record that there was no attempt by the union to seize control of the organization. . . ." ("Decisions and Orders of the National Labor Relations Board," Vol. 2, July 1, 1936-July 1, 1937, page 75.)

As to whether or not Consumers Union works wholly and exclusively for consumers, I believe that the record of its publications and activities, as well as its position of leadership in the consumer movement, speaks for itself.

COLSTON WARNE, President  
New York, October 6

## Flaubert and Our Times

*Dear Sirs:* May I add a note to Louise Bogan's interesting piece on Flaubert in your recent issue? When the new English translation of "L'Education sentimentale" first appeared in Britain last year, there appeared an important critical article on it in John Lehmann's anthology "New Writing," which might perhaps be of interest to those who are anxious about the character of the culture of the "new decade." Discussing Flaubert and the Novelist Today, Walter Allen proceeded to argue that "the period of political faith is over," that, borrowing Auden's lines, "art is not life, and cannot be a midwife to society." He called for a return to Flaubert's "methodical relentlessness" and "absolute doubt," and to his counsel, "A thinker should have neither religion nor fatherland, nor even any social conviction."

This seemed to be a new and authentic literary voice from Great Britain at war. And it may seem like an ominous portent that at a time when the recognition of human values needs so much to be treasured, there comes a call to return to a great artist whose tragedy was precisely that he cut himself off from human values in a morbid and cynical escape from the world. From Allen's article—and Miss Bogan's in this respect does not help much—one never gets a sense of the paralyzing misanthropy in Flaubert, his terrible isolation, his depressing con-

tempt for all his creatures and characters, his pitifully absurd ambition finally "to write a Book about Nothing." It would seem that so very far from being a guidepost for our times, Flaubert—in his brilliant way—spells out for us only "detour."

MELVIN J. LASKY,  
Literary Editor, the *New Leader*  
New York, October 8

## CONTRIBUTORS

MARGARET MEAD is widely known as an anthropologist. This article is taken from her new book, "And Keep Your Powder Dry," to be published next month by William Morrow.

HEINZ POL, a German émigré journalist who lived in France for several years, is the author of "Suicide of a Democracy."

JUAN NEGRIN was Prime Minister of the Spanish Republic during Franco's successful rebellion.

THOMAS MANN, distinguished German novelist, won the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1929.

LOUIS KRONENBERGER, dramatic critic of *PM*, is the author of "Kings and Desperate Men."

RALPH BATES is an English novelist now living in this country. He served in the Spanish Republican army and has written extensively on political subjects.

CLEMENT GREENBERG is an editor of the *Partisan Review*.

JUSTIN O'BRIEN is assistant professor of French at Columbia University.

MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL was at the University of California last summer as visiting professor of English.

HUBERT HERRING is the author of "Mexico: The Making of a Nation."

MARIANNE MOORE, formerly an editor of the *Dial*, is one of the most distinguished of contemporary American poets. Her latest volume is entitled "What Are Years."

B. H. HAGGIN'S regular column on music will appear next week.



# THE *Nation*

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### LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

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## *The Shape of Things*

THE FRENCH WORKERS ARE ON THE EDGE OF revolt in protest against Vichy's efforts to force them into the Nazi war factories. As a result, Laval's position is becoming doubly precarious. If he persists in carrying out the promises he has made Berlin, he faces a real explosion in unoccupied France, while if he fails to deliver, Hitler is likely to instal some other *Gauleiter* at Vichy. He received a warning a few weeks ago from the obvious Nazi connivance in the Benoist-Mechin plot to oust him. Now he is believed to have been given an absolute deadline: the 150,000 skilled workers he undertook to send to Germany in June are to be recruited and dispatched by November 30 or else. It seems most improbable that he will be able to meet the Nazi terms even with the aid of the 500 Gestapo agents to whom he has shamefully given citizenship rights so that they may the better perform their duties as slavers. For the French workers are determined not to submit. Strikes have broken out in many factories from which "volunteers" were "designated" to present themselves at the recruiting stations. Violent incidents are becoming as commonplace in unoccupied as in occupied France, and there has been rioting between the population and fascist groups such as Laval's *Service d'Ordre Legionnaire*. Moreover, it appears that arms and ammunition are being delivered by parachute in unoccupied France, forcing Vichy to issue a threat that their retention will be treated as a capital offense. We believe that the French will be more impressed by the news that arms are reaching them than by the warning. The distribution of arms and the stepping up of offensive operations such as the devastating British raid on the Creusot works are the best possible means of stiffening French resistance to Vichy and Berlin.

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WE FEAR THAT DAKAR'S REAPPEARANCE IN the news is due less to the real imminence of an Anglo-American attack than to Nazi propaganda designed to obtain German control of Vichy's colonial defense. The furor began when Berlin tried to manufacture an incident out of the shooting down of a Captain Daillière in an air battle supposedly over French territory. Later it was brazenly admitted by the Nazi radio that this officer



was killed during the course of a reconnaissance flight over the British colony of Sierra Leone. The arrival of American troops in this colony and in Liberia does of course strengthen the United Nations' forces within striking distance of Dakar and does make an attack on that city at least more feasible. But the indications are that the number of American soldiers stationed in West Africa is not large and that their main duty is the guarding of the increasingly important trans-African supply route. Nevertheless, there are sound arguments in favor of the early establishment of a new front in West Africa in conjunction with a renewed British offensive against Rommel. The French colonies cannot be entirely isolated from the anti-Nazi fever which is sweeping the homeland, and with Vichy's prestige approaching its nadir it is by no means certain that a determined attack on Dakar would not swing a major part of the North and West African garrisons to our side. It would then become urgently necessary for the Axis to rush troops to Morocco and Algiers either through France or Spain or both. This would involve an immense extension of lines of communication and would certainly ease German pressure in other theaters of war.

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THE SCALE OF THE JAPANESE EFFORT TO drive our forces out of Guadalcanal is a measure of the vital strategic importance of that island. Our High Command made no mistake in August when it undertook the hazardous task of landing an expedition in the southern Solomons and seizing the almost completed airfield on Guadalcanal. Had that field and the anchorage at Tulagi remained in Japanese hands, the enemy would have been favorably placed for a new push against our supply routes to Australia. Contrariwise, if we can beat back the present counter-attack and consolidate our hold on the southern Solomons, Japan's grip on the string of islands north to New Britain and its bases on the eastern shore of New Guinea will be seriously threatened. That is why a major battle around Guadalcanal appears inevitable. During the past week the Japanese succeeded in landing important reinforcements and attempted to knock out Henderson Field by attacks from sea, land, and air. They came dangerously near success, but our planes have been able to continue operations and are daily adding to their bag of enemy bombers and fighters. As we go to press, both forces seem to be sparring for an opening. There have been several reports of a heavy Japanese naval concentration not far to the north, but its operations seem to be confined to hit-and-run night raids—an indication, perhaps, of unwillingness to expose big ships to daylight attack by American fliers. But as Secretary Knox has warned, it is probable that the maximum Japanese force has not yet been brought to bear. A very stiff fight is still in prospect.

THE CONTROVERSY IN CHILE ARISING OUT of Sumner Welles's statement on Nazi activities in Latin America deepened over the week-end to the point of suggesting a government crisis. The center of the attack continues to be Dr. Barros Jarpa, the Foreign Minister, in whom democratic Chileans see the main obstacle to Chile's joining the United Nations. Dr. Barros, although the most reactionary man in the Rios Cabinet, cannot be called pro-Axis. He is not, for example, to be placed on the same level as his Argentine colleague, Ruiz Guinázú, whom *The Nation* has denounced since the very beginning as the evil spirit in the diplomacy of Latin America. But the trouble with Dr. Barros is that he gives too much credit to the reports of his Minister in Berlin, his own cousin, who has fallen entirely under the spell of Goebbels and has become convinced that nobody can defeat Hitler. We shall have all kinds of equivocal maneuvers so long as there remains in Latin America a single starting-point for Nazi attack from within. It will go on until a real unification of Latin American foreign policy is achieved. For this reason we welcome the unanimity with which the distinguished Latin Americans who have just created in New York the Latin American Council of the Free World Association advocated the breaking of relations between Argentina and Chile and the Axis.

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AS WE WRITE, THE HOUSE AND SENATE ARE about to adopt the conference report on the tax bill—more than nine and a half months after the President first urged a sharp increase in taxes to meet the war emergency. The bill is thoroughly unsatisfactory. The total yield is estimated at \$6,881,000,000 as compared with the \$8,700,000,000 originally requested by the Treasury—a request that was later advanced to approximately \$13,000,000,000. Although it has been revealed in a recent study that nearly all of the \$48,000,000,000 of excess spending power existing in the country is in the hands of individuals and families with incomes of more than \$1,750 a year, a large part—probably at least a third—of the revenue to be raised by the new bill will be derived from incomes of \$1,750 and under. The yield from corporation taxes will fall far short of the sum asked by the Treasury. No step was taken to remedy the shocking injustice of tax-exempt securities. The so-called victory tax, adopted as an alternative to a graduated spending tax which would have fallen largely on the higher income groups, is essentially a poor man's tax and will cut seriously into subsistence needs of families with incomes of less than \$1,500 a year. Since the tax bill does not strike heavily at the principal accumulations of excess spending power, it cannot be regarded as an effective anti-inflation measure. The task of restricting spending—the chief responsibility before Congress today



—has been shamelessly dodged. We hope that voters will bear this in mind when they go to the polls on November 3.

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A JURISDICTIONAL DISPUTE BETWEEN TWO government agencies, both headed by business men, is hindering the collection of industrial scrap. For many months the Special Projects Section of the War Production Board's Conservation Division has been charged with uncovering large sources of scrap—abandoned railroads, derelict factories, and so on—the salvaging of which would normally be uneconomic. But having no funds it could only do the preparatory work, and in cases where the demolition and other costs exceeded the ceiling price for the scrap which could be obtained it had to find some other government agency to finance the job. To meet this difficulty the ubiquitous Jesse Jones two months ago organized War Materials, Inc., and supplied it with RFC funds so that it could act as agent for the Metal Reserve Company in buying and collecting scrap material. Headed by J. M. Hopwood, a Pittsburgh business man, it prepared to take over the whole job, only to find itself treading on the toes of the Special Projects Section. This agency took the view that it should continue to function as before and that War Materials should confine itself to financing the schemes it prepared. Its stand was supported by Donald Nelson, and Mr. Hopwood resigned, together with his chief aides. The resulting deadlock has still to be resolved. Common sense suggests that the two agencies ought to be merged in order to prevent overlapping, but to make this solution effective it will probably be necessary to bring in new blood at the top. We are inclined to sympathize with the unofficial WPB belief that Mr. Jones's passion for guaranteed titles is likely to prove a fatal obstacle to many of these special projects. On the other hand, Lessing Rosenwald, head of the WPB Conservation Division, is hardly the man to "bull" them through. For while the current scrap campaign has been a success, its inauguration was delayed until the situation became critical.

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STORIES ABOUT THE RACE PROBLEM ARE being censored, and British correspondents in this country have even been prevented from cabling a speech by Wendell Willkie on the subject. Yet while we thus attempt to conceal the worst skeleton in our democratic cupboard, a minority of American soldiers are attempting to introduce color discrimination into Britain. A handful of unreconstructed British imperialists—the kind that we are given to lecturing—share the Southern American attitude toward the Negro, but the vast majority of our allies regard Jim Crow practices as hateful and undemocratic. The British have welcomed black American soldiers as warmly as they have white. They

are impressed by their smartness and discipline, by their good manners and their cheerfulness, and they see no reason why they should not welcome them into their homes, drink with them in their pubs, and carry on normal social relations with them. When, therefore, a Southern white soldier, seeing a Negro dancing or walking with an English girl, feels called upon to "protect" her by socking his fellow-citizen, the British are outraged. There have, unfortunately, been numerous incidents of this nature, leading on occasion to free fights, with British soldiers and civilians siding with the Negroes. We are aware that Southern prejudice is a deep-rooted and stubborn weed, but if considerations of courtesy are insufficient to prevent such attempts to force unwanted customs on our British hosts, then the problem should be dealt with as a matter of military discipline. An army which allows race feuds to develop within its ranks is little better than a rabble. If he has not already taken action, General Eisenhower ought to issue stringent orders forbidding any interference with fraternization between colored troops and the British and should be prepared to break any subordinate officer who fails to see that they are carried out.

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THE BOLD AND PERTINENT SPEECHES OF the American Labor Party's candidate for governor of New York have increased his stature to the point where a vote for Alfange need not be merely a vote against Dewey or Bennett; it can be a vote for Alfange. He has produced a ten-point creed for a war-time governor, and its unequivocal principles contrast sharply with the vapory approach of his opponents. Such a governor, he says, "must preserve labor's Magna Charta and the New Deal's social gains and hold them before the people as an example of the goals for which we are fighting; he must plan, now, a complete program of public works and improvements to be set in motion immediately after the war to keep our people fully employed at a high standard of living; he must crack down without mercy upon those racial and religious bigots who constitute a menace to our national unity; . . . he must place the most capable citizens available in every important post, be they Republicans, Democrats, Laborites, or independents." There are other provisions equally vigorous, among them the pledge that he will "insist that every city, town, and village, every man, woman, and child, shall fight a total war on every front." Against this strong stuff we must set Dewey's plea for election on the ground that reactionaries have captured the Democratic Party in the state and that a "progressive" like himself is needed to aid the war effort. Mr. Bennett so far has said hardly more than that the President has indorsed him and he is therefore sure to win. We doubt that Mr. Farley will allow him to go much farther than that. There are excellent reasons for voting for Dean Alfange, which



will be more fully discussed in our next issue, but not least of these is the grasp of political realities which he has demonstrated in his campaign.

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WE HAD HOPED THAT OUR GOVERNMENT would cheat the Nazis of some of their victims by rescuing, with or without benefit of visas and other rubber stamps, the thousands of anti-fascists in France, Jews and non-Jews of all nationalities who have managed to escape the Nazi net. Instead these people have been deported to the east and elsewhere to become slaves for Hitler. About 8,000 children were left behind when their parents were deported from France. Many lack identification papers and are crowded into orphanages and camps. In a rather belated gesture the State Department has now offered to let 5,000 of these children come to the United States to be cared for by private agencies. Laval has accepted the offer for reasons that are easy to guess. Some of the children, according to one account, are "physically unable to stand the strain of a long voyage and may undergo special treatment before leaving." One dispatch from Vichy estimated that 50,000 Jewish children are "isolated throughout Europe." We are glad that at least 5,000 of them are to be saved.

## *How to Ration Our Man-Power*

THE hearings in the House and Senate on the bill for drafting youths of eighteen and nineteen have produced a wealth of information on man-power but have done little to ease the minds of those who fear that this crucial problem is being badly bungled. Secretary Stimson revealed for the first time that plans are being laid for an army of 7,500,000 men by the end of 1943. This is a considerably smaller figure than had been suggested by various spokesmen, official and unofficial, in recent weeks. But with Navy, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard personnel included, the total for all services will be approximately 9,500,000 by the end of next year. While no recent figures have been issued showing the number of men now under arms, it is believed to be in the neighborhood of 5,000,000. Thus, the total at the end of 1943 would be nearly twice the present number.

Our military and naval authorities are doubtless correct in insisting that they will need this many men to carry on offensive campaigns in Europe and Asia and to give protection to our outposts in all sections of the world. Undoubtedly they would prefer to have more. But the public would have a great deal more confidence in the army's program if there were grounds for believing

that the decision had been reached after full consideration of the political and economic factors which must enter into any decision of high strategy. Presumably the army is convinced that its greatly increased supply needs can be met despite the withdrawal of another 4,500,000 men from industry, agriculture, and the professions. But have our lend-lease obligations been taken fully into account? Is it likely that there will be enough ships in 1943 to move six or seven million men overseas, keep them supplied, and at the same time meet the increased shipping requirements of Russia, Britain, and China? Were the military leaders of these countries consulted in a decision that obviously concerns them as vitally as it does this country? Were our own industrial, shipping, and agricultural leaders consulted, and the chiefs of the WPB, and did they agree that the supply needs of the United Nations could be maintained in the face of this prospective drain of man-power? Doubts arise because the army has given the impression that it considers any interference an impertinence. With the supply of man-power at our disposal definitely limited, basic decisions regarding its distribution should be made only after full consultation with both civilian and military authorities.

Evidence that such consultation has not occurred may be found in the increasingly grave shortage of workers in agriculture and in certain industrial areas. The army's zeal in providing for even remote contingencies in its man-power demands contrasts with the apparent negligence of the WPB and the War Manpower Commission in laying plans to meet the production crisis. Recent surveys in Baltimore and other war-industry centers indicate that the "volunteer" system has broken down completely. Only a small fraction of the workers qualified for skilled jobs in war work but now employed in non-essential work are being shifted to war jobs by existing placement machinery. Little is being done to train women or to develop day care for children so that married women can seek jobs. The President declared in his address of October 13 that we must "learn to ration man-power," but he failed to suggest specific action.

It is not enough simply to say that we must draft men for the civilian front in exactly the same way that we do for the military front; we must take immediate steps to set up a comprehensive program capable of meeting man-power needs in order of their urgency. This is not a matter that can be settled by rushing a bill through Congress. Many months will be required before men and women can be trained and shifted into essential work in appreciable numbers. Yet General Hershey has announced that over a million more men will be taken out of civilian life before the New Year. Does not this impose a much greater urgency than Washington's actions indicate? Since it is a problem involving major political, economic, and military decisions, the responsibility clearly rests with the President.



## Jeffers Packs the Jury

MANY ingredients besides rubber go into the making of a tire. One of the most important is cotton. Experiments in recent years indicate that rayon may make a better fabric for tires. This seems especially true of heavy-duty tires and tires made of synthetic rubber. Both types heat up much more than regular tires, and rayon fabric seems to be able to resist temperatures under which cotton gives way.

Mr. Jeffers, the new rubber administrator, wants to expand facilities for making rayon. The Senate Agriculture Committee, which is largely dominated by cotton planters, fears that new rayon plants would pay off their capital investment on their war business and emerge into the post-war period debt-free and able to sell rayon so cheaply that it would compete with cotton. "As I see it," Jeffers told the committee, "our job is to win this war and stop worrying about what may happen afterward." With this, which should be one of the basic slogans of the war effort, we are in complete agreement. Unfortunately Jeffers, like most WPB officials, shows little readiness to apply the principle to industry as well as agriculture.

Jeffers is not the first WPB official to adopt this slogan in speeches and statements. The test of Jeffers will come in the way he applies it. "Cotton Ed" Smith, senior Senator from South Carolina, asked Jeffers about the charge that seven of the nine WPB officials who had a hand in the decision to expand rayon facilities "have financial interests either in rayon companies or big tire companies." Apparently this is true; Jeffers did not deny it. He took refuge in rhetoric. He said that while he understood that "former officials" of rayon companies participated in the decision, he assumed that "during a war . . . America can trust Americans." If by this he means that Americans of all classes want to do what they think necessary to win the war, no one will dispute it. Lamont du Pont wants us to win the war; so does Senator Smith. But obviously they disagree on what is necessary. A du Pont dollar-a-year man is apt to have a different opinion from a cotton planter on the need for rayon in winning the war.

We are inclined to believe that in this case the du Pont dollar-a-year man is right, the cotton planter wrong. But the cotton planter will have more confidence in Jeffers, and Jeffers himself is more likely to make the right decisions, if he does not depend on one-sided councils. There are distinguished farm chemists concerned with methods of improving and widening the use of cotton, as there are farm chemists concerned with finding new ways to turn surpluses of grain into new fuels, plastics, and synthetics. One suspects that in the case of fabric for tires, as in that of raw materials for

synthetic rubber, WPB consultants drawn only from industry and Eastern scientific schools dependent on big business are not too interested in finding new war uses for farm products. This does not mean that they are dishonest; it does mean that they are human.

The democratic way and the sensible way to meet this problem is to make sure that all sides get a fair hearing, and that decision-making bodies are representative. By this standard, the staff of six technical assistants chosen by Jeffers is disappointing. The only academic scientist of the six is from M. I. T. There are two men from machinery companies. The other three men are from three of the Big Four rubber-tire companies—Firestone, United States Rubber, and Goodyear. Goodrich, the most advanced of the Big Four in making synthetic-rubber tires, is not included; it is "in the doghouse" for its temerity in developing a Buna rubber tire of its own over the veto of Standard Oil and I. G. Farben. None of the smaller rubber companies are represented, although some of them, like Acushnet Process, have shown more enterprise and ingenuity in handling synthetic rubber than the Big Four. There is no man among the six from the Middle Western college and government laboratories, which have done more work on synthetic rubber and learned more about it than the big Eastern scientific schools. The lopsided technical staff chosen by Jeffers follows the customary and discredited WPB pattern rather than the democratic one. Jeffers, like most WPB executives, has provided himself with a packed jury.

## Hapsburg Hopes

BY FRED KIRCHWEY

AMERICAN diplomacy is a mixture of traditionalism, caution, and pragmatism. The third element occasionally conflicts with the other two, but more often it fits well enough, and together they serve as a complete bar to the development of a flexible political strategy based on a consistent political policy.

Our continued relations with Vichy provide a perfect illustration of this compound in action. Ever since the fall of France we have acted upon the fiction that we were dealing with a sovereign power capable of conducting an independent foreign policy. The pragmatic basis of this bit of theater was our hope that we could actually prevent the full political surrender of Vichy to Hitler. The hope was an illusion. But perhaps that is beside the point. Even if our policy had served as a deterrent on Vichy, it would still have ignored more important strategic considerations—chief among them the absolute need of building up the spirit of resistance in France against both the German occupation and the Vichy regime and of increasing the military and political strength of the



Fighting French. The half-hearted attempts of the State Department to support Vichy and De Gaulle at one and the same time have proved ineffective; as a consequence neither the ends of tradition and caution nor of pragmatism have been served.

At any moment now the policy will be abandoned. Vichy's successive capitulations to Hitler have dynamited the façade of French independence and robbed the State Department of its last area of diplomatic maneuver. Today the only limits on Laval's servility are those established by the French people themselves. Not in Washington's appeasement but in the refusal of the workers of France to be sold into slavery by the government we have appeased lies the one obstacle to the full surrender of Vichy to Hitler. By giving Vichy our encouragement and material support we inevitably strengthened the hand of Laval; it will take many dead French patriots to wipe out the effects of that policy.

But Vichy is only the most obvious and striking example of our diplomatic insulation against the revolutionary challenge of Hitler's war. The traditionalists of the American State Department, by habit and persuasion, shun the reality of revolution. They hope to win the war without using—or loosing—the forces of democratic resistance; they hope to defeat fascism with near-fascism, or at least with the vestigial remnants of pre-war conservatism. Hence their obvious partiality for the Pétains, their anxious wooing of the Francos, their long appeasement of Castillo, their endless back-stairs whisperings with the representatives of clerical reaction. Nor are these efforts confined to Europe and Latin America. Here at home the patient, futile maneuvers go on before our eyes. Under a studied pretense of indifference and impartiality, the State Department has encouraged the most conservative elements among the exile groups.

The one partial exception is the case of the Italians. Attorney General Biddle's decision to exempt Italian nationals in this country from "enemy-alien" status was a shrewd move. It not only recognizes the loyalty to America of the great majority of Italians living here. It also tends to deepen the feeling that Italy is in fact occupied territory rather than a full Axis partner and so to increase the growing unrest in Italy and widen the breach between that country and Germany. The danger lurking in this move is that it might lead toward a softening of American animosity toward Mussolini and the fascist regime. Appeasement of the Italian dictator went on right up to the hour of the "stab in the back," and it would not be hard to revive the attitude of tolerance which prevailed in many official circles. Or, since Mussolini is now a somewhat deflated hero, that sentiment might be shifted to the Italian royal house, which, in this country, has never been held in the contempt it deserves. It is important to make sure that Mr. Biddle's

generous gesture to the Italians in America will be used to strengthen their resistance to fascism as well as their loyalty to the United States.

The best hope that this may happen lies in the rather puzzling approval bestowed by the State Department on Count Sforza and the Free Italy movement which he leads. Whether his noble antecedents or his aristocratic charm are responsible for this attitude or whether he appears the least dangerous leader the Free Italians could choose is hard to say. The happy fact remains, however, that Sforza is a democrat and a statesman, and as long as his leadership is, however informally, acknowledged by the State Department, no revival of appeasement is likely.

But for one Sforza there are a dozen favored "free" leaders whose credentials are of a dubious color. Take, as an example, Otto of Austria. Without any doubt Otto heads a mixed field of candidates for the leadership of the anti-Nazi Austrians in exile. His stock in Washington has been going up fast, and some informed persons believe that a Free Austrian legion headed by Otto will soon receive some sort of "unofficial" approval in official Washington.

Why not? By State Department standards Otto is the almost perfect candidate. His ancestry inspires official confidence; his charm is admitted by his enemies; he is a good Catholic; he dislikes Hitler; he advocates a "democratic" Central European federation. He has described this future federation in a recent issue of *Voice of Austria*; and the fact that its outlines and structure bear a curious resemblance to the Austro-Hungarian Empire lately ruled by his great-grand-uncle is not likely to disconcert those responsible for our present diplomacy. On the contrary. Otto fits into the conservative, clerical, restored "old order" envisaged by these officials as smoothly as if he had been designed by Adolf Berle.

From the pragmatic point of view, however, the idea has flaws. We may ignore the effect it would have on democratic elements here and abroad. We may dismiss the bitterness it would arouse among Austrian democrats, who would consider it a new proof of the State Department's cynical determination to insure the future against a real application of the Four Freedoms or any other democratic nonsense. But the emotions of ordinary people are beyond the concern of diplomats. What might give them pause is the effect Otto's elevation would surely have on several of the governments-in-exile—especially the Czecho-Slovak and Yugoslav and Polish governments. Whereas the State Department's unhappy flirtation with Tibor Eckhardt, the Hungarian reactionary and ex-terrorist, was an affront to the democratic sensibilities of our Eastern European friends, its support of the Austrian archduke would have weightier consequences. No amount of charm will induce states



that once suffered the Hapsburg yoke to look with favor on Otto's claims to leadership. And his plans for a federated Central Europe are equally suspect. Any indorsement of Otto—open or sub rosa—would be taken as an unfriendly act and would seriously injure our relations

with our allies-in-exile. This may seem intolerant and unreasonable to Otto's sponsors, but it is a simple fact. And it is a fact that should be considered by the pragmatists of the State Department before they decide on the resurrection of the Hapsburg dynasty.

## *Willkie and F. D. R.*

BY I. F. STONE

*Washington, October 18*

**W**ENDELL WILLKIE'S trip abroad has not increased his popularity at the White House, where there is an uneasy feeling that he may have launched the 1944 Presidential campaign from Moscow and Chungking. Permission to make the trip was given reluctantly by the President, after much coaxing by Willkie. Willkie's remarks in Moscow and Chungking were not only unauthorized but resented. Mr. Roosevelt seems to regard the Moscow statement on the second front as an attempt by Willkie to prod the hand that sent him abroad in an army bomber.

The White House, while properly grateful for Willkie's services in demonstrating national unity at home and abroad, senses that he is anxious to keep himself in the public eye. The fourth term is still undecided. Those around the President are not too anxious to see strong, popular alternatives develop, whether outside the Democratic Party or within it. At the moment the only possibilities for progressives are Willkie and Wallace. While Wallace stays loyally and dutifully in vice-presidential obscurity, Willkie is engaged in unorthodox maneuvers. The Administration does not have to move much farther right or Willkie much farther left to reverse their relative position in 1940. Big business could not have a firmer grip on the war economy under Willkie than it has under Roosevelt.

Willkie is playing a daring game. He believes that he long ago made himself unacceptable to Old Guard Republican leaders and that his only hope is to strike out boldly for a popularity that will force them to support his candidacy in 1944. He has cut loose from party moorings, turned his back on the country-club set, and invaded Roosevelt territory. His hunch is that by 1944 there will be much dissatisfaction among workers, farmers, and small business men which can be capitalized by a newer and younger figure prepared to outbid a moribund New Deal for their favor. The Commonwealth and Southern executive who once thought the SEC a nest of commissars has gone a long way in the opposite direction. It is a good thing that Roosevelt was elected in 1940, and, in another sense, it is a good thing that

Willkie was defeated. The latter has learned much in defeat that would not have occurred to him in victory, and progressives who have spoken with him in recent months report many changes in his patterns of thought. At the very least, Willkie's course should increase the bargaining power of labor and the left in dealing with Roosevelt. For some time the President has felt that he had labor and the left so securely in his political pocket that he could concentrate on wooing the right, a process in which the New Deal has been so slicked up as to become almost unrecognizable.

Within the Administration the dwindling hopes of the New Dealers rest on Leon Henderson. No one else shows either the courage or the capacity to provide them with leadership in their fight against the coalition of Wall Streeters, dollar-a-year men in uniform, and political-minded generals who have taken over war production. Recent shifts have left Donald M. Nelson a ludicrous figure; the armed services and their banker allies are in control of the WPB. A principal figure is Lieutenant General Brehon B. Somervell, commanding general of the War Department's Services of Supply.

General Somervell is shrewd, ambitious, and subtly arrogant. He is good at internal Administration politics, knows how to play up to the press, and is not unaware of the uses of social demagoguery. He is a kind of American von Schleicher, though unlike his German analogue he is reaching out for alliances on the right rather than the left. At a recent meeting of the War Production Board, where General Somervell has been cock-of-the-walk, Henderson very plainly told the General that the war-production program was supposed to be run by the War Production Board, not General Somervell, and that he, Henderson, was getting tired of having the board bossed around by the General. General Somervell, so the story goes, said he was pretty tired himself of hearing Henderson "pop off," and Henderson suggested that if the General was tired he could leave.

Henderson, with some of the load of price control now lifted from him, has about decided to turn his at-



tention again to production matters, a sphere from which the Knudsen crowd began to ease him in the summer of 1941 when he tried to hasten curtailment and conversion of the automobile and other civilian industries. He will have to go to the mat with General Somervell, and if he does he will have the Senate Small Business Committee rooting for him. General Somervell made an unpleasant impression on the committee during the past week by his contemptuous attitude on the witness stand, his juggling of figures, and his disingenuous answers.

The committee might have spent its time questioning the directors of the new Smaller War Plants Corporation, which promises to be as big a failure as its predecessor organizations in giving little business a part in the war program. The SWPC, like its forerunners, is dependent on army-navy procurement officers, who still do the actual letting of the contracts. The committee therefore declined to have its attention distracted from essentials and decided instead to call General Somervell and the supply-service procurement officials subordinate to him. It took New York City as a specimen case and found that from 70 to 85 per cent of the war orders sent by Washington to the district ordnance office in New York for placement were secretly earmarked for manufacturers already making those items. Senator Mur-

ray asked Colonel Robert Wood Johnson (of Johnson and Johnson, the manufacturers of pharmaceuticals) whether any investigation was made "as to whether or not there would be other concerns that would be capable of taking those extended orders . . . rather than pile them up in the same concern?" "I should say usually not," was the unwilling answer.

General Somervell appeared before the committee next day and sought to repair the damage done by Colonel Johnson's admissions. He presented a series of elaborate but deceptively incomplete charts designed to show that more contracts were going to small concerns. When Senator Murray brushed these charts aside and declared "the substantial part of the [war] production is being carried on by a limited number of large concerns," Somervell confessed, "That is right." The General annoyed the committee by saying that little business did not want war orders and by denying that the army had difficulty in getting big businesses like the large automobile companies to go into war production. Later General Somervell explained that he only meant "we had no difficulty in getting the automobile industry to take their part of the orders for automobiles." This patriotic readiness to sell automobiles to the army as well as civilians failed to impress the committee.

## *The Services Have Learned*

BY DONALD W. MITCHELL

**T**HERE are at least two main standpoints from which to gauge the degree of our success in the war to date. From the perspective of the past we are doing a fine piece of work. In no previous conflict have we moved so rapidly and efficiently. But if we consider the task we face, our accomplishments seem less impressive. We became the ally of nations already losing and the foe of some of the ablest military peoples and leaders known to history. Our initial blunders in the Pacific still further weakened our prospects. Finally, our administrative bungling in the field of vital materials, the constant effort of many and diverse interests to use the war emergency to gain their selfish aims, the persistence of race discrimination, the bickering between army and navy and among the various members of the United Nations must all be seen in the light of a desperate struggle for existence.

Fortunately, in the United States the services have shown far more ability to profit by their own blunders than has been the case with the British Army. Air force, army, and navy have all come a long way since December 7.

Maintained as it was in at least theoretical readiness for war at any time, the navy's problem was easier than that of the army. While it has doubled in man-power and greatly expanded its patrol activities in the Atlantic and its support of bases in the Pacific, its striking power has not been greatly increased, since most of the new ships in service are anti-submarine craft of various types. The greatest accretion to its strength derives from the unannounced but very probable completion of four new 35,000-ton battleships, sister ships of the North Carolina. Eight new light cruisers have compensated for the loss of four heavy ones. New destroyers and submarines have far exceeded sinkings. Like Japan, we suffer from a shortage of plane carriers, which are as necessary as they are highly vulnerable. The first carriers of a gigantic new program are still months short of completion.

In the fighting of the past year the navy suffered disgrace at Pearl Harbor, was roughly handled at the beginning of the Aleutian campaign and in the Java Sea, and was soundly beaten in a night battle in the Solomons. To its credit are a little better than a drawn battle in the Coral Sea, the brilliantly managed though lucky victory



at Midway, and a far more successful war of attrition by airplanes and submarines than the Japanese have been able to conduct. No longer is the opponent so outrageously underestimated as in the days before the war, and the navy has thoroughly learned the lesson of air power.

From other angles the picture is not so bright. For a hundred years the navy has managed to exist under a bureaucratic organization which has been a continued and deserved target for critics. Some improvements have been made since the beginning of this war, but the thorough reorganization needed was abandoned a few months ago in favor of piecemeal change. It has not been reassuring to see several officers of proved incompetence promoted rather than purged. The slowness with which losses have been acknowledged even when they are perfectly well known to the enemy, as in the fighting around Java, and the paucity of information given out are also mistakes. The details of plane losses and ship damage at Pearl Harbor are certainly known to the Japanese at this late date and are no longer of great importance. As long as the American people are needlessly denied information of this type the suspicion is certain to be present that the Navy Department is suppressing news to conceal blunders. Over-confidence of people in our war effort can also be a danger.

The army started the war much less ready for action but with the great psychological advantage over the navy of knowing its own weaknesses and the necessity for improvement. As a result it has gone through a process of expansion and reform which has been nothing short of revolutionary. The way for this was paved by a reorganization of the War Department over a year ago which appears to have cut through a good deal of red tape and eliminated much duplication and waste motion. The strongest, best cared-for, best educated personnel of any army on earth has been toughened up to the point where it outmatches the formerly amazing endurance achievements of the German troops. Lack of equipment is no longer a problem. The lesson of air-land coordination appears to have been learned, and the United States has made at least as much progress as other nations in the development of special-purpose troops. Fourteen armored divisions are now in existence. A large influx of new blood in the commissioned ranks has had a wholesome effect. The army still has serious faults and is not yet a completed product, but in its essential modernity and fighting spirit it is enormously stronger than it was a year ago.

Our record in the air has been steadily improving. In the Philippine Islands even more than at Pearl Harbor the surprise and destruction of the army planes on the ground was a national scandal. But these mistakes have not been repeated, and the worst that can be said of the Air Corps' recent record in Europe is that our fliers have

not yet undergone the acid tests passed by the R. A. F. Meanwhile, the box score of planes destroyed in both the Pacific and the European theater of war has favored the United States by so wide a margin as seriously to embarrass the air extremists, who have had to account for marked successes attained under a system of air-force administration which they deplore. This group has also been responsible for a popular but incorrect impression that Midway was a victory of land-based over carrier-based air power, an interpretation which any close study of the available facts will refute.

The rivalry between the army and navy over credit for Midway illustrates a persistent weakness which has not yet been solved—inter-service jealousy and non-cooperation. Pearl Harbor turned a floodlight on this defect but did not eliminate it. The system of giving either an admiral or a general command over all forces in an area, according to whether naval or military interests are predominant, has worked some improvement. Nevertheless, the red tape incident to securing army aid for the navy resulted in unnecessary ship sinkings along the Atlantic coast, and the reluctance of the navy to have an army air base nearby accounted for the early heavy losses at Dutch Harbor, where the navy had nothing better than Catalina patrol planes to match Japanese fighters and dive bombers.

Nor has joint command been achieved in the international military sphere. Even announced agreements between the British and ourselves, where machinery for cooperative action has been in existence for several months, have not been carried out. The failure of the Anglo-American group to reach an understanding with the Russians is notorious. Finally, Mr. Roosevelt's attack on the demand of civilians and newspapers for a second front leaves room for a crushing reply. Civilian critics can always be accused of incomplete knowledge; a major fault of the present Administration has been its sugarcoating of news, its refusal to let the American people know the full facts. But even without all the facts, civilians have been right in their disputes with professional military men an amazingly large number of times.

In the First World War Winston Churchill, a civilian, brought about the introduction of tanks; had it been well used on a sufficient scale, the new weapon would have ended the war. He also promoted the adoption of convoys, a device which cheated the U-boat of victory. In both cases he faced the determined opposition of the generals and admirals of his day. In the present war he has silenced critics and remained almost completely in the camp of the professionals—and has been consistently defeated. It took Hitler, a rank amateur, to reveal the full incapacity and lack of imagination of the French generals commanding "the best army in the world." The recent development of torpedo planes is largely due to



the efforts of ex-Secretary of the Navy Edison, and was achieved over the opposition of Admiral Leahy, who usually had the support of the President. Congress in 1938 urged that large numbers of experimental patrol vessels be built for anti-submarine work. Had this line of development been followed with any enthusiasm by

the navy, the tremendous merchant-ship sinkings in the western Atlantic—sinkings which may yet cost us the war—would certainly have been checked much sooner. No sane person would disdain the technical advice of admirals and generals, but in the words of Clemenceau, "War is too important to be left solely to the generals."

## Mexico's Home Front

BY HARRY BLOCK

*Mexico City, October 10*

MEXICO'S readjustment to the inexorable fact of war is beginning to make progress, though there is still more rhetoric than reality in the national mobilization. On Independence Day three weeks ago six ex-Presidents stood up with President Avila Camacho in an unprecedented ceremony of national unity. The vast crowd massed in the capital's central square had eyes, however, for only two of them—General Plutarco Elías Calles, former "Supreme Chief of the Mexican Revolution," and General Lázaro Cárdenas, who in 1936 exiled him from the country. It was a dramatic moment. No other figures so perfectly typify the dual tendencies and aims that have made the revolutionary development a social seesaw. Their first public appearance together in nearly eight years was presented as a visible symbol that past political differences were buried and that the nation was determined to exhibit an unbroken front to the world.

National unity has been the goal of the Camacho government since it came to power nearly two years ago, but the fact that it was thought necessary to put on so elaborate a spectacle suggests that unity is still not fully achieved. This impression is confirmed by the reception accorded the newsreels of the event in the movie houses, where the alternating applause and hisses for the six ex-Presidents indicated that Mexico's internal struggles have not yet been suspended for the duration. Nevertheless, no one can compare the general temper of the Mexican people today with the prevailing sentiment only six months ago without recognizing a marked change. The country is beginning to take the war seriously. Organization for defense and for war is moving ahead. A practice blackout in the capital was a remarkable demonstration of civil discipline. The new arms acquired from the United States made a brave display in the Independence Day parade, even if the army had to borrow some chauffeurs from the labor organizations to help drive the still unfamiliar motorized equipment. Compulsory military service has been enacted in Mexico, though the law is not yet in operation. Meanwhile,

throughout the country, hundreds of thousands of men of all ages are voluntarily drilling; the significant feature of this movement is that it began in the provinces and only recently reached Mexico City, an encouraging reversal of the usual process.

In spite of these healthy signs, however, it cannot be said that the battle of the home front has been won. Mexico during the preceding regime was largely engaged in refighting the Mexican Revolution, and it is utopian to suppose that its deep-seated antagonisms can be forgotten overnight or banished any farther than just below the surface. For the sake of unity, in order to appease business and industry, the labor movement has adopted what is virtually a no-strike policy. To appease landholders and the so-called "small proprietors" (corresponding to the commercial farmers who support the American farm lobby), the agrarian reform has been slowed and watered down. To appease the church, the educational system has been again revamped to purge it of its "socialist" character and its immoral practice of letting little boys and girls attend primary school together. Apparently unity has required the surrender to the conservatives of the chief positions captured during the preceding six years of renewed revolutionary upsurge. The lion and the lamb are indeed lying down together, but as usual the lamb is inside the lion.

Defense of democracy against totalitarianism, if it implies no more than a defense of the status quo, is an inadequate slogan even in the United States and Great Britain. To hold it up as an inspiration to the Mexican masses, who have never known genuine democracy, is of the nature of a cruel jest. One cannot ask people to "unite" without reference to the forces that have hitherto held them apart. What has been lacking here, clearly, is a progressive program that by giving concrete meaning to the concept of unity would arouse the national will in support of the war. It is no secret that Mexico's entry into the war found the majority of the population apathetic about its outcome and a small minority actively pro-Axis. The country's present political struggle centers on the question of what goals unity is expected to



achieve and who will write the program—the progressives, who sincerely seek to make Mexico's weight felt in the anti-fascist struggle and to combat the internal trends toward fascism, or the conservatives, who, finding themselves involved in a war they never wanted, would now like to have it fought for their exclusive benefit.

The first important sign of government recognition that the base of support for the war effort would have to be broadened came with the appointment of Cárdenas, shortly after Pearl Harbor, to command the Pacific defense zone. Ever since his retirement from the Presidency in 1940 Cárdenas has been a kind of symbol. Whether or not the man himself corresponded with the idea of him that took hold of the popular imagination is beside the point. For the man in the street, for the workers and peasants throughout the country, Cárdenas represented the hope of freedom, progress, and well-being; with the spread of disillusionment that accompanied the hard times ushered in by the war—long before Mexico was involved—the symbol of Cárdenas began to acquire almost magical power.

Cárdenas himself has remained correctly aloof, careful to dissociate himself from this growing sentiment and to give it no encouragement. When he stepped down from the Presidency he announced his intention of retiring to private life, and while this statement is made by all outgoing Mexican Presidents—and in the past has almost never been honored—there is reason to believe that Cárdenas meant it. Not only did he fail to assume leadership of the "opposition"—there was none, properly speaking, only an amorphous mass of puzzled discontent—but he publicly declared his unreserved support of the President.

This should have been enough to dampen the spirits of his more ardent followers. But it must again be insisted that it was less Cárdenas the man they were following than the idea associated with his name—the whole complex of policies, programs, acts, and objectives that his regime stood for. His appointment to the Pacific post was obviously a concession to this popular feeling, an effort on the part of the administration to capitalize his prestige. The political, rather than military, nature of the appointment was emphasized when General Abelardo Rodríguez, another ex-President, who represents almost the antithesis of Cárdenas, was named to the corresponding post on the Gulf Coast.

Early last month Cárdenas was appointed to a re-organized and enlarged Defense Ministry which is to assume supreme command over the army, the navy, and the air force. The left groups—labor organizations, the peasants, and the radical wing of the official Party of the Mexican Revolution—were jubilant, more so perhaps than the facts warrant, since Cárdenas, even if he were so disposed, which is doubtful, could not assume

leadership of the progressive movement unless he were provided with a clear and workable program of action, and this the left has so far failed to produce. The conservatives made little effort to conceal their distaste for the appointment, but tempered their criticism with the comment that Cárdenas would not be too disastrous a choice if he would refrain from "politics." As the shake-up was purely political in character, this attitude is almost comical. Whatever Cárdenas may or may not do, it had proved impossible to make real progress toward national unity without concession to the forces represented by the Cárdenas "idea."

Why did Cárdenas accept? If his enemies are right and he really harbors secret political ambitions, his position was obviously stronger outside the government than as a member of it. It is therefore being suggested here that very heavy pressure was brought to bear to induce him to accept; that the President came to the conclusion that the Cárdenas idea was potentially too explosive to leave floating about uncontrolled and that the way to diminish the importance of the symbol was to bring the man into Mexico City, where he would no longer be the subject of irresponsible speculation that was feeding unrest. If this theory is correct, it was a smart move. As a member of the government Cárdenas will share responsibility for its policies; and even if he finds himself in disagreement with them he can hardly withdraw. One can imagine the row the press would raise were the hated Cárdenas to "abandon his post in time of war" because of political differences with the regime. There is, on the other hand, no reason for supposing that Cárdenas did not accept the post because he felt he could thus best serve his country in the emergency. Some further Cabinet changes may be made as a result of his return to the government. There are indications that Véjar Vázquez, the intrepid hero of the war against coeducational elementary schools, may be on the way out. But no major shift in internal government policies appears imminent.

Among the chief obstacles to national unity are the rapid deterioration of the living standards of the Mexican masses in the past three years and the glaring fact that the country's privileged classes are making no com-



Lázaro Cárdenas



parable sacrifices for the war effort. In 1941 it already cost twice as much to eat as it did in 1933; today's prices have risen nearly 20 per cent over those of last year. Wages and salaries in the meantime have been stationary. If Mexico's rural population were dependent on the market rather than on their tiny subsistence patches—if Mexico, that is, were a developed capitalist country instead of a nation barely emerging from semi-feudalism—economic disaster would already have overtaken the nation; economic backwardness has certain negative virtues of its own. But if the peasants' state of permanent depression has not been seriously affected by the situation, the city dwellers, especially the industrial workers and the minor employees of government and private business, have been taking a severe beating. What would Mr. Henderson do with a rise in food prices—which make up three-quarters of the living expenses of the average Mexican family—of more than 100 per cent?

An additional point that cannot be too strongly emphasized is that Mexico is now almost 100 per cent dependent on the United States. Practically nothing enters the country except from the United States; nothing leaves it except to the United States. Such dependence is pernicious economically; it is even worse politically. For the century that Mexicans have been struggling to win national independence they have been taught to fear and suspect the big neighbor to the north. Their present dependence on Washington for their very bread is for that reason all the more galling.

We are paying now for past sins just as surely as the British are paying for their past sins in India. India is a case in point. The present Indian crisis, because it provides the first great test of the validity of the Atlantic Charter's high-sounding principles, is being closely watched throughout Latin America. As countries with only the shadow, seldom the substance, of national independence, the American republics are vitally interested in the charter; only unequivocal action to implement its promises will change their somewhat cynical view of the brave new world it is supposed to usher in. In the meantime they observe the realities of British rule in India—and wonder. What prospect does an Allied victory hold out to them?

Will Mexico, for example, be less dependent on the United States after the war? Many Mexicans honestly fear being doomed to a permanent economic subservience that will effectively short-circuit all the nation's hopes of true independence. They see the future as a blind alley of frustrated nationalism in which it will be impossible to turn back—the Mexican Revolution has at least accomplished that much—and equally impossible to forge ahead. This is what those Mexicans are thinking about who observe pessimistically that in the long run their country may have almost as much to fear from the United States as from Germany.

Now this is a highly dangerous attitude. It is no longer possible to draw nice subjective distinctions between "innocent" anti-Americanism and actual pro-Hitlerism. Only too often patriotic nationalist opinions, however honestly held, provide a convenient opening for Axis propaganda, whose ends are adequately gained if it can succeed in inflaming the latent anti-gringo sentiment. But the way to combat this tendency is by removing the grievances that lend it apparent justification. Some months ago Vice-President Wallace declared that American imperialism was dead. Sumner Welles has several times reinforced the statement. Theirs were excellent words. But unfortunately, as the war continues, the internal economy of Mexico becomes ever more adversely affected by the economic necessities of the United States; though the death of imperialism has been proclaimed, the imperialist character of the economic relations between the United States and Latin America has actually been strengthened. Probably very little can be done under war conditions materially to correct this situation, but a program for the future conceived in terms more precise than those of the Atlantic Charter would go far toward allaying existing fears. The time to draft such a program is now. If we expect to defeat Axis imperialism, we must persuade people that we are not hoping to maintain an imperialist preserve in our own backyard.

Mexico's reactionaries have their own solution ready. It is a solution that leaves 90 per cent of the Mexican people out of the picture, but it has the virtue of solving the problem quite satisfactorily for the other 10 per cent. Let Mexico continue to be dependent on American industry. Let foreign capital come in on its own terms to exploit native resources. Offer "guaranties"—protection against taxation, against labor and agrarian demands. And let Mexico continue to be an exporter of raw materials produced by the 90 per cent and an importer of finished goods to be consumed by the 10 per cent. With enough funds allocated from the surplus of this system to police the country, it can even be made to work—for a time, for *their* time, anyway.

Is there another solution? The answer to that is another question: Is this an anti-fascist war? Are we not fighting to render impossible the reactionary solution of the social problem of our time? The common people of all countries have the same goal in the conflict—the destruction not only of fascism in Germany and Italy and Japan but of its seeds and tendencies within their own borders. If unity ceases to be an abstract slogan and becomes the purposeful unity of all anti-fascist forces, if the hidden civil war that underlies the international war is courageously recognized and loyally fought, then there is real hope for the future. The democratic peoples of America will find a way to an inter-American economy that will satisfy the needs and the aspirations of all.



# Lewis and the A. F. of L.

BY JAMES A. WECHSLER

*Toronto, October 15*

**N**OTHING that happened at the American Federation of Labor's sixty-second convention created as much animated discussion among the A. F. of L. delegates as the latest antics of the man who wasn't there—John L. Lewis. A. F. of L. officials read dispatches from the Cincinnati convention of the Mine Workers more avidly than stories about their own deliberations. They speculated on the possibility that Lewis might appear in Toronto before the A. F. of L. sessions ended. At least four delegates solemnly announced they had seen Philip Murray scurrying through the hotel lobby, racing to get in ahead of his ex-boss.

Lewis's formal withdrawal from the C. I. O. evoked a mixed response from A. F. of L. leaders. Nearly all of them, of course, derive great pleasure from the troubles of what Federation orators still call the "rebel, rival dual movement." Moreover, they feel that the break between Lewis and the C. I. O. enormously enhances A. F. of L. bargaining power in the coming unity negotiations. They are convinced that the C. I. O. leadership will hasten to make peace before Lewis can get back into the A. F. of L. on his own. They enjoy the prospect of Lewis and Murray competing for A. F. of L. favor. William Green took pains to point out that the "door is open" to the United Mine Workers and that a separate peace with Lewis is not out of the question.

While all this is regarded as fitting punishment for "those who left the house of labor," there is a substantial A. F. of L. bloc that would genuinely prefer to deal with the C. I. O.; it recognizes that Lewis's return to the A. F. of L. would virtually doom unity negotiations and does not relish the thought of "Big John" again bossing Federation affairs. Green privately subscribes to this view. But the proceedings of the Toronto convention did nothing to dispel the impression that William L. Hutcheson, czar of the building trades and John L.'s Republican playmate, exerts more influence in the A. F. of L.'s back room than Green or those who think like Green. It is generally believed that Hutcheson will continue to do private business with Lewis. He is a member of the A. F. of L. three-man committee that will soon meet with the C. I. O. Lewis will not be uninformed of what goes on.

It is possible that Franklin D. Roosevelt may have to step in once again to prevent a deal that would put the C. I. O.'s leaders on the spot and restore Lewis's power. Lewis's Cincinnati rhetoric was an admission, it is felt,

that he has to reckon with the President; his complaint that the C. I. O. chiefs were trying to "undermine" him at the White House was an acknowledgment that he respects Roosevelt's influence in labor affairs. There were even some who detected a note of deference. But it is considered doubtful that Mr. Roosevelt will be moved. One high A. F. of L. official with no special animus against Lewis said to me here, "We all know John still hopes to take the labor movement back to the Republican Party." (He didn't mean the Willkie wing.) Until Lewis abandons that hope, he will have to fight Roosevelt as well as Philip Murray to recapture control of United States labor. Hutcheson's influence is not to be minimized, but few A. F. of L. chiefs seem ready to quarrel with the White House.

Apart from the extra-curricular diversion created by Lewis, the A. F. of L.'s ten-day conference shattered no traditions. Perhaps the most significant trend revealed by the meetings was the widening gap between British labor and A. F. of L. leaders over relations with the Russian trade unionists. The two fraternal delegates from the British Trades Union Congress—Jack Tanner and Bryn Roberts—pleaded politely but vigorously for reversal of the Federation's refusal to sit on a joint committee with the Russian trade unionists—without result. Tanner was received in frigid silence, largely because he tried to sell a party-line analysis of the Soviet state as well as the war need for an international labor front. Roberts, who stuck to the latter point, got a better reaction, but it was less than enthusiastic. After a brief debate in which Matthew Woll laid down the A. F. of L.'s line, the convention voted overwhelmingly to reaffirm the Federation's past position—aid to the Soviet armies but no direct dealings with Soviet labor. The left-wing forces at this convention could have held their caucus in the proverbial telephone booth.

The most dramatic incident was again precipitated by A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and one of the two Negro delegates on the scene. Randolph made his annual plea for appointment of a committee to combat discrimination in A. F. of L. unions. He also urged the convention to speak out in behalf of independence for India. No white delegate in the crowd of 600 rose to support him on either count. Dan Tobin of the Teamsters assailed Randolph for "lighting the torch of dissension." The convention voted to deplore race discrimination and to refer the fate of India to the Anglo-American labor com-



mittee. It is generally acknowledged that Green would have liked to do something about the Negro issue, but his longing for harmony overcame his better instincts.

The A. F. of L.'s attitude toward the Russian trade unions and toward union discrimination will plague the negotiators when the meetings with the C. I. O. begin. Yet more important than these ideological conflicts is the survival of deep and bitter resentment; this convention gave no new sign that reconciliation is in the air. The Federation formally proposed an immediate armistice on "raiding," but no machinery to enforce the truce was suggested. Speakers who inveighed against the C. I. O.'s past got the biggest ovations. The present members of the Labor Relations Board were denounced as fiercely as their predecessors for allegedly favoring the C. I. O.

The boys also whooped things up over the behavior of Thurman Arnold; there was a minor degree of pandemonium when news was received that Arnold's move for a temporary injunction against James C. Petrillo had been thrown out of court. Perhaps the most intense discussion of the convention, however, concerned a jurisdictional dispute between the Carpenters and Machinists, a struggle which goes back to 1914. A similar dispute between the Machinists and the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees was also gone over at length. These ancient matters filled several long hours of convention time. The Machinists lost twice, if anybody cares.

## *Poll Tax and Filibuster*

BY J. LACEY REYNOLDS

**B**Y A thumping three-to-one majority the House has passed the Geyer bill prohibiting poll taxes in Congressional and other federal elections. Never before have there been such bright prospects for emancipating the federal electorate in the eight Southern poll-tax states. But there are formidable obstacles to be overcome in the Senate, despite the fact that a majority would speedily pass the Geyer bill's Senate counterpart, the Pepper bill, if given the chance. The Senate Judiciary Committee, which has dawdled with the Pepper bill for nineteen months, will probably have taken action by the time this article appears, but even assuming the discharge, the bill faces the serious threat of a filibuster by a stubborn band of reactionary Southerners. This small minority need hold out only to the end of the present session in January, when all bills die.

The Senate greased the constitutional ways for passage of the Geyer-Pepper bill when it voted thirty-three to twenty, last August, to abolish the poll tax for soldiers. At that time the question whether Congress has constitutional authority to legislate on poll taxes was thoroughly debated. In the matter of legality the Geyer-

Pepper bill does not differ from the soldier-vote act, and therefore the Senate cannot very well adduce constitutional objections. To do so would convict it of having made a purely political play for soldier support.

The Senate Judiciary Committee's handling of the Pepper bill is worth recounting. A five-man subcommittee headed by Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney, Wyoming Democrat, has held intermittent hearings on it for fifteen months. On October 2 this group brought in an unfavorable report, with only Senator George Norris, the Nebraska liberal, voting affirmatively. O'Mahoney wrote the majority report, which criticized the bill with a savagery that warmed the heart of his colleague on the subcommittee, Senator Tom Connally of poll-taxed Texas. Congress, O'Mahoney said, has no authority to abolish the poll tax by simple statute, a constitutional amendment is necessary; the Constitution gives the states sole authority to fix qualifications for federal voters, and besides, this is not the time to pass such legislation. As an interpretation of the Constitution according to Connally, the job could not have been better done by the Texan himself. O'Mahoney has introduced a constitutional amendment, but nobody takes it seriously. Only the Southerners rose to commend it for the obvious purpose of diverting strength from the Geyer-Pepper bill.

The full committee postponed action on the subcommittee report, presumably to see how the House voted on the Geyer bill. The 252-to-84 House verdict ought to prove sufficient to force out a report, but even if it does not, all hope is not lost. Senator Norris has promised to submit the motion to discharge the committee, if necessary. The quicker the issue is brought to debate the easier it will be to ride out a filibuster.

The Pepper-Geyer bill is in essence a war measure. It will remove the mote from our own eyes and demonstrate to the world that we believe in the democracy which we recommend to others. It will deprive the Axis of the powerful propaganda argument that we do not practice what we preach. It will give the low-income Southerner the opportunity to help choose officials of the government which has sent his sons to battle and demanded many other sacrifices of him.

The arguments of the bill's opponents are depressingly traditional. On the final day of the hearings of the O'Mahoney subcommittee, Governor Frank Dixon of Alabama and Richard M. Jeffries of South Carolina offered the same objections to poll-tax repeal that were formerly raised against the Wage-Hour Act and other federal regulatory laws. Listening to these gentlemen expound states' rights, one had the impression that on their record of their country's history the needle had stuck at the Webster-Hayne debate. Outside the committee-room window an American soldier paced back and forth, a symbol of democracy on guard, while within they debated whether democracy was worth extending.



## Gandhi to Chiang Kai-shek

[*Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek is the best authority in the world on who is pro-Japanese and who is anti-Japanese. Chiang believes that Mahatma Gandhi is anti-Japanese. Chiang is certain that British concessions now to the Indian Nationalist movement would help China and help win this war. The Chinese government has made vigorous representations to Great Britain with a view to a settlement of the Indian question. Chiang is pro-Gandhi because he knows Gandhi is pro-Chinese. While in India this summer I obtained from a Chinese source the following hitherto unpublished letter to Chiang written by Gandhi before he launched the present civil-disobedience movement.*—LOUIS FISCHER.]

I CAN never forget the five hours' close contact I had with you and your noble wife in Calcutta. I always felt drawn toward you in your fight for freedom, and that contact and our conversation brought China and her problems still nearer to me. Long ago, between 1905 and 1913, when I was in South Africa, I was in constant touch with the small Chinese colony in Johannesburg. I knew them first as clients and then as comrades in the Indian passive-resistance struggle in South Africa. I came into touch with them in Mauritius also. I learned then to admire their thrift, industry, resourcefulness, and internal unity. Later in India I had a very fine Chinese friend living with me for a few years, and we all learned to like him. I have thus felt greatly attracted toward your great country, and, in common with my countrymen, my sympathy has gone out to you in your terrible struggle. Our mutual friend, Jawaharlal Nehru, whose love of China is only excelled, if at all, by his love of his own country, has kept us in intimate touch with the developments of the Chinese struggle.

Because of this feeling I have toward China and my earnest desire that our two great countries should come closer to each other and cooperate to their mutual advantage, I am anxious to explain to you that my appeal to the British power to withdraw from India is not meant in any shape or form to weaken India's defense against the Japanese or embarrass you in your struggle. India must not submit to any aggressor or invader and must resist him. I would not be guilty of purchasing the freedom of my country at the cost of your country's freedom. That problem does not arise before me, since I am clear that India cannot gain her freedom in this way, and a Japanese domination of either India or China would be equally injurious to the other country and to world peace. That domination must therefore be pre-

vented, and I should like India to play her natural and rightful part in this. I feel India cannot do so while she is in bondage. India has been a helpless witness of the withdrawals from Malaya, Singapore, and Burma. We must learn the lesson from these tragic events and prevent by all means at our disposal a repetition of what befell these unfortunate countries. But unless we are free we can do nothing to prevent it, and the same process might well occur again, crippling India and China disastrously. I do not want a repetition of this tragic tale of woe.

Our proffered help has repeatedly been rejected by the British government, and the recent failure of the Cripps mission has left a deep wound, which is still running. Out of that anguish has come the cry for immediate withdrawal of British power so that India can look after herself and help China to the best of her ability. I have told you of my faith in non-violence and of my belief in the effectiveness of this method if the whole nation could turn to it. The faith in it is as firm as ever. But I realize that India today as a whole has not that faith and belief, and the government in Free India would be formed from the various elements composing the nation.

Today the whole of India is impotent and feels frustrated. The Indian army consists largely of people who have joined up because of economic pressure. They have no feeling of a cause to fight for, and in no sense are they a national army. Those of us who would fight for a cause, for India and China, with armed forces or with non-violence, cannot under the foreign heel function as we want to. And yet our people know for certain that India free can play even a decisive part, not only in her own behalf, but also in behalf of China and world peace. Many, like me, feel that it is not proper or manly to remain in this helpless state and allow events to overwhelm us when a way to effective action can be opened to us. They feel, therefore, that every possible effort should be made to insure independence and that freedom of action which is so urgently needed. This is the origin of my appeal to the British power to end immediately the unnatural connection between Britain and India.

Unless we make that effort there is grave danger of public feeling in India going into wrong and harmful channels. There is every likelihood of subterranean sympathy for Japan growing, simply in order to weaken and oust British authority in India. This feeling may take the place of robust confidence in our ability never to



### Time

*Time means quite a different thing to a man who is trying to hold the Nazis on the Volga than it does to an Allied officer preparing material for the next meeting of the General Staff. Time is counted differently in a French concentration camp where an anti-fascist fighter awaits the reply to his last desperate appeal for a visa than in the foreign office where bored officials consider whether the applicant is or is not likely to dynamite the foundations of the state. Time may be only one hour—between six and seven, neither too bright nor too dark—for the young Parisian who waits for the Nazi sergeant to shoot him down. It may be six months or a year for those charged with the creation of a Supreme Allied Council to direct political war.*

*"Time is on our side" sounded all right when the smashing successes of the Nazi armies held the nations in fearful suspense and it was necessary to present time as an ally. Today those words suggest anything but a will to win. To the soldiers in the trenches they are an exasperation; to the peoples of the occupied countries, a cruel agony. To the appeasers they offer the hope that the invasion of Europe may be delayed until time has once more moved to the "other side," and a negotiated peace has become possible.*

look to outsiders for help in winning our freedom. We have to learn self-reliance and develop the strength to work out our own salvation. This is only possible if we make a determined effort to free ourselves from bondage. That freedom has become a present necessity to enable us to take our due place among the free nations of the world.

To make it perfectly clear that we want to prevent in every way Japanese aggression, I would personally agree, and I am sure the government of Free India would agree, that the Allied powers might, under treaty with us, keep their armed forces in India and use the country as a base for operations against the threatened Japanese attack.

I need hardly give you my assurance that, as the author of the new move in India, I shall take no hasty action. And whatever action I may recommend will be governed by the consideration that it should not injure China or encourage Japanese aggression in India or China. I am trying to enlist world opinion in favor of a proposition which to me appears self-proved and which must lead to the strengthening of India's and China's defense. I am also educating public opinion in India and conferring with my colleagues. Needless to say, any movement

against the British government with which I may be connected will be essentially non-violent. I am straining every nerve to avoid a conflict with British authority. But if in the winning of freedom, which has become an immediate desideratum, this becomes inevitable, I shall not hesitate to run any risk however great.

Very soon you will have completed five years of war against Japanese aggression and invasion and all the sorrow and misery that these have brought to China. My heart goes out to the people of China in deep sympathy and admiration for their heroic struggle and endless sacrifices against tremendous odds. I am convinced that this heroism and sacrifice cannot be in vain; they must bear fruit. To you, to Madame, and to the great people of China I send my earnest and sincere wishes for your success. I look forward to the day when a free India and a free China will cooperate together in friendship and brotherhood for their own good and for the good of Asia and the world.

MOHANDAS K. GANDHI

### EDITOR'S NOTE

Surely it is the desire of every lover of freedom to see the Indian question settled in accordance with the principles that should inspire a great struggle for democracy, and in a way that will strengthen, rather than weaken, the war effort of the United Nations. The one important point to keep in mind is this: neither Great Britain nor the Indian Congress is the enemy. The enemy is Hitler, it is fascism; and the primary aim is still to win the war. The Indian Congress leaders could not even be approached had their antagonism to the British led them into the mad delusion that India could expect freedom from Nazi Germany or Fascist Japan. If, on the other hand, a basis of agreement on the Indian question can be found in Bertrand Russell's very practical suggestion of a joint commission of the United States, Great Britain, Russia, and China, the first step in that direction would be to clear the air of any misunderstanding in regard to Gandhi's attitude toward Japan. To this end we consider the foregoing document of great importance.

J. A. del v.

## Pressure on Scandinavia

BY GUNNAR LEISTIKOW

THE recent happenings in Scandinavia may or may not be Germany's first move toward annexation—the union of Germanic nations advertised by Goebbels—but undoubtedly the northern countries are in for a harsh change of status. The intensification of the terror in Norway is an ominous sign. The breaking off of diplomatic relations with Denmark on October 6 appears to be a curtain-raiser to a performance not yet announced. Sweden, ever more openly defying German



overlordship, feels the pressure that would force it into the pattern of the "New Europe."

Of Danish liberty not much is left. The German promise of April 9, 1940, to refrain from interference in Danish internal affairs was broken after a few months. The Danes were forced from the start to accept Nazi censorship of the press and of all communications. In October, 1940, the Germans interfered for the first time with the Danish administration, banning former Minister of Trade Christmas Moller from the Foreign Relations Committee. At that time they used the two main threats they have held over the Danes ever since—suspension of coal imports, on which the whole country is dependent, and establishment of a Gestapo regime. On November 17, 1940, they staged a mass demonstration in Copenhagen, and their Quisling, Frits Clausen, boasted that the time had come to take power. However, the German military command, watching from the balconies of Dagmarhus, saw the Danish masses turn this Nazi celebration into an imposing demonstration against Nazism. The Danish authorities have had to answer the increasing sabotage with heavier and heavier punishments, and prisons are so crowded that convicted persons have to wait months to serve their terms.

Meanwhile the Germans are ruining the country with a technique of their own. They buy Danish agricultural products at ever higher prices, but they pay—in coal or other materials—only a small part of the prices they set. For the rest they compel the Danes to give them credit, to be paid "after the victory." In July of this year their indebtedness was more than two billion kroner, as much as the entire working capital of the country. That Denmark's whole economy is going to pieces does not worry the Germans. The crisis in Danish industry and agriculture produces hundreds of thousands of unemployed—potential workers if not soldiers for Germany—and man-power is what the Germans most need. However, the Danish unemployed have not been eager to work for the enemy; of the 77,000 Danes who have at different times worked in Germany, only 42,000 were left in May of this year. Although they could expect neither work nor dole on their return, the rest struggled back from the Nazi paradise. Unquestionably, the obstacles encountered in recruiting Danish man-power were a main cause of the surprising suspen-

sion of diplomatic relations between Nazi Germany and one of its satellites.

The German demands may also have included a declaration of war against Russia or adherence to a Germanic union under Hitler's leadership—tantamount of course to surrender of Danish sovereignty. As early as the summer of 1940 the Germans invited the Danes to enter a *Wirtschaftsgemeinschaft* with the Third Reich, that is, a customs and currency union, and even, practically, common citizenship. The Nazis dropped the plan when the Danes said no thank you, but they may now dig it up again.

A Germanic union, however, would be a joke without Sweden, and proclamation of such a union would make the Swedes more obstinate than ever. That is why such a league, even if it is now considered, will probably be pigeonholed. But it is also the reason why the Swedes feel so jittery over Goebbels's campaign.

As far back as 1934 Hitler told Rauschnig that in the next war he would have to occupy Sweden; he could not leave it to either British or Russian influence. He even said that he would form a northern union of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, not as an alliance of equals, but as an "alliance of vassal states with no army, no separate policy, and no separate economy." In April, 1940, he realized a part of this program. If at that time he confined his operations to Denmark and Norway, one of his main reasons was undoubtedly that the Swedes no longer were "nowhere prepared to put up a sufficiently strong defense," as it had looked to him eight years before, but on the contrary were able to make an undertaking against Sweden a costly affair. This is true



THE NORDIC RACE

Drawing by Bendix



now even more than in 1940, for the Swedes have forged their armed forces into a first-class fighting unit, and the utterances of their leaders leave no doubt that they will use it if a showdown is forced on them.

The feverish preparations of the Germans in Norway and their persecution of the inhabitants show their nervousness about a possible second front there. For Norway with its limited communications cannot be defended against a strong invader without the use of the Swedish roads. So the Germans have today an added interest in carrying out Hitler's original plans.

Signs are increasing that the Swedes are in for serious trouble. Recently a high German police officer was arrested while photographing the naval base in Stockholm from his hotel window. The reported subdivision of the Nordic race into *Herrenvolk* and *Untergermanen* indicates strongly a projected reorganization of the whole northern *Raum*. And, last but not least, the German radio has intensified its anti-Swedish campaign to a definitely menacing extent. It proclaimed some days ago that "the Bolshevik agents in Sweden" were only waiting for "the favorable moment to assume power by an armed uprising" and that the Swedish army presumably would "fall into Communist hands like ripe fruit." Usually Goebbels takes this tone only when the Nazis just are about to "liberate" a nation.

## Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

FROM Göring's speech of October 4 little more was published than the avowal that Europe's food supplies would be used to satisfy the needs of "Germany first" and those of other peoples afterward. It was something new to hear this principle announced so openly, but the principle itself was not new. In fact, Göring made several much more surprising statements.

Up to now we have known almost nothing about the amount of food available for the German people. We knew the normal "food balance" of the Reich and the conquered regions, but we had no idea of the extent to which the war had decreased agricultural production. Nor, on the other hand, had we any idea how well the Nazi machine had been able to exploit the occupied countries. On these matters Göring's speech threw considerable light. It revealed that farm production within Germany and also the loot taken from the conquered territories have shown a marked downward trend. In the spring of 1942 this downward trend became so steep that the government for the first time feared that "we should not make connections with the next harvest." "The situation was extremely serious," Göring insisted that from now on things would be better, but he offered no convincing reasons for expecting this change.

The 1940 harvest was "in no way fortunate." It was

a "poor harvest." Then in 1940-41 France, Holland, and Denmark—all important agricultural countries—were conquered. In them the Germans found large stocks and standing crops. To these supplies was added the harvest in Poland, where the Germans had been organizing production for a year. One might think that so many new sources would provide enough to cover Germany's own deficit. No, said Göring, it was not enough. In addition, part of the German war reserves had to be used. Only by drawing on these stores could the German people be properly nourished.

The harvest of 1941 was again a "poor" one. But in 1941-42 there were more conquests, Yugoslavia was overrun, and the hold on Bulgaria and Rumania was tightened. In Russia a vast grain-producing region stretching from the Baltic to the Ukraine fell before German might—and let no one think that everything there was destroyed. But in spite of these conquests, it was again necessary to throw Germany's war reserves into the breach—its last reserves. Now, Göring said plainly, the reserves were used up. They had been enough to carry the country through to the harvest, but only with the help of a drastic reduction of food rations in April.

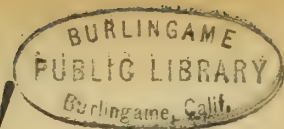
We can draw but one conclusion: however wide the areas that have been opened to exploitation, each year of the war has reduced the amount of foodstuffs in German barns and silos. Göring tried to lay the blame for this development on the caprices of the weather. He spoke of the "three iron winters that we have suffered." But to claim bad luck three times running is a little too much. As a matter of fact, the continuous downward trend indicates a continuous force behind it. And it is hard to be impressed by Göring's prediction of an upward turn in the near future when he bases it entirely on the latest conquests in Russia. Granted that "fields miles wide" have been acquired along the Don, the essence of his own demonstration is that all the land won by Germany has only decreased the supply of food.

## Spain Says No

ALTOGETHER they numbered about 26,000, the Spanish in the four concentration camps in southern France lately visited by a German delegation. The Nazi spokesman was all flattery and promises. "They might have been called reds, they might *be* reds, but as fighters they were first class—the Wehrmacht recognized that during the Spanish war." Now Germany invited them to come to work. They would be well fed (in the concentration camps many Spanish refugees have died of hunger); they would receive excellent wages, a good part of which they might send to their families in Spain or in Mexico; and if at any time they wanted to go back to Spain, the German government would see that they were not persecuted and were reestablished in their civil rights.

And how many of the 26,000 consented to work in the German industries? Exactly 73.





# Keep Them Out!

## VIII. REPRESENTATIVE HAMILTON FISH

BY WILLIAM JORDY AND WILL CHASAN

**N**EW YORK'S Twenty-sixth Congressional District will be a political testing ground this November. Should it return Hamilton Fish to Congress, it will have demonstrated that a man may associate openly with fascists, with all that this implies, and still retain the allegiance of his constituents.

Fish, it is true, is doing his diligent best to divert attention from his discrediting associations and activities as a leader of the extreme isolationist bloc. A shrewd politician, he is not attempting to meet the criticism of his record. Instead he is attacking the critics. They are "malicious" people, he says, who are resurrecting old quarrels and creating disunity. They represent an "unholy alliance of left-wing New Dealers, Communists, and rabid millionaire interventionists" which is more concerned with winning elections than with winning the war. Against his Democratic opponent, Judge Ferdinand Hoyt, Fish has brought the weighty accusation that he employs a ghost writer. It is trivial and irrelevant, but conveniently distracting.

However, with all this Fish has not succeeded in eliminating his record as the campaign's paramount issue. "His record is so bad," one local Democratic politician observed, "you can't forget it even by closing your eyes. The smell is too strong."

Hamilton Fish launched his career as an isolationist leader in February, 1938, when he condemned the \$800,000,000 naval-expansion bill as "unnecessary to defense." Subsequently he voted for several military appropriation bills, not "all," as he now is telling his constituents, but opposed the fortification of Guam, repeal of the arms embargo, lend-lease, the draft extension, and the abandonment of belligerent zones. He christened the Lend-Lease Act the "war, dictatorship, and bankruptcy bill," and denounced other measures as attempts by the "Moscow-Roosevelt-Bullitt axis" to involve us in a "Presidential war." His policy, he informed Congress, was to wait until war came here. He conceded that if Canada were attacked we should aid it, "but not if only a few bombs are dropped."

Fish's real offense, however, was not that he favored non-intervention, disastrously shortsighted though that policy has proved to be, but that he was blatantly pro-German. To a far greater degree than Chamberlain and the other apostles of appeasement, he indorsed the Nazi claim to *Lebensraum*.

This was made quite clear in the summer of 1939 when as minority leader of the House Foreign Affairs Committee he visited Europe to attend meetings of the Interparliamentary Union at Oslo. The trip was regarded in Congress as a harmless vacation junket at public expense. But Fish landed in France early in August and almost immediately went to see Nazi Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop. His conferences with von Ribbentrop, or perhaps it was some prior influence, convinced him that the German claims to Danzig were "just" and that Danzig was "97 per cent Nazi." Two days later he went in von Ribbentrop's plane to Oslo, where he proposed a solution to the Danzig problem which would have been satisfactory to the Nazis. When other delegates attacked his proposal as smacking too much of Munich, Fish waved them aside. "I don't care about Munich," he said generously, "or if one group or another of the powers gains some small benefits from such an arrangement." The claim that we couldn't do business with Hitler he dismissed as "preposterous."

The march into Poland brought Fish home. Immediately he began to show the direction of his sympathies. Shortly after the Germans took Warsaw, they claimed to have discovered in the American embassy correspondence from Ambassador Bullitt which revealed a plot by the Administration to involve the United States in war. The correspondence was denounced here as fictitious, but Fish's response was to declare that he "could not conceive of the Germans forging documents," and to ask for Bullitt's recall and the President's impeachment. All his activities began to reflect this warm regard for Nazi Germany. He spoke at a Madison Square Garden rally at which the Horst Wessel song, the Nazi anthem, was sung and a huge Nazi flag displayed on the platform. He wrote an article for *Today's Challenge*, a magazine edited by Nazi propagandist Frederick Auhagen. He addressed a meeting of the Steuben Society inaugurating a drive for \$150,000 to combat British propaganda. In Congress he denounced "German-phobia" and insisted that it was "none of our business what form of government any nation has." He also came to the support of Germany's Axis partner, Japan. On Japan Day at the World's Fair he said, "The Japanese have proclaimed a Monroe Doctrine for the Far East. . . . We have adhered closely to our own Monroe Doctrine for 120 years, and feeling as strongly as we do about the West-





Hamilton Fish

ern Hemisphere, we cannot object to Japan holding the same views." Some of his fellow-Congressmen began to regret audibly that he had come home from Europe.

Most of Fish's isolationist activities were channeled through the National Committee to Keep America Out of War, of which he was the national chairman. Nazi agent George Sylvester Viereck, with whom Fish was friendly, is reported to have inspired its formation. The committee recently was denounced by the Department of Justice as a transmission belt for Nazi propaganda. George Hill, Fish's secretary, was indicted for sedition because he used the committee's mailing list for the dissemination of fascist propaganda. Fish was placed on the witness stand during the Hill trial. He disclaimed any knowledge of the purposes for which the committee had been used. "I wouldn't know Nazi propaganda if I saw it," was his implausible explanation to the court. "I don't know anything about it."

The motive for Fish's activities, which fall so unmistakably into a pro-German pattern, is quite clear. He never has made any effort to conceal his conviction, one which the Nazis have assiduously cultivated, that Germany is a bulwark against communism. He has always wanted Germany to march on Russia, and could not see "why Great Britain should oppose German expansion eastward." Two days before Pearl Harbor he said in the House, "I repeat, if we enter the war and finally destroy the German army, we can do only one thing, and that is to bring communism to Germany, Italy, Poland, France—all of Europe." In brief, in Fish's view, the Nazi armies have become the defenders of Western civilization.

In addition to publicizing Fish's unsavory pro-German

and obstructionist activities, his opponents in the Twenty-sixth Congressional District are wisely stressing the story of his dubious relations with General Rafael Trujillo. This story, which came to light last August, demonstrates almost as much as Fish's Nazi associations his unfitness for office. In 1937 Trujillo, dictator of the Dominican Republic, unleashed his horrifying "Haitian massacre." Fish termed the massacre a "most outrageous atrocity" and urged withdrawing recognition from the Dominican Republic. On January 24, 1938, he inserted in the *Congressional Record* Quentin Reynolds's account of the massacre, which had appeared in *Collier's*. A year went by. Then a series of strange incidents occurred. In February, 1939, Trujillo hired George Jamhar Djamgaroff, a shady international character now under investigation, to do promotion work for the Dominican Republic. Investigation has revealed that Fish wrote a letter of recommendation for Djamgaroff, though Fish denies this. Then, on March 20, 1939, Hamilton Fish visited the Dominican Republic as a guest of Trujillo to rededicate the Christopher Columbus monument. In 1939 Trujillo visited the United States, and on July 12 was guest of honor at a dinner sponsored by the Pan-American Society. Fish was among the principal speakers. Five days later \$25,000 was transferred from Trujillo's account to Fish's in a New York bank. Of this sum Fish invested \$8,000 in the Nepaug Oil Company at Houston, Texas. When Nepaug's wells ran dry, he returned \$12,000 to the Trujillo account. Did Fish get a fee for this? He says it was simply a mutual interest in hot oil and that he offered his services as a friend without compensation. The Treasury Department is still investigating his 1939 income tax. But consider—regardless of the investigation's result—the spectacle of the ranking minority member of the Foreign Affairs Committee mixed up in the hot-oil dealings of a Central American dictator!

His fascist entanglements and the Trujillo revelation definitely have Fish on the run. Although he won the Republican nomination over the opposition of Wendell Willkie and Tom Dewey, he has been disowned by important Republican elements. Augustus Bennett, his opponent in the Republican primary, is supporting Judge Hoyt. The Poughkeepsie *Eagle News*, which supported him for twenty-two years, now is opposing him. Fish, realizing that he is in a precarious position, is campaigning desperately. For the first time in his political career he has opened headquarters, at Newburgh, one of the district's few large communities. He has replaced his well-tailored blue serges for the old greenish suit which has seen him through eleven previous campaigns, and he is busier than ever making the rounds of the clambake circuit.

Like his friend Dies, Fish has assumed the role of a martyr hounded by New Deal radicals. His campaign is



strictly anti-New Deal, and in a district which sometimes seems less proud of the fact that President Roosevelt makes his home there than that he "can't even carry his own town of Hyde Park," this is a powerful line of attack.

But Fish is not relying on anti-New Deal prejudices alone. His principal asset is the personal following he has built up during twenty-two years as a Congressman. The Fish family is one of the oldest in the district, and its present representative, more than his Hyde Park constituent, is the district's political "country squire." He has replied to every communication addressed to him by his constituents, performed thousands of personal favors for them, and made them feel that he was their personal agent at Washington. It is this immense store of good-will, carefully accumulated over more than two decades, on which Fish now is counting.

At the present moment the outcome of the campaign is still in doubt. Two years ago a comparatively unknown candidate, Hardy Steeholm, running a small last-minute campaign, whittled Fish's usual 30,000 plurality down to 8,000. Steeholm could have come within 4,000 votes of Fish had he also won the 4,000 votes of the American Labor Party. This year Judge Hoyt, a popular "home-town boy" and a former editor of the *Beacon News*, has the nomination of both the Democratic and the American Labor Party. In addition, he will receive support, the extent of which is unpredictable, from anti-Fish Republicans, to whom he is shrewdly appealing by adopting a friendly but critical attitude toward the Administration. He is being backed actively by the Poughkeepsie Central Labor Union, the garment workers in Newburgh and Beacon, the railroad workers at Port Jervis, and other labor groups. Perhaps he will also have in his camp the parents of boys in the armed forces; the percentage of drafted boys, high for the district as a whole, is among the highest in the country in the section around Beacon and Wappinger Falls. Hoyt's campaign platform begins, "There is only one issue—to win the war and win the peace," and his speakers are concentrating on the line that "defeating Ham Fish is a war issue."

It is a campaign where feelings woven out of twenty-two years of habit, of patronage, of small favors, of political allegiance, are pitted against what can only be called fundamental democratic convictions. Fish's reelection would not, of course, prove that his constituents look with favor on fascism or fascists. But it would prove that a typical American community is prepared, in return for certain petty advantages, to tolerate an associate of fascists, if not something considerably worse, in much the same way that other communities for similar reasons have tolerated the associates of grafters and racketeers. It would be an unpleasant augury for American democracy.

## In the Wind

IN THE SECTION in which it lists foreign diplomats in Washington, the "Congressional Directory" employs three footnote symbols to refer readers to additional information: "The asterisk," it says, "designates those whose wives accompany them; the dagger designates those whose unmarried daughters in society accompany them; the parallel lines designate those having other ladies with them."

MEMBERS OF A BRIDGE CLUB in Gallatin, Tennessee, recently voted to cancel their subscriptions to a local newspaper because in its column of Negro social news it prefixed names with Mr. or Mrs.

COMMONWEALTH, a pro-fascist magazine published in Florida, contains in its current issue an enthusiastic description of Hitler's Strength Through Joy movement. "In short," the article concludes, "the aim [of Strength Through Joy] would be to insure a happy and harmonious home life for each family and social security for every member of National Socialistic Germany."

ACCORDING TO persistent rumors in Washington, A. A. Berle, Jr., Assistant Secretary of State, is receiving religious instruction preparatory to entering the Roman Catholic church.

FROM THE NATION for September 19: "He is outspoken and has the courage to say, for example, that for this country, and in general, civilian defense is a more or less useless luxury and bad for morale" (Ralph Bates reviewing James Reston's "Prelude to Victory"); "A reader of this book can discover not only what is necessary to civilian defense but why it is necessary, and be enthusiastic in undertaking the program" (Donald W. Mitchell reviewing Colonel R. Ernest Dupuy's and Lieutenant Hodding Carter's "Civilian Defense of the United States").

BEFORE THE WAR Negroes accounted for 12 per cent of the workers on WPA. Now, because white workers have left to take war jobs and Negroes remain, the ratio has risen to over 20 per cent.

CORRECTION: On September 19 this column reported that two major-party candidates in the California primaries had lost the nomination of their own party but won the nomination of the party they opposed. The story went on to say that each would run for office under the standards of the party he was fighting. Several California readers have informed *The Nation* that election laws prevent this. The candidates can run only as independents in a write-in campaign.

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of \$5 will be awarded each month for the best item.—EDITORS THE NATION.]



# BOOKS and the ARTS

## CONSTANCE ROURKE IN THE CRITICS' DEN

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

THE heading of this article may seem unkind in view of the fact that the comments on Miss Rourke's posthumous book of essays, "The Roots of American Culture" (Harcourt, Brace, \$3), have been "favorable" with one exception; that even in that case her dismissal by the reviewer was reserved for the last two paragraphs and obviously, as the old saying goes, hurt him more than it did Miss Rourke. But I have in mind not only the critical lions who have appreciated her work but those who have never, publicly at least, deigned to taste her wares; and the further circumstance that the critical lions of the second part have, I suspect, been confirmed in their original prejudice by the very identity of the critical lions of the first part. The fact that Miss Rourke's admirers have a tendency to diminish her stature by seizing upon those elements which nourish their own particular interests does not help matters.

Miss Rourke, in other words, has become enmeshed in a critical quarrel which is today particularly sharp. It turns upon various issues; the one which has pertinence here is the concern or lack of concern with American materials. The pro-Americans tend to aggrandize the home town, whether it be the genteel New England of Van Wyck Brooks or the "wholesome" anti-intellectual hinterland. On the other side is what for lack of a better term I shall call the avant-garde. In principle these critics espouse the international point of view, which is sound; in practice their internationalism takes the form of an extreme preoccupation with Europe and an exaggerated fear of being associated with what they call the chauvinistic school, or of showing any undue interest in American folk or folks as such. The paradox is that they are often far to the left in politics and are therefore committed to a belief in "the people." But "the people" tend to become an abstraction, especially since in America they have persistently failed to fit into the required specifications.

The roots of this dispute are entangled in an old division which we inherited from Europe, the separation of our artistic-intellectual life from common "popular" life. It is a genuinely tragic estrangement—particularly in a country aspiring to be a democracy—which weakens the fiber of both elements and which the artist-intellectual, since he is that, should at least attempt to bridge over. Instead, from long buffeting, he has tended to accept the separation not only as inevitable but as a matter for pride touched with self-pity.

Mr. Brooks's attacks on "coterie writers" have been motivated in part by a consciousness of this estrangement. The trouble is that instead of filling the high role of a critical mediator between "the poet and the people" he has defended the people at the expense of the poet. His attacks on writers between the two wars for being unconstructive and pessimistic, his petulant jibes at expatriates, verge on philistinism, in

spite of the intellectual reservations with which he sprinkles his emotional judgments. The implied assumption that writers of integrity are deliberately pessimistic shows, among other things, an astounding lack of understanding of the creative process; it also confirms the people, who make a fetish of optimism and the happy ending, in their scorn for the artistic breed.

Van Wyck Brooks assumed the task of preparing the beginnings and fragments of Miss Rourke's work-in-progress for publication in the present book, and he has done a conscientious job. Four of the five reviews I have seen were written by Lewis Mumford, John Chamberlain, Lewis Gannett, and R. L. Duffus. None of these four can be set down, in any strict sense, as disciples of Brooks; but all of them, by sentiment or conviction or both, tend in his direction, and all of them are more or less out of favor with the avant-garde of American criticism.

Inevitably the editing presence of Mr. Brooks tends to identify Miss Rourke's views with his own; it also accounts for the sudden discovery, in some quarters, that Miss Rourke was important—which arouses conflicting feelings in one who knew it all along. Mr. Mumford's article about Miss Rourke in the *Saturday Review of Literature* was an excellent appraisal in itself. Yet to my mind he showed bad taste and worse strategy—since the whole admirable burden of his review was the demand for a wider recognition of her work—when, to prove that there was no hint of "isolationism" or chauvinism in her point of view, he said that she had been "almost alone among our American intellectuals" to accept the challenge to action of *his* book "Men Must Act"—thus injecting into the consideration of the work of Constance Rourke the strong partisanship for and against the views of Lewis Mumford.

John Chamberlain's review in the daily New York *Times* was intelligent; he ground no personal axes. Yet in the purlieus of my "critics' den" his praise was probably convincing only to those who were already convinced. Lewis Gannett, in the *Herald Tribune*, put her projected three-volume "essay" in the same category as Parrington's "Main Currents in American Thought" and then concentrated on the more picturesque findings of her long research, which make good copy. R. L. Duffus, in the *Times Sunday Book Review*, wallowed, as Miss Rourke forever scorned to do, in a sweet nostalgia for early America.

The avant-garde has, up to now, pretty consistently ignored Miss Rourke's exploration of the American past. I may be doing certain individuals an injustice—it is for that reason that I do not mention names—but it is my impression that many of the critics whom I respect on other grounds have dismissed Constance Rourke, sight unseen, as a scholarly



female folklorist whose "antiquarian" discoveries were at best charming but irrelevant to the high purposes of criticism and at worst chauvinistic in effect if not in intention. Their "sophistication," in other words, has kept them from even being aware that the arch of her scholarly, historical, in a sense archaeological, reconstruction of American culture was a critical synthesis which took account of as much relevant data, both foreign and domestic, as she was able to gather in thirty years; and that it was on the merits of that synthesis that she herself persistently demanded to be judged.

I am making the same demand for what seem to me important reasons. The issues with which Miss Rourke was passionately concerned for thirty years are major issues, highly relevant to the present as well as the future of American culture; the synthesis she arrived at takes account, on a high plane, of the valid elements—as opposed to the by now personal and vested interests—on both sides of the wasteful controversy I have sketched.

One of Miss Rourke's underlying critical purposes might be said to have been the reconciliation between the artist and society. Her own orientation was clear and unswerving: it stemmed from her concern—which was central—with the problem of the creative worker. In America, she felt, it was primarily a cultural problem. As I said in reviewing Maxwell Geismar's "Writers in Crisis," Americans in general not only lack knowledge, except of the most superficial sort, of backgrounds and traditions, they often display an almost defiant non-interest, a kind of snobbism in reverse, which denies their importance and their relevance to the present. One of the dismal results, on the literary side, is the endless repetition of self-education-in-a-vacuum so wearily set forth in the autobiographical pre-novels that are endemic in this country. Miss Rourke believed that to exercise his talents freely and effectively

the writer must know, as Eliot has said, "the mind of his own country—a mind which he learns in time to be much more important than his own private mind." . . . Many artists have worked supremely well with little encouragement; few have worked without a rich traditional store from which consciously or unconsciously, they have drawn. The difficult task of discovering and diffusing the materials of the American tradition—many of them still buried—belongs for the most part to criticism; the artist will steep himself in the gathered light. In the end he may use native sources as a point of radical departure; he may seldom be intent upon early materials; but he will discover a relationship with the many streams of native character and feeling. The single writer—the single production—will no longer stand solitary or aggressive but within a natural sequence.

## II

Constance Rourke's working life was spent charting the mind and especially the imagination of her own country. In undertaking her exploration of the forms it has assumed she laid down two principles: (1) that the American mind and imagination are necessarily distinctive from any other, though we have obviously inherited the general forms of culture developed by Western civilization; (2) that a culture cannot be equated to the fine arts, a range of the "peaks of achievement" suspended in blue air, but comprises "the whole configuration in the particular period . . . with its

special tenacities, currents of thought, contagions of feeling, its dominant arts, whether these are polite or impolite, practical or impractical, whether they slip over surfaces in transitory popular forms or become rooted as patterns of the folk imagination or, more broadly, of the social imagination."

These principles seem self-evident, yet they challenge assumptions, largely unconscious and for that reason all the more deeply imbedded, that have dominated the American attitude toward culture since America began: that our culture, if we ever achieved one, would be merely an extension of European culture to be transferred by means of "carriers," and that culture somehow equates the fine arts. This latter view, which "took shape here through the establishment of the classic ideal at precisely the time when our first consciousness of the fine arts emerged," tended to deny or minimize any organic connection between folk or popular expression and the fine arts, which were associated with a wealth and leisure we could patently not hope to possess for decades to come. Miss Rourke believed, on the contrary, that popular expression, embodying as it does native experience, traditions, craftsmanship, is part of the rich soil out of which the fine arts ultimately spring; that while in this country there was and could be no such thing as the folk in the European sense of a single homogeneous, long-settled, closely knit community, its function in furnishing the "tillage" for the fine arts was performed by the people, common and uncommon, whose skills and whose bents of feeling and thinking were European but whose expression was modified and changed by the distinctive social, political, and geographical elements in their new environment. American houses soon became adaptations rather than copies; American drama and acting were influenced by the new and overwhelming experience of the Indian as well as by Shakespeare; Jefferson was a product of both Europe and America; the mythology of Europe took on an American dimension in the tall tales of the ever-moving frontier. Some of Miss Rourke's most fruitful work was done in this last field, for in the myths of a people is to be found the record of its imagination in the making—its early literature, as Edith Hamilton points out in her fresh interpretation, "Mythology," recently published.

Through all this Miss Rourke was not concerned with proving that American culture was superior; quite the contrary. She did assert that "art has always taken on a special native fiber before it assumes the larger growth" and that this larger growth in America, though it was bound to be slow in any case, has been further hindered by the wide acceptance of an inorganic conception of culture, of which imitation is the core.

The essays in the present book are in various stages of completion. The title essay is a beautiful and finished statement of the argument of the whole work. Some of the others, I feel sure, would have been incorporated, expanded, or reduced, though every one of them is studded with insights and enough provocative ideas to keep half a dozen writers busy for years: the idea, for instance, that Puritanism and materialism have borne too heavy a share of blame for artistic failure in this country; the suggestion that the novel may not be natural to us, that ours, indeed, may not be a



literary culture, as we have tended, under the weight of English influence, to think it must be; that motion, as well as equilibrium, may nourish the creative impulse; and many others.

To obtain any adequate view of the final significance of her work-in-progress, it is necessary to go back to "American Humor," a basic book which has been scandalously neglected. In that volume, which is subtitled *A Study of the National Character*, Miss Rourke traced the patternings of the American grain; in the second half of the book she brought all her scholarship and thought and feeling to bear in placing our major writers in relation to the "many sequences of the American tradition on the popular side as well as on purely literary levels." The result is a perspective in which such apparently disparate figures as the Yankee peddler and Henry James, the "comic poets" of the frontier and Emily Dickinson, fall into place as representative and related manifestations of the American imagination. "The Roots of American Culture," finished, would have placed all the arts similarly in focus.

In "American Humor" I found for the first time a critical perspective of American expression which allowed room and significance not only to Emerson's essay on Self-Reliance, which I read in school, but to the tall tales that were part of my non-school experience in a small Western city. More than anyone else I have ever encountered, she saw America whole.

I have found this perspective continuously relevant and useful. And as I reread "American Humor" it seems to me that only a person who had not taken it in could say, as Alfred Kazin did in the *New Republic*, that "Constance Rourke failed us by not drawing the wealth of patterns and skills she had uncovered into our 'natural sequence' now, our contemporary predicament and need. . . . Commemoration, somehow, is never enough." Miss Rourke would have omitted that quibbling "somehow." She not only proclaimed her critical objective, over and over again, to be a synthesis that would be relevant to our "contemporary predicament." She actually accomplished it, on the limited scale of a single volume, in "American Humor." She "failed us" by dying before she could complete her task.

The first-rate critic is rare, for he must join manifold abilities seldom found in combination. He must have a capacity for large general ideas and a sure taste in the minute particulars of form and expression; he must be able to distinguish between the genuine and the false. He must be an order maker; and his order will be meaningless unless he has a sense of proportion that mediates continuously between the general and the particular. Miss Rourke was forever aware of these responsibilities, and she met them, in my opinion, to an extraordinary degree. Compare, for instance, her estimates of writers in "American Humor" with the sorry mistaken judgments in the final anti-climactic sections of Parrington; compare her understanding and her celebration of Henry James with Van Wyck Brooks's violent emotional rejection. Consider in the present book the hard-headed, anti-antiquarian Note on Folklore; observe her unerring detection of the fake "folk" in the paintings of Grant Wood. In addition she was a writer whose prose is so translucent that only its final impact reminds the reader of the massive scholarship assimilated within it.

## Profile of "The War Years"

*STORM OVER THE LAND: A PROFILE OF THE CIVIL WAR.* By Carl Sandburg. Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$3.50.

CARL SANDBURG inhabits the Civil War scene with more awareness and robust vigor than men of slower pulses bring to the crises of their own times. His two works on Abraham Lincoln, "The Prairie Years" and "The War Years," have attained great popularity because he has the art of communicating his own gusto to his readers, for while gusto may not be a requisite of good historical writing, it is indispensable to attracting a large audience to a history book.

"Storm Over the Land" is nothing less and very little more than a condensation of the four volumes of "The War Years." It has been, in Sandburg's phrase, "carved mainly from the pages" of the earlier work. The operation was skilfully performed by Elisabeth Bevier Hamilton, with whom the idea originated. It has resulted in a swift and straightforward story which, while it lacks the magnificence of the original volumes, has dispensed with their formidable length and occasional turgidness.

The avoidance of repetitious or cumbersome detail is one of the conspicuous merits of this shortened version. To take a single example, the subject of office-seekers, which occupied about seventy pages of "The War Years," has been reduced to eight lines, plus a joke by Petroleum V. Nasby. Sandburg's tremendous sentence of forty-six semicolons on "the intricate tale of the shaping of a national fate" has been slashed to twenty-one semicolons. For the most part, his sentences ring as smartly as men marching in quickstep.

The ebullient masses of facts and the torrents of quotations have necessarily been sacrificed. The violet-tinted passages are reduced, but the reader will still find enough of spindrift, seed-time, and crimson mist, sufficient birthing hours and slants of silver moons to assure him that here is authentic Sandburg. The elements of his highly individual style—save only the toppling superabundance of detail—are all retained: the vein of mystical poetry, the generalization lighted by the flash of example, the corn-belt humor, the touches of highfalutin rhetoric, the salty smack of anecdote. Idiosyncrasy is not lacking. Sandburg's passion for reporting the number of bullets found in trees after a battle is almost startling in a book which has small space for irrelevancies. There is little irony. It appears that the man is too simple and wholehearted for irony; but his simplicity is delusive, because it is wise. He can speak with penetration, as in his comment on Lincoln's address at Gettysburg: "His outwardly smooth sentences were inside of them gnarled and tough with the enigmas of the American experiment." He can speak with deep comprehension of "the capacity of so many men, women, and children for hating and fearing what they do not understand while believing they do understand completely and perfectly what no one understands except tentatively and hazardingly." And he can summon in a phrase the agony of ravaged Georgia—"the desolation and fallen pride and hunger and deathly quiet lacking majesty because of the smoldering foul smoke and the clean air pungent with the rot and stink of conquest." It is writ-



ing of such noble eloquence that makes it necessary to forgive Sandburg for fustian like "The gambler's factor grew, and the dice of destiny shook in the hands of Humpty Dumpty"; or the bathos of referring to Booth and Lincoln as the Outsider and the Human Target.

The book is profusely illustrated with photographs and drawings, happily selected to enhance the interest of the text. They include an enlarged sketch of the soldier's familiar companion, *pediculus vestimenti*.

"The War Years" ended with the splendid description of Lincoln's funeral pageant and his interment at Springfield. For the conclusion of "Storm Over the Land," Sandburg has chosen a post-war anecdote which was included, inconspicuously in the longer work.

To General Robert E. Lee in northern Virginia one day came a young mother. She wanted his blessing for her baby. He took the little one in his arms, looked at it, looked at her. Then came the slow words: "Teach him he must deny himself."

Without questioning either the value of discipline or the distinguished character of General Lee, one may wonder why Sandburg elected to end his vigorous book on a note of negation and defeat.

MARGARET LEECH

## The Nazis and the German Army

*THE GUILT OF THE GERMAN ARMY.* By Hans Ernest Fried. The Macmillan Company. \$3.50.

THERE has been a tendency to regard the German army leaders as dupes of the Nazis in the sense that the agrarian reactionaries of the type of Rauschning were dupes. In some quarters false hopes of an officer-class revolt have been based on this absurd error. That it is an error Mr. Fried shows in this rigorous and well-documented book, which sets out to prove that the German militarists of the Second Reich were the senior and originating partners in a deliberate combination. One may believe that a little too much stress has been placed on the role of the army without in the least diminishing the importance of this book. It is no hobby horse Mr. Fried rides, but a very lively animal of a recognizable color. And I think the author makes his point, that even to this day there is approximate equality of power between the army and the party, with extremely little possibility that the partnership will break up. "The army and the party are tools, each of the other, but neither is master. Together they rule the people," Mr. Fried says.

The strategic detour by which the militarists achieved their aim is something that our political strategists ought to understand as well as they know the way through the corridors of the OWI. To secure direct control of Germany was useless for the purposes of militarization. The essence of the post-war period was that it was an epoch of pacifism. Direct army control would have been too naked and unideological a rule. An efficient militarism cannot be imposed by force. All that can be produced that way is an Italian army. The task of the German militarists was to remake Germany in their image, and for this a party with an emotional and pseudo-intellectual appeal was necessary.

Mr. Fried oversimplifies a little, I believe, in making this

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fundamental point. It was not any objection to collective bargaining that made the militarists desire the suppression of the trade unions, he says, but the fact that the unions were anti-militarist. Collective bargaining is always regarded as subversive by militarists. Only the other day an American admiral told the A. F. of L. convention that Germany, Italy, and Japan were doing very well without unions and so could America. Professional militarists, of course, never think very highly of industrialists, bankers, and newspaper proprietors, and so do not use their language in attacking the unions; but the German militarists had enough political understanding to grasp the fact that they needed not merely a nationalist ideology but a dictatorial one, based upon a deceptive appropriation of the things nearest to the popular mind—socialism, security, and peace.

Even the special apologetic doctrines of Nazism were invented long before Nazism—the “stab in the back” theory, for instance. The claim that the army was stabbed in the back by the German revolution of November, 1918, was the intellectual device adopted by the officer caste to rid themselves of the shame of defeat. History shows, however, that it was the German General Staff which first acknowledged defeat and demanded an armistice, not the Reichstag, and much less any truly popular organ of opinion. As early as August the General Staff had told Wilhelm II that victory was impossible, while President Wilson received the first German demand for an armistice on October 3.

The November days did no more than put an end to useless slaughter. They did not even weaken the German negotiators very much, for the accumulation of American force would have swept away all resistance before long. Yet despite documented testimony to the contrary, the myth of the “stab in the back” was in circulation early in 1919, when Hitler was a mere anti-bolshevist “education officer” in a reactionary regiment. The myth reflected the atmosphere of the frightened and venomous ruling class, but it was no more than a tool in the hands of the quite unfrightened militarists.

There never has been any important anti-war faction in the German officer caste, Mr. Fried insists. Reactionaries have often urged us to believe the contrary in the hope of getting us to accept a new form of appeasement. Certain German exiles, more anxious to save a Junker Germany than to rid Europe of a nightmare, have engaged in what they would have us regard as well-intentioned conspiracy in the interests of peace. Rauschnig, for instance; in the summer of 1939 could serve as an intermediary between what he asserted to be an anti-war group of German staff officers and Daladier’s pet general. Nothing came of it of course, and nothing will come of hopes placed in the military caste in general. The army will only turn against the party, says Mr. Fried, in order to save the army in defeat (as Ludendorff pleaded for an armistice in September, 1918, in order to protect his army from destruction). Only this, or a self-contradictory betrayal of the values of militarism by the Nazis, could divide the two forces.

On this point Mr. Fried and Howard K. Smith, author of “Last Train from Berlin” are not in absolute agreement. One of the most important pieces of information that Mr. Smith had to give us was that the S. A. had been virtually

abolished while the S. S. had been largely incorporated into the army. The *Waffen* S. S., enjoying higher pay and better conditions, recruits its rank and file from among the most fanatical and efficient soldiers of the army, to the disgust of the old Prussian officers. The *Waffen* S. S., like the *Falange* troops in Spain, have chiefly repressive work to do. When the miserable Balkan accomplices and the German army had battered themselves into exhaustion in taking Sevastopol, it was the *Waffen* S. S. that marched in behind the front-line fighters to take over the city. Thus Hitler gathers a special army around him, while the generals’ army grows relatively weaker, Mr. Smith says. The information is of the greatest value, but having read Mr. Fried I cannot agree with Mr. Smith’s lightly touched suggestion that these S. S. divisions might be used against the generals. As Mr. Smith admits, their major purpose is clear. They are to be used if—. If what?

Hitler began his career, Mr. Fried reminds us, as the “political commissar” of counter-revolutionary regiments. It was he who after the Hamburg revolt served as nationalist propagandist in the volunteer regiments that had been used against the Hamburg working class. Back at his starting-point, Hitler is organizing his new private army, to be pitted against the people on their day of wrath.

RALPH BATES

## On Language

*THE GIFT OF TONGUES.* By Margaret Schlauch. Modern Age Books. \$3.50.

*THE NATURE OF LITERATURE: ITS RELATION TO SCIENCE, LANGUAGE AND HUMAN EXPERIENCE.* By Thomas Clark Pollock. Princeton University Press. \$3.

**T**HE GIFT OF TONGUES” is a rare phenomenon. It is a popularly written book which can be read for pleasure but is in no sense a popularization. It covers the whole subject of the science of language, it is sound philology, and it rides no hobbies.

In two of its chapters, on Semantics and on Language and Poetic Creation, it discusses with stimulating concreteness the questions developed in a more rarefied manner in “The Nature of Literature.” The purpose of this book, in Professor Pollock’s own words, “is to lay a theoretical basis for the investigation of literature as a social phenomenon in terms which are consonant both with our contemporary knowledge of language and with the development of modern science.” It is a lesson for the dry-as-dust scholars who are sometimes inclined to forget that the important thing is the literary work itself rather than the circumstances surrounding its production and the theorists who forget that the ultimate test of a work of literature must be its relation to the fundamental frame of value in which it is judged.

The main criticism to be made of the book is that its answer to the question implied in the title emerges from a discussion which would have benefited by more concreteness, directness, and compression. It is evident that by literature Professor Pollock really means literature as the common



reader understands it, as may be inferred from his succinct summary of the uses of language:

In *phatic communion* one person uses words to come into relation with another. In *referential symbolism* one person uses words to direct the attention of another to certain referents: if this is his controlling purpose, the use is *pure referential*: if his purpose is also to arouse attitudes or actions in connection with the referents, the use is *pragmatic-referential*. In *evocative symbolism* one person uses words to evoke a controlled experience (E) in another: if he does this in order to express an experience of his own, the use is *literature* (L): if his concern, however, is only to evoke an experience (E) in the other, the use is *pseudo-literature*.

This is sound theory and sound common sense (by "phatic communion" he has previously explained that he means "chit-chat"), and when boiled down says nothing which the common reader does not instinctively recognize as true. And (E) and (L) should reassure the professors.

JAMES ORRICK

## William Sowden Sims

**ADMIRAL SIMS AND THE MODERN AMERICAN NAVY.** By Elting E. Morison. Houghton Mifflin Company. \$5.

IN THE dedication to his splendid book Mr. Morison pays homage to "the Insurgent Spirit and to Those Officers Who Have Maintained It Within the United States Navy in Time of Peace." The problem of mediocrity and lack of progressive thinking in high places in our army and navy has never been more urgent than during the past several years. And in no other major country is there so little understanding of basic military and naval principles as in the United States. The army and navy, alternately petted and neglected, receive neither the constructive criticism nor the support which their importance demands. Since only war affords an opportunity to put new theories to a test, the higher officers are inevitably conservative. The only real force compelling progress, therefore, is that handful of men who have the vision to perceive existing evils and the probable needs of the future.

In selecting William Sowden Sims as the subject for a four-year research in naval insurgency Mr. Morison could not possibly have made a wiser choice. Though extremely indiscreet, Sims possessed far better balance and much greater wisdom than his less fortunate acquaintance General William Mitchell. While he spent his entire adult life attacking abuses, generally as a junior officer, he stopped just short of saying or doing the unforgivable thing which would have put an end to his reforms.

It is to the credit of the author that he understands both the details and the spirit of this extremely useful life. Sims was a muckraker and reformer, a naval counterpart of Upton Sinclair and Lincoln Steffens. Few men in all military history can have attempted to improve so many things or, without dictatorial powers, scored so many successes. Poor gunnery, promotion by seniority, department organization, ship design, destroyer tactics, the Annapolis system of education,

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neglect of the Naval War College, the significance of air power in sea war, all received his attention. In gunnery, where he had the support of President Theodore Roosevelt and a genuinely free hand, the range, rapidity, and accuracy of American shooting were multiplied several hundred per cent in one decade. In some fields his contributions passed unnoticed because they eliminated chances of disaster, but in those where his efforts were unrewarded, as in the organization of the Navy Department and methods of promotion, recent events have underlined only too painfully the correctness of his views. His declaration twenty years ago that "the plane carrier is the battleship of the future" caused wincing throughout his entire profession, but had the United States acted on that belief its position in the western Pacific might be much better than it is today.

Because the naval activities of the United States in World War I were unspectacular, most persons have regarded them as unimportant. Yet nothing could be farther from the truth. It was the introduction of the convoy which defeated the U-boat and finally prevented German victory; and it was the persistent urging of Sims, more than any other factor, that broke the mental paralysis with which the Admiralty was seized in 1917 and earned the convoy a trial. Too much credit can scarcely be given him for the satisfactory relations that prevailed between the American and British navies.

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It is to Mr. Morison's credit that Sims the individual is not lost sight of in his consideration of Sims the historical personage. Born with a happy, buoyant personality, boundless energy, a critical eye, and a constructive mind, he attempted to improve virtually everything with which he came in contact. More than any professional pacifist he distrusted the "military mind." A splendid leader beloved by most of the men he commanded, he was decidedly less satisfactory as a subordinate. A disregard of public opinion combined with a strong social conscience explained his lectures urging that war be outlawed and his dismay when sanctions were not invoked against Japan and Italy, his denunciation of the Treasury raids by war veterans, and his reference to Irish Americans who insisted on transporting their prejudices to the United States as the "jackass vote." One reporter commented that his natural element was hot water.

Like most reformers he had faults. Far too apt to interpret opposition to his suggestions as due either to laziness or stupidity, he was also sufficiently conceited to feel that obstacles in his path were placed there for personal reasons. In some instances, as in his opposition to the North Sea mine barrage, he was completely wrong. Often his proposed remedies for complex evils were over-simple, and if they had been adopted would have led to worse troubles than those they were designed to correct.

In his Preface Mr. Morison apologizes for the imperfections attendant upon a military biography written by a civilian. Such apologies are quite needless in a piece of work which shows exhaustive research and which has been carefully checked by both naval officers and historians. A few errors can be found, but these are minor flaws in a volume that is certainly the best military biography to appear in many years.

DONALD W. MITCHELL

## CONTRIBUTORS

HARRY BLOCK, *The Nation's* Mexican correspondent, recently organized a new publishing concern in Mexico City called Editorial Nuevo Mundo.

JAMES A. WECHSLER is on the Washington staff of *PM*.

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GUNNAR LEISTIKOW, former foreign editor, columnist, and editorial writer of the *Social-Demokraten* of Copenhagen, is now in the United States.

WILLIAM JORDY is a young free-lance writer who formerly lived in Hamilton Fish's district.

WILL CHASAN, a frequent contributor to *The Nation* and editor of its special supplement on the Dies committee, is about to enter the army.

MARGARET LEECH is the author of "Reveille in Washington, 1860-1865."

JAMES ORRICK frequently contributes book reviews to *The Nation*.



# DRAMA

## "The Eve of St. Mark"

TO SAY that Maxwell Anderson's new play is the best of the season so far is not to say very much. To add that it is also the finest work of its author in many a year is still not enough. In my opinion at least, "The Eve of St. Mark" (Cort Theater) is also the most effective and the most satisfactory play about the war yet to reach our stage. Some prospective spectators may be discouraged, as I myself was, by a title that is unfortunate and misleading. Its only justification is far-fetched at best, and it suggests that penchant for rather hackneyed poetic implications which has certainly been one of Mr. Anderson's besetting sins. But titles are not, after all, so very important, and the play itself may well be the "What Price Glory" of 1942—not because, despite certain scenes of very robust comedy, it resembles the latter in tone or theme, but because, like "What Price Glory," it seems so astonishingly successful in giving expression to the emotional attitudes of its moment. Audiences as well as critics take to it with enthusiasm and delight.

The main scheme of the piece is so direct and so simple that its general outline must have occurred to—and been rejected by—nearly every one of the thousands who have considered the possibility of writing an American war play. Mr. Anderson merely chronicles in many scenes the adventures of a representative young man who is taken from the farm, is introduced into the life of an army camp, gets himself engaged to a home girl on his leave, and then is torn away to meet danger and probable death on a tiny island in the Pacific. But what might have been banal or plodding is so freshly seen and felt and written that instead of being commonplace it is novel and exciting as well as completely satisfying and right. In so far as the play has a thesis it is the thesis of "Key Largo," the chief difference being that it is here stated in the positive rather than the negative: men who might continue to live do, nevertheless, sometimes choose to die simply because they know that they should, and know it even though they cannot put into words the nature of the obligation; even though, indeed, every argument they can muster seems to prove to them that the final sacrifice is one which no man need require of himself. Yet this thesis is certainly not the

thing one is most aware of during the course of a play which remains always more a chronicle than an argument and maintains a tone as often tender and gay as it is tragic or even somber. To state the thesis is certainly to leave one still wondering just why the whole is as engrossing as it proves to be.

One answer is, of course, merely that Mr. Anderson has never before more convincingly demonstrated the fact that he has the born playwright's gift of carrying conviction and of making one feel that the familiar has never really been seen or felt before. Take, for instance, one of the most inevitable of many inevitable scenes—that in which the hero and one of his companions meet two young semi-professional tarts in a juke-box cafe. Few playwrights could escape the long-familiar clichés, but Mr. Anderson escapes them so completely that the scene is one of the best of the play—funny, touching, terribly real, and a necessary part of a vast drama which manages to involve everybody in one way or another. Much the same could be said of most of the other scenes, whether they are concerned with the domestic life of a man suddenly called upon to become a soldier, with that soldier when he is practicing his terrible new profession, or with the grotesque life of the training camp, where a man has been freed from the obligations of ordinary life without having yet really assumed those of his new career. But the technical excellence of the scenes is still not enough to account for the total effect of the play, and I am thrown back upon something alluded to at the beginning of this analysis—upon the fact that "The Eve of St. Mark" is so astonishingly successful in its attempt to express the emotional attitudes of a particular moment.

No previous play of the present war seems to me to have done that. Those sent us from England have been either feebly conceived or ineffectually written, but even had they been technically and artistically better, they would still have been, in some respects, inappropriate here. They were written by, for, and about a people whose experience with the present conflict is so much longer and so much more violent than ours that their attitudes are very different, and the plays which express those attitudes inevitably seem strange and remote to us, however interesting they may be. Nor were "Watch on the Rhine" and "There Shall Be No Light" much closer. They told us what we ought to feel rather than what we actu-

ally did feel or were even ready to feel. And for that reason they also did not come home to our hearts and bosoms. But in "The Eve of St. Mark" we see ourselves at this moment. Its subject is the experiences we have actually had; its emotional level as well as its emotional tone is ours; and the play is therefore capable, as no other war play has been, of performing one of the important functions of art. It gives clarity and coherence and logic to our emotional reaction to certain great events; it provides an occasion upon which a group may feel in an orderly and clear fashion what the individual members of that group have been feeling fragmentarily and in confusion. "What Price Glory" channeled the disillusion which followed the last war; "The Eve of St. Mark" channels those emotions which we feel as we enter a greater conflict. In it the author is not primarily either an advocate or a prophet. He has somehow succeeded in making himself a spokesman, and artistically the effect is very fine indeed. Too many people have told us what we ought to feel and scolded us for not feeling it. Mr. Anderson puts our reply into words and scenes. This is what we are doing and thinking. And it is not so inadequate after all.

Two other recent productions demand brief notice. "Let Freedom Sing" (Belasco Theater) is another of those miniature reviews put on by very young performers. I found it gay, refreshing, and funny. "Strip for Action" (National Theater) is an elaborate, sprawling, and obstreperous farce about a burlesque troupe in an army camp. Many seem to find it stupendously funny, but

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to me its combination of sentiment, bawdy; and patriotism was merely embarrassing. JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

## MUSIC

THREE instrumental sections of Berlioz's Symphony "Romeo and Juliet" have been played by Toscanini before: (1) Romeo Alone—Sadness—Concert and Ball—Great Festivities in Capulet's Palace; (2) Love Scene (with the introductory Capulet's Garden omitted); (3) Queen Mab. They include some of the most beautiful music of the work; and in performing the symphony in its entirety at the opening concerts of the New York Philharmonic-Symphony Society Toscanini provided a first hearing of two other astounding pieces of music, Juliet's Funeral Procession and Romeo in the Family Vault of the Capulets, as well as the impressive instrumental Introduction, the vocal Prologue, with its completely different and exquisite Queen Mab, and the Finale, which descends to mere operatic grandiloquence.

The best parts of this symphony are enough to make it one of the great works of the musical literature of all times—which brings up the question why this should have been the first complete performance in the twenty-five years of my experience as a concert-goer. One reason is that the work requires a chorus, which an orchestral society can engage only once or twice a season, and which it will engage then for Beethoven's Ninth Symphony unless a conductor presses, like Toscanini, for the Missa Solemnis, or Verdi's Requiem, or now Berlioz's "Romeo and Juliet." There is the question why it took Toscanini so long to insist on "Romeo and Juliet"; but other conductors undoubtedly are influenced by the fact that they will have a success with the Ninth Symphony that they will not have with Berlioz's work, which is more difficult to play well and does not impress the public.

"The general public has no imagination; accordingly pieces which appeal solely to the imagination have no public," said Berlioz when he recommended the omission of Romeo in the Family Vault of the Capulets; and there were other sections which did not seem to be making much of an impression on some of the people at the recent performances. For one thing Berlioz's thought and language and style are completely individual, completely unrelated to any-

thing else the public hears, and above all to the German music it hears most of the time. What they require to become better understood is the familiarity born of frequent hearings; but because the music is not understood it is infrequently played. What they require also is that the listener be receptive; but even when he hears the music he listens with ears and mind prejudiced against it by what is written about it.

In an article on critics in the *American Scholar* a few years ago Dr. Paul Henry Lang wrote: "What have they done to help the growing millions of music lovers on their way to the appreciation of great music? They have not only failed to guide them but worse than that have frequently misguided them. Wherever we turn our eyes, to daily reports, articles in the music section of the Sunday papers, or program notes, we are confronted with a thick tangle of prejudices, inherited formulas and catchwords, a prodigious lack of information, and an unbelievable ignorance of musical literature." In continental Europe "newspapers have opened their columns to musical scholars"; and that, it was indicated, was what they would have to do here. Now I would not dispute Dr. Long's evaluation of the writings of our musical journalists; but I have not yet encountered in the writings of our scholars anything that leads me to believe the public will get the guidance it needs from them. The public, if it is wise, will listen to Berlioz without the help of Mr. Downes; but also without the help of Dr. Einstein, whose statements about "Romeo and Juliet" and "The Damnation of Faust," as I pointed out a while ago, were a restatement of "inherited formulas and catchwords" that betrayed "an unbelievable ignorance" of the music. And also without the help of Dr. Lang himself.

In the article I have mentioned he discussed one of the errors which the critics encouraged instead of fighting—"the worship of the big, the long, the ponderous, and the loud," of which one manifestation was Stokowski's "gigantic orchestral paraphrases of [Bach's] spiritual songs, of . . . intimate chorale preludes . . . and of works for chamber orchestra and solo violin." And he wrote: "The trend toward grandiloquence was a product of the romantic era, and the musical taste of our public has its roots in the musical style of that period. The musicians of the last century, from Berlioz to Strauss . . ., expressed their thoughts by large gestures

and used a complicated, at times even enormous, technical apparatus. It was therefore concluded that deep poetical feeling cannot be expressed without an intricate form of execution. . . . Today we wonder why musicians of judgment were captivated by orchestral scores which when dispossessed of their tremendous orchestral ornaments show an astonishingly meager invention and vague construction."

This did not dispose the mind of a reader of the *American Scholar* to appreciate the beauty, effectiveness, and honesty of some of the music of Berlioz that would be so strange to his ears, or its delicacy, finesse, subtlety, economy. It did not prepare him for the affecting loveliness of the sustained melodies—in Romeo Alone and the Love Scene—that move and turn in such unusual and such exquisite ways; for the enchantment of Capulet's silent, starlit garden produced by the strings *pppp*, the two flutes *pp*, the few notes of the distant horn; for the musical evocation of the scene of the two lovers, achieved with such poetic insight and such reticence; for the sheer orchestral magic of Queen Mab; for the poignancy of the single note reiterated *pp* at intervals by the chorus over the orchestra's fugal march, in Juliet's Funeral Procession. It did not prepare him for the brilliance of Great Festivities in Capulet's Palace, the shattering power of Romeo in the Vault of the Capulets, in which large means are used with no less originality and discretion and honesty. I stress this honesty because Dr. Lang impugned it. One encounters things in Berlioz's scores, Toscanini said, that one cannot understand or imagine—until one hears them from the orchestra, when their poetic purpose and their marvelous rightness for this purpose become clear. Dr. Lang did not help his reader to understand this—to understand that Berlioz's musical thought has an orchestral form of which one cannot "dispossess" it without doing it the violence that Stokowski's transcriptions do Bach. One can say the same thing of Strauss's "Don Quixote"; and if one does not merely count instruments but considers what is said with them, one finds "the big, the long, the ponderous, and the loud" in Brahms, whom Dr. Lang described as "the lonely retrospective musician who was trying to save the glory of classical art in a world engulfed in the dramatic frenzy of the Neo-German School."

The performance of "Romeo" I will discuss later.

B. H. HAGGIN



# Letters to the Editors

## Ireland—Friend or Enemy?

*Dear Sirs:* I think it is now time to begin counting noses and to declare that those who are not for us in this struggle for life are against us.

I agree most heartily with your position regarding Vichy France—that it ought to be regarded as either a friend or an enemy. It ought no longer be permitted a half-and-half stand. But I think you should take a similar unmistakable stand with respect to other countries of vital concern to us. I think our country will soon have to insist that Chile and the Argentine make a choice between us and the Axis. The time is past when they can continue aid to the Axis and still demand our friendship.

But the country most vitally important to us at the present time is Ireland—Southern Ireland. Why you should feel that you have to handle the Irish with kid gloves is a mystery. You have fought their quarrel with England over a period of years and have proved to be one of their most valuable friends. Now that our very life is at stake I think you have the right to demand their support of our cause. As it is, it would be far better for us if Ireland were an out-and-out enemy. Then we could take measures to safeguard our interests.

You keep demanding a second front, and I think you are right. But anyone with even a small amount of military knowledge knows that a second front is impossible with a country like Southern Ireland on our exposed flank. The dog-in-the-manger attitude that Southern Ireland has taken practically guarantees Hitler against a second front—at least for some time to come. If Southern Ireland does not change its attitude very shortly it ought to be declared in the ranks of the enemy and suffer the loss of all future help and sympathy from this country. And when this war is over and England moves to rectify this error of judgment of hers—from a military point of view—in not retaining control of Southern Ireland, all of us in this country will rejoice at such a move and feel that England is thoroughly justified. For the military control of Southern Ireland is just as much a protection for us as for England.

R. W. PENCE

Greencastle, Ind., October 16

## Second Front at Dakar

*Dear Sirs:* Without being a military expert in any sense, I believe that Dakar as a secondary offensive front offers such obviously good prospects for the United Nations that it is disturbing to find that this would conflict with the resolve of the State Department to keep Vichy a neutral. In this connection, the elevation of Admiral Leahy to a place of tactical authority is completely discouraging, since it makes it unlikely that the necessary action will be taken.

This is the time to reread "The War Years" by Carl Sandburg, especially since the view is being frequently expressed that Lincoln understood the advantage of delay. The truth is that he understood the need of impatience, and he condemned the generals who suffered from what he described as "the slows." Incidentally, Sandburg shows how much of the dissension and conflict between Northern factions was finally resolved once a firm policy of attack, with all its casualties, was undertaken.

THEODORE A. TENOR

Beaver Falls, Pa., October 15

## Sympathy for Mr. Voorhis

*Dear Sirs:* Charles Van Devander, in his article on the Dies committee in the supplement to the October 3 issue of *The Nation*, says that Representative Voorhis's "family fortune has never impinged on his social conscience." What he means by this remark I do not know, but here are some pertinent facts.

After graduation from college Mr. Voorhis made a direct study of labor conditions and labor problems by becoming a manual laborer and working in labor camps and industrial communities. Subsequently he returned to university study, received an advanced degree, and served as a college instructor in the history of labor problems. He engaged with others in a brave but unsuccessful effort to obtain for laborers in the Imperial Valley their constitutional right of assembly.

One of his most notable performances was his establishment of a school for underprivileged boys at San Dimas, California. He conducted this school until his political duties led him to give it to the state of California as a part of its educational system.

Mr. Van Devander's main criticism is that Congressman Voorhis has not interfered with the outrageous actions of the reactionary majority of the Dies committee. He ignores Mr. Voorhis's published condemnation of some of these actions and his participation in a threat of a minority report, mentioned by Kenneth Crawford in the same issue of *The Nation*, which actually prevented the publication of the majority statement as a committee report. Anyone who has served as a minority member of a committee the majority of which was determined to do as it pleased will have sympathy with Mr. Voorhis, and may wonder what he could have done under the circumstances.

BERNARD C. EWER

Claremont, Cal., October 13

## Reaction to Internment

*Dear Sirs:* I inclose a copy of a letter from a young student in the Home Economics Department at the University of California at Berkeley who is now a prisoner at the concentration camp for American citizens of Japanese ancestry at Poston, Arizona. Your readers will perhaps like to get this succinct picture of an intelligent girl's reactions to internment.

ELMER MICHELSON

Berkeley, Cal., October 5

[The letter follows.]

When I first came I thought this place was really going to be fun and exciting because everything was so new and we met so many new friends, all Japanese of course. Yet I know that others didn't take things as I did because they weren't used to the terrific heat and dust and discomfort. We used to go to the intake to watch the new groups come in, and they always looked so tired and discouraged. . . .

About the younger generation and their attitude toward camp life, it is a sad story. It is really disgusting to see maturing personalities disintegrating. The young people around seventeen or eighteen are getting lazy, ambitionless, satisfied, and stagnating. I suppose we should blame the seeming security of camp life. We don't have to worry about our shelter, food, or clothing here, and we can get along fine without working if we choose to. Security is something that we strive for and de-



sire in any normal life, but in a place and situation like this, what awful consequences it brings! I just wonder what some of us will be like in personality and character in four or five years.

Yet camp life offers excellent opportunities to show our ingenuity and creative ability in practical ways. Since our income is so limited—by the way, after next month I'll be drawing professional wages, \$19—and there are so few things it can buy because of our location and war priorities, we are forced to think up substitutes or to make our own products. To mention a few articles we make—furniture, sandals, beautiful paper flowers, parks out of desert foliage, vases out of rock and cement, and now there is a knitting and crocheting

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craze throughout camp. There is also a wonderful opportunity here to practice a democratic civil government, if we would all take it seriously and cooperate. We get into tough spots sometimes because of the clash of ideas between the older and younger generation, but so far the results have been very democratic and farsighted. We are tending toward the principles of the consumers' cooperative more than anything else. In this way all the community enterprises will be owned by the people who patronize them and the profits can be used directly for the benefit of the people. . . .

Daily I hear reports of different friends who have been fortunate enough to leave various camps to attend universities in the East and Middle West. Some have received scholarships and others not. I'm still clinging to the hope of getting out of here, too, but I guess money is just too important to ignore. . . .

### Paying for Prejudice

*Dear Sirs:* The United States is waging war for democracy, but the state of Missouri is paying an unbelievably high price for segregation.

Lloyd Gaines, a Negro Missourian, sought admission to the University of Missouri Law School. He was rejected because of his race. The United States Supreme Court directed the Missouri officials to admit Gaines to the white state school or establish a separate law school for Negroes. Missouri established the Lincoln University Law School in St. Louis for Negroes. It has an enrolment of sixteen students and has twelve persons on its pay roll. It is likely that before the school year is over there will be more persons on the Lincoln University Law School pay roll than students in attendance.

If the federal government would put a moderate tax on racial prejudice, Mr. Morgenthau's worries would be over.

S. R. REDMOND

St. Louis, Mo., October 14

### Jim Crow in Washington

*Dear Sirs:* I am sure you are familiar with the Jim Crow situation in Washington, which has been such a blot on the country in peace time and which has become more of a disgrace—as well as a positive danger—now that we are at war.

The capital is now suffering from a shortage of trained street-car and bus

operators: accidents have increased, frantic appeals are made for operators, and men are being brought in from other cities, adding to the overcrowding. But only white men are allowed to become street-car and bus operators. There are in Washington many qualified Negroes, familiar with the city, but the Capital Transit Company flatly refuses to hire them.

To rectify this situation the Committee for Jobs for Negroes in Public Utilities has been established here. It plans to utilize agencies such as the Fair Employment Practices Commission to mobilize public opinion and to provide a channel through which qualified Negroes can be mobilized for these jobs when the time is ripe.

We feel this is an important fight, vital to the war effort and to the aims of the war. If any persons would like to give financial assistance, checks or money should be sent to the committee, care of the Y. M. C. A., Twelfth Street, N. W.

CHARLES E. GAGNIER,

Publicity Committee

Washington, October 15

### Hardships Under the Law

*Dear Sirs:* Last year a law was passed by the United States Congress stating that American citizens could not return to foreign countries where they were born and reside there continuously unless they worked for American companies or as employees of the American government. The law created so many difficulties for American citizens living in England and Latin American countries that the date of its action was postponed until October, 1943.

The Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs is trying to promote greater sympathy between the United States and Latin America, but United States citizens born in Latin America who by living in the country of their birth could be extremely useful to it as well as to their adopted country must return here because positions in which they could represent American companies or serve the American government are limited. Hundreds of American citizens living in Latin American countries have been forced to pull up stakes and return to the United States. Although it is understood that the law was aimed at naturalized American citizens living in Germany, it is unfortunately causing much hardship to innocent and honest Americans living in Latin America.

LEAH BRENNER

Yonkers, N. Y., October 9



# THE *Nation*

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## *The Shape of Things*

WENDELL WILLKIE'S ROLE AS LEADER OF the loyal opposition was played to perfection in his radio report to the American people. Mr. Willkie was sharply critical of the Administration and of the conduct of the war, but his strictures had none of the querulousness or patent insincerity we are accustomed to expect from Republican leaders endeavoring to make political capital out of the Administration's mistakes. In its breadth of view and bold concreteness the speech went far beyond the government's most advanced position. Mr. Willkie has reason to believe from his own observations that lend-lease aid to our Allies is largely "boasts and broken promises," and he demands a more offensive psychology in the conduct of the war. He calls again for a second front in Europe and for a speedy invasion of Burma. He recognizes that "India is our problem" and resents the "half-ignorant, half-patronizing way" in which we conduct diplomatic relations with nations in Eastern Europe and Asia. He opposes the Administration's moves toward censorship. Above all, he demands an end of colonialism, with dates set *now* for the liberation of all peoples and with suitable guaranties. All these proposals happen to coincide exactly with our own views. We fear, however, that the timing of his speech, coupled with the notable failure to say a single kind word for the Administration, may serve no good purpose next Tuesday. The speech may in fact help to elect Republicans who are diametrically opposed to everything in it and who are in large part responsible for the Administration's failure to advance the Willkie program.

★

THE LONG-EXPECTED BRITISH DRIVE TO "crush Rommel" has opened in a spirit of sober confidence. Headquarters in Cairo are maintaining a reserved attitude, but if there is less ballyhoo than attended previous desert offensives, there seems to be no less determination and much better preparation. Quick results are not to be expected, since the narrowness of the Alamein front and the depth of the fortified Axis positions have produced a tactical picture resembling that in France during the last war. Only after the artillery and infantry have opened gaps in the enemy lines will it be possible



for armored forces to take up their leading role. A great part, however, is being played by the Allied aerial forces, which have established complete supremacy and have been able, in addition to giving strong support to the ground troops, to maintain a smashing offensive against Rommel's communications. The stress laid by Axis sources on the numbers and equipment of the Eighth Army and particularly its air strength is a hopeful augury, for it suggests the preparation of alibis. In this new campaign the primary British objective is, of course, to end the Axis threat to Egypt. But it has larger implications in relation to the battle for the Mediterranean which has been in progress ever since Italy entered the war. That is why the R.A.F. has been crossing the Alps once again to create havoc and panic in northern Italy and why a war of nerves is raging around Dakar.

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**ADMIRAL LAND, WHO HAS LONG DISPLAYED** intolerance of trade unions, has managed to beat his own record for irresponsibility. In a speech to the Investment Bankers' Association last week he said, according to the *New York Times*, that shipbuilding and the war effort generally were being obstructed by "union organizers, profiteers, typewriter strategists, and needle boys. As far as the organizers are concerned, for the duration, in my opinion, they ought to be shot at sunrise." According to *PM*, Land spoke of organizers without a prefixed description, but when asked by reporters to whom he referred said he meant union organizers. In a so-called "clarification" of his remarks the Admiral said, "I meticulously refrained from any adjective qualifying the term 'organizers.' As everyone knows, there are all kinds of organizers for all kinds of projects. My only interest is in organized production." Possibly organized production might get on better if it were not in charge of organizers of the stripe of Admiral Land, whose speech was either deliberate mischief-making or, if his explanation is to be accepted, childish nonsense. In his defense, the *New York Herald Tribune* says he is doing an outstanding job as War Shipping Administrator and chairman of the Maritime Commission and ought, therefore, to be allowed "the indiscretion of exhibiting his prejudices." This plea, which incidentally makes a liar of the Admiral, disregards the fact that the success of the shipbuilding program is dependent on the cooperation of labor, which so far has been given ungrudgingly. But we have yet to learn that the ideal method of seeking cooperation is with a firing squad. Even the Nazis—the leading experimentalists along these lines—have not made an outstanding success of it.

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**SENATOR JOSHUA LEE TRAILED THE FUMES** of bathtub gin and rotgut whiskey through the Senate chamber last week when, after the unscrupulous fashion

of dry fanatics, he tried to tack on the draft bill an amendment to prohibit the sale of alcoholic beverages of any kind in communities adjacent to military or naval posts. And if anyone is wondering why our legislators are so often regarded as less than adequate to their high calling, let him note this report from Washington: "It is admitted on all sides that a roll-call vote will see the Lee amendment through. . . . If it were on a voice vote the amendment would be defeated hands down." The Senate managed to avoid the issue, at least until after the elections, by sending the amendment to the military committee for hearings, but we must be prepared for further devious attempts by the dries to eliminate the "evils of the liquor traffic" by substituting the tenfold evils of another bootleg era. The fifteen wild and weary years of the great experiment, when lawlessness became the rule from the lowest speakeasy to the most respectable family living-room, taught them exactly nothing. It has been asserted that a Nazi-subsidized organization in Geneva is filtering prohibition propaganda into this country as part of the drive to stir up discord. The prohibition camel may be the latest guise of the Trojan horse, and certainly we can think of nothing better calculated to disturb our domestic peace than a fight over the right to take a drink. But knowing the capacity of our dries for self-intoxication, we doubt their need for outside stimulants.

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**CABINET CHANGES IN CHILE HAVE NOT** justified the hope that that country has finally cleared up its foreign policy. If the resigning Foreign Minister, Barros Jarpa, was known as a reactionary within his own Radical Party, his successor Fernandez y Fernandez, has an even more questionable record as a former follower of General Ibañez, the "strong man" of Chile. The hours that he spent in Buenos Aires on his way home from Montevideo, where he represented his country as ambassador, are not likely to have increased his doubtful eagerness to break with the Axis. All the correspondents agree that the Argentine Foreign Minister, Dr. Ruiz Guñazú, never left his Chilean colleague alone for a moment. He even seized the occasion of a ceremony to celebrate the hundredth anniversary of the Chilean national hero, General O'Higgins, to deliver a venomous commentary on "good neighborliness," addressed equally to Sumner Welles and the new Chilean Foreign Minister. The dissatisfaction of democratic Chile with the President's solution of the crisis is revealed in the vast program of meetings and demonstrations for a rupture with the Axis organized by the various political parties and unions, to start this week. But again the fascists were the first to strike. Encouraged by President Ríos's hesitations, they staged last Sunday a "spontaneous" demonstration in honor of Barros Jarpa as the symbol of



resistance, not to Hitler, but to Washington. Developments in Chile again point the lesson that in spite of all that has happened in Europe no democratic government or movement wants to learn—the lesson that appeasement of the enemy, whether external or internal, leads only to democratic demoralization, growing weakness, and final defeat.

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THE SENATE DISPLAYED A SHOCKING LACK of regard for military necessities when it attached two crippling riders to the bill authorizing the drafting of eighteen- and nineteen-year-old boys. Of these the most serious as well as the most inexplicable is the amendment requiring youths under twenty to have a full year of training in this country before being sent abroad for combat duty. There are obvious moral and educational reasons why the drafting of eighteen- and nineteen-year-old boys should be postponed as long as possible, but the chief effect of the amendment is to place an intolerable burden on the authorities responsible for training and distributing military personnel. Certain specialized types of combat duty require more than a year of training, but for many other types six or eight months of training are entirely adequate. In view of the uncertainties of the coming year, it is most unwise to tie the army's hands on such a vital matter as troop distribution. The amendment deferring farm workers is more understandable but no more defensible. The problem of farm labor is serious, but it can be solved only in relation to the whole question of the allocation of man-power.

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THE FARM BLOC HAS CALLED BYRNES AND Henderson on the carpet because they have allegedly violated the "plain language" of the price law by placing a ceiling on flour that keeps wheat below its parity price. The bloc's quarrel with the price-stabilization authorities appears to be concerned with procedure rather than results. Admittedly the farmer is getting parity price for his wheat through the wheat loans and parity payments. But the farm bloc insists that the payment of a subsidy to farmers to persuade them to liquidate their wheat loans was not authorized by Congress. Granting that the Administration has not followed the specific program of the farm bloc in handling the knotty problem of stabilizing farm prices, we fail to see that it has violated either the letter or the spirit of the law. The Stabilization Act conferred sweeping powers on the President because it was obvious that the price-control technique would have to be kept flexible to deal with a complex situation. The success of Byrnes and Henderson in checking the upward spiral of farm prices after they had advanced some 78 per cent from the pre-war level testifies to the soundness of their policies.

## Battle of November 3

ON THE night of November 3 they will start counting the ballots. The elections of 1942, which the Patterson-McCormick press and the hate-Roosevelt demagogues predicted would never come to pass, will be an accomplished fact; the democratic machinery which was scheduled to come to a fatal standstill with the declaration of war will have functioned as usual. And anyone who minimizes the implications of that functioning is dangerously innocent of what is going on about him. For by the morning of November 4 the pattern of American history for the years ahead will to a large degree be determined, whether or not its outlines are altogether clear.

A war-time election in its very nature constitutes what Carl Sandburg called "the shaping of a national fate." Who can doubt that this would have been a very different country had the Copperheads carried the day against Lincoln in November of 1862, or that the world itself might have presented a different face if Woodrow Wilson had not lost caste in November of 1918? Yet neither of those campaigns carried more dynamite than is packed into the election of 1942.

There is admittedly a widespread disposition to shrug this election off and fix one's gaze on 1944. But the world is moving at an incredible pace. When the present Congress was chosen, France had just fallen, Russia was still shipping war materials to Germany, England had had its first taste of the blitz, the United States was promising to keep its boys at home, and the cause of democracy looked black as pitch. The vast changes that have taken place in these two years will probably pale into invisibility beside the upheavals of the next two. By 1944 the war may be over, or in any event drawing to a close. The nature of the peace, the shape of things to come, may well lie with the men who are chosen next Tuesday. The Seventy-eighth Congress will be in a position to do to Roosevelt what the Sixty-sixth did to Wilson. It will do that and worse if it is not relieved of the small-minded men who in the Seventy-seventh have brought Congressional prestige to an all-time low. The men who would have stripped this country of power in the moment of its greatest need now ask that their pre-Pearl Harbor records be forgotten in the name of a "unity" which they work seven days a week to undermine. We can only hope that the American people will understand that the elimination of these men is a matter not of revenge but of necessity.

We have devoted a great deal of space in the pages of *The Nation* to analyzing the performance of our Congressmen and we present elsewhere in this issue a round-up of some of the Dunderheads who escaped full-



length portraits in the "Keep Them Out" series. Other aspects of the campaign are worth touching on, however, even at this late date.

The Republican candidate for Senator in Massachusetts is Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., who sided with the isolationists on every issue except the Lend-Lease bill, for which he voted after having spoken against it. Since Pearl Harbor Senator Lodge has of course supported the war. But one group at least is not impressed by his change of front. That group is the Coughlinites. On September 26, 1942, the *Gaelic American*, of which Father Curran is a regular columnist, called upon all who share its opinion that "American isolationist" is synonymous with "American patriot" to rally their forces behind Senator Lodge, who, it maintained, will be opposed by "every anti-Irish bigot, every Irish renegade, every Communist" in Massachusetts. Now it happens that Senator Lodge is also opposed by Representative Joseph E. Casey, Democratic candidate for Lodge's Senate seat. Mr. Casey's name would scarcely suggest that he is the "slavish Anglophile" which the *Gaelic American* has been painting him. What disturbs this organ of the Coughlinites is that Casey voted for repealing the arms embargo, for extending the draft law, for the strategic-materials bill, and for repealing the Neutrality Act—all of which measures were opposed by Lodge. Massachusetts citizens who do not believe that isolationist and patriot are really synonymous will have an excellent chance to express their opinion next Tuesday by voting for Casey.

LeRoy D. Downs, Democratic candidate for reelection as Representative from Fairfield County, the Fourth Congressional District of Connecticut, is opposed by the resplendent Clare Luce, author, playwright, wife of Henry Luce, and free-lance commentator on world affairs. Mrs. Luce has ungraciously labeled her rival a faceless man and a rubber stamp. As a matter of fact his record, both on war measures and domestic issues, has been excellent. Organized labor is solidly behind him, and voters in general will do well to keep him in office. Mrs. Luce's views on foreign affairs and how to win the war are vigorous enough, but her recent remark that at one time "we all thought that Mussolini was doing a good job" is a pretty typical example of her precocious political confusion.

Our sympathies go out to New Jersey voters who face the Senatorial alternative of Albert G. Hawkes or the Democratic incumbent, William H. Smathers. Hawkes, a former president of the United States Chamber of Commerce, makes no bones about his plutocratic bias, and Senator Smathers is too much a Hague candidate for us to indorse him with pleasure. He has consistently supported the Administration, however, and is without doubt the better bet.

An overwhelmingly hostile press is hampering Gov-

ernor Culbert L. Olson in his campaign for reelection against the "non-partisan" candidacy of Earl Warren. Olson has disappointed some of his more radical supporters, but his term as governor of California has been marked by major reforms, notably in farm-labor conditions. It would be a pity to have California revert to the Hoover-Merriam era, which is where Warren would take it despite his current pro-Roosevelt pretensions. In the same state Private Will Rogers, Jr., carries with him the blessing of progressives of all shades, not only for his own sake, though he is a gallant and promising liberal, but because his victory will remove the ineffable Leland Ford from Capitol Hill.

Jumping about the map, we should like to put in a good word for Senator Murray, up for reelection in Montana, and for the peerless George Norris, who despite the President's indorsement faces a stiff three-cornered fight in Nebraska. Senator Brown of Michigan has made a good record and deserves reelection. Most of the House delegation from that state is Republican, and it is one of the most viciously reactionary groups that ever sat in Congress. We hope especially for the defeat of Hoffman and Dondero, though the disappearance of the whole bloc would be a blessing to the country.

Elsewhere in this issue is a competent analysis of the intricate and highly strategic campaign in the state of New York. It took courage and farsightedness on the part of the American Labor Party to keep Dean Alfange in the field after the President's second indorsement of John J. Bennett for governor. The need of a second blessing is indicative of both the desperation of the Farley forces and the grudging nature of the first benediction. We hope New Yorkers will not be fooled by the hysterical last-minute contention that a vote against Bennett will be grist to the mill of Dr. Goebbels. It is better to let the Nazi propaganda machine make what it can of a spurious defeat for the President in 1942 than to present it with a genuine overthrow of Roosevelt in 1944. And make no mistake about it, that is exactly what a Bennett victory would mean.

## What's Wrong in the Pacific?

THE struggle in the Solomons has become symbolic as well as strategic. Our toehold on Guadalcanal represents our pledge of aggressive action to carry the war northward and regain the wide spaces overrun by the enemy; the magnitude of the forces Japan has brought to bear in the area is a measure of its determination to hang on to every inch of territory won and to halt our counter-offensive at the base-line.



As we go to press, the first news has been received of a developing battle of all arms. A Japanese communiqué has hailed a major victory, but its claims that four Allied carriers and a warship have been sunk are dismissed by Secretary Knox as "a fishing expedition." Our Navy Department, however, has admitted some losses in addition to the sinking of the *Wasp*, including major damage to a carrier; and in view of our apparent numerical inferiority in surface craft in the Solomons area, the situation is not entirely reassuring. Our biggest asset remains the qualitative, if not quantitative, superiority of our air forces, but the value of this asset is likely to be diminished during the coming rainy season.

In these circumstances the new American commander in the Solomons, Rear Admiral William F. Halsey, has a tough assignment. Moreover, he has problems to solve within the American forces; past weaknesses to overcome and past mistakes to be rectified. The nature of these mistakes and weaknesses is set forth in an illuminating series of articles by Hanson W. Baldwin now appearing in the *New York Times*. Mr. Baldwin has recently returned from an extensive tour of the Pacific, including a visit to Guadalcanal. He is among the more sober of our military commentators, and his articles have presumably been subjected to censorship. The charges they make, therefore, of incompetence and divided control cannot be lightly dismissed.

The major problem to be solved in the Pacific, according to Mr. Baldwin, is that of leadership. Errors of judgment by some of our naval commanders—"errors that stem in large measure from over-caution and the defensive complex"—have, he declares, resulted in costly and unnecessary losses. The outstanding instance of such errors is, of course, the disaster that occurred off Savo Island on August 9 when the Australian cruiser *Canberra* and three of our heavy cruisers "were surprised like sitting ducks." According to Mr. Baldwin, the surprise was due to the fact that although warning of the approach of a Japanese cruiser squadron had been received, our ships had assumed defensive stations patrolling over a fixed course instead of going out to meet the enemy. Moreover, their dispositions were such that the Japanese vessels were able to approach almost within range before being detected. In addition, it appears that only a small part of the crews of our ships were at battle stations, and that the admiral in command of the cruiser screen had departed in his flagship leaving no one in actual tactical command. If this is a true picture of the engagement off Savo Island, it suggests an almost incredible degree of carelessness.

This blow helps to explain why the first brilliant success of the marines in the Solomons was not followed through aggressively and accounts also for the unusual and drastic step of a change of leadership in the middle of operations. Admiral Halsey, who succeeds Admiral

Ghormley in this command, is reported to be an aggressive, two-fisted officer, and as chief of a combined force he has the advantage of training at the Army War College as well as the Naval War College. The public, however will not be satisfied by this chopping off of a head unless it speedily receives evidence that the fundamental weaknesses of our fighting organization are corrected.

It is shocking, for instance, to receive from Mr. Baldwin confirmation of sinister rumors of a continued rivalry between the services that has been definitely hurtful to morale. We cannot win a war in "the Franklin Field mentality," and it is high time pre-war football feuds were forgotten. Mr. Baldwin reports that on Guadalcanal the three services have been cooperating very well, but that at greater distances from the front there has been ridiculous bickering over credits, particularly between the navy and the army air forces.

We can hardly expect unity in the ranks, however, so long as we fail to solve the problem of unity at the top. In common with many other organs of public opinion *The Nation* has repeatedly inveighed against the divided rule under which our war machine operates. In every field—military, economic, political—the war effort is entangled in the stalemates and contradictions that arise from conflicting authority. Between the United Nations and within our own nation, this problem persists; and success waits upon its solution.

## Defending the Empire?

DEAR FRED: I am quite startled by the last paragraph on page 365 of *The Nation* of October 17. You cannot mean—can you?—that we are fighting for the British Empire. We are fighting to keep the territories of the British Empire out of Axis hands. But where are our war aims (freedom) if we wish to keep the British Empire intact? I thought Sumner Welles said, "The period of imperialism is ended."

The task of keeping British Empire territory out of Axis hands would have been facilitated in Burma, for instance, if stupid imperialist policy had not prevailed. The defense of India would be easier for us if Churchillism were abandoned. I think we *can* spare the British Empire. It is obstructing victory. British imperialists are responsible for England's conservative conduct of the war.

LOUIS FISCHER

Canton, Ohio, October 22

DEAR LOUIS: After reading your letter I reread the offending paragraph in my editorial—and I must say I think you have a rather low startling-point.

Here's what I said:

And meanwhile the British people needn't worry. We'll keep on fighting along with them in spite of



*Life's* ultimatum. And we'll fight for the empire, too, since the empire includes not only India but the great self-governing dominions, and the islands of the Caribbean, and Malta, and other sources of the power and will-to-win of the alliance against Hitler. We can't spare the British Empire; everybody knows that, really; even Mr. Luce.

Is that a startling statement? Isn't it almost crudely self-evident that, whatever may be done after the war to reorganize the relationships between nations, we are today fighting for the life of the British Empire as well as for our own life? To pretend otherwise is to fool ourselves. The British Empire is a fact—slightly frayed around the edges but still fairly substantial—and we can't sensibly write it out of existence at the same time that we fight on seven seas and half a dozen continents side by side with its armies and fleets.

And it isn't territory alone that is at stake. You know that. The most important asset the empire brings us is the bond of mutual responsibility that holds together the leading nations that make it up. It wasn't a pure passion for democracy in the abstract that drove Canada and Australia and New Zealand and South Africa to declare war in 1939. Even less was it fear of attack. The dominions were no more immediately threatened than the United States. But they went to war voluntarily more than two years before Pearl Harbor pitched us into the fight. They went to war because they were bound to Britain by ties—emotional, political, economic—strong enough to make them send their sons to die on battlefields halfway around the globe. The British Empire—would you feel happier if I called it Commonwealth?—was the only working system of collective security in the world when the war started.

Of course it wasn't perfect and not all of its parts worked. One of the free nations of the empire—the Irish Free State—remained neutral, and today is so completely out from under British control that it even refuses the use of its ports as bases for the defense of the British Isles, itself included. And the British government respects Ireland's reckless neutrality as it did that of Holland and Belgium. At the other end of the imperial arc, India was declared into the war without the assent of its people and has responded with a display of resistance that threatens the whole Allied position in the East.

The truth is, the British Empire is a set of contradictions, and anybody can draw from it almost any moral he chooses. Where it works well, it is a mighty web of useful voluntary relationships—a possible basis for broader federation after the war. Where it works badly, it is a coercive machine, almost useless from a military point of view and actively dangerous politically. But it is foolish to suppose that in the midst of a desperate, round-the-world war the contradictions can be undone

and a smooth, consistent structure created. The best that can be hoped for is an interim patching of the fabric of empire where it has worn thin, so that the strength of the whole will not be fatally impaired. It's too late to do a temporary repair job on Malaya or Burma—unless they should be speedily reconquered. But India is still unconquered, and every effort should be made to establish there a sense of confidence and common destiny before India, too, disintegrates under the fire of political as well as military attack. I am convinced that a free India within the empire will be a far better ally than a sullen, half-colonial India divided emotionally by its hatred of Axis tyranny and its desire to see British power overthrown. I am convinced that if India is freed, democratic elements throughout the world will be strengthened—in England as well as elsewhere.

It is not because I am against the empire that I believe India should be given a convincing measure of self-government. It is because I want the empire to be strengthened in its weakest spots—which are its colonial territories—and because I believe that the general fight for freedom is compromised by fights for freedom within the anti-Axis coalition.

And that is why *Life*, when it lectured the British people about "your side" as opposed to "our side," was talking dangerous and almost treasonable nonsense. "Our side" includes the British Empire, just as it includes China and Russia and the guerrillas in Serbia and the Fighting French in Syria and Equatorial Africa. Our side—America included—is riddled with contradictions, sins against freedom, treason to the democratic spirit. Oppression, race prejudice, autocratic rule are no monopoly of the British Empire; it harbors less of these than many of the rest of us. We can't draw our skirts aside and wait till injustice is ended and empire reconstructed into brotherhood. We have a war to fight. And our side has to be united in all our faults and virtues or we shall face defeat together. So Americans can ill afford to mutter vague threats about refusing to fight if the British don't "move over to our side." They are already on our side, and they were there long before we were, if you'll forgive the paradox.

What we can do, and must do, since the empire and we are full partners with each other and all the rest of the United Nations, is to share also the responsibility of repairing any weak spots that diminish our fighting force. The Indian problem is at one remove an American problem, and a Russian and Chinese problem. The mechanics of bringing about a settlement through the good offices of all the interested powers is difficult. But the difficulty is similar to that involved in working out the other problems of political strategy that affect the war effort throughout the world. To overcome it will take both tact and toughness. I hope we have them.

FREDA KIRCHWEY



# Washington's Forbidden Topic

BY I. F. STONE

*Washington, October 25*

I WANT to call attention to an extraordinary document that seems to have been completely overlooked by the daily press. I refer to the "Additional Comments" of Representative Bender which are appended to the report on man-power issued by the Tolan committee last Tuesday. Bender is a Republican Congressman-at-large from Ohio. He was first elected to Congress in 1938 and only recently became a member of the Tolan committee. Little is known of him, and that little gives no indication that he differs much from the average Middle Western Republican. All "Who's Who" reveals is: "Pres. George H. Bender Ins. Co.; editor and publisher the *Ohio Republican* and the *National Republican* since 1934; mem. Ohio State Senate, 1920-30; pres. Ohio Fedn. of Rep. Clubs; chmn. Rep. Central Com. of Cuyahoga County." This certainly smacks of Main Street, and it is as a Main Streeter that Bender chooses to speak in his "Additional Comments," which are really a separate and sharper minority report. "Since the winter of 1941," he declares, "it has been clear to every Main Street American that what is needed is a second front in Europe to split the Axis forces. Spring, summer, and fall have come and gone without a second front."

Representative Bender's advocacy of a second front is less important than his courage in being the first public figure here to speak out in plain language on the deeper issue behind the question of a second front. This is not whether we are to open an offensive in France next Tuesday or next month or next spring. The real question is whether we are to plan this as a war of the United Nations, with a Western offensive geared into the supply needs of the British, Russians, and Chinese, or whether we are to plan to fight the world alone. The truth is, as every important official here knows, that the President's dominant military-naval advisers are already operating on this latter assumption. The corollaries of this assumption are (1) the addition of several million men to our army, (2) the curtailment of lend-lease aid to our allies in order to outfit that army, and (3) postponement of the offensive until the enlarged army is ready. All three corollaries are already reflected in official action, and informed persons here say that the plan is to stage no real large-scale offensive in 1943.

The Bender report is a hard-hitting six-page summary of the basic man-power, military, and production problems facing us in this war. The full committee report is the ablest and most comprehensive analysis of war needs and war planning ever to appear here, and I

hope to discuss it in some detail in my next article. The value of Mr. Bender's "Additional Comments" is that they bring some of the points in the full report into sharper focus. "Our military," Bender says, "have never decided when, where, and with what they are going to fight. For this reason they have not and cannot give to the War Production Board and to the War Manpower Commission, respectively, schedules of their requirements for military products and man-power. Without these schedules it has been impossible to plan production, to allocate materials and man-power. And because we have not planned the elements of production, we cannot manage or control the flow of armament. Without such scheduled flow of weapons the military cannot undertake to plan its strategy." The result of this vicious circle is that "we are always on the defensive." And now we are really preparing to dig in on the defensive on a gigantic scale.

Will the reader bear with me while I quote more fully from that passage in which Representative Bender touches upon the capital's most important Forbidden Topic? "At the present time," Bender writes, "the army is demanding a huge increase in man-power." A fantastically high proportion of present production now goes to supply ordinary civilian items for our present army. "When the army is asked," Bender continues, "if it expects to obtain trucks and other equipment in the same proportion to this larger army as it now obtains, no answer is forthcoming." Why do we need an army and navy of about 10,000,000 men? "*The demand by the military for a huge army,*" Bender answers, "*is based in part on the assumption that one or more of our allies will collapse in the coming year.*" Upon this assumption, it is then argued that we can rely only on ourselves." Since the Tolan report went to press, Secretary Stimson has cut his estimate to 7,500,000 men, but a continuation of the present defensive and defeatist strategic thinking will make necessary an army much larger than that, perhaps as large as 13,000,000.

"To equip such an army with training weapons alone," Bender goes on, "would require practically all of our present war production. Therefore, these advocates of a huge army move logically to the next point—the reduction or stoppage of lend-lease shipments to our allies." By assuming the defeat of our allies we are compelled vastly to enlarge the army. By mobilizing a vastly larger army we help to insure their defeat. "When it is pointed out to these advocates of a 13,000,000-man army," Bender says, "that our allies may collapse if we stop lend-



lease shipments, they have no answer"—that is, no answer that could safely be made in public.

Behind these defeatist calculations are a complex of considerations and motives. Among them are not merely political dislike for the Soviet Union but considerable elements of anti-British feeling. As deep, if not deeper, than the more obvious anti-Soviet feeling, which wide sectors of our leadership and upper classes have overcome, is a kind of anti-British isolationist-imperialist attitude on the part of some of our foremost military men. An important man in this category is General Brehon B. Somervell, chief of the Services of Supply, the most powerful single figure in war production today and a man who has done his best to cut down lend-lease aid to Britain, the Soviet Union, and China. He feels that we have to "prepare to do the job ourselves."

This kind of thinking would make the Atlantic and Pacific seaboards our first lines of defense. It would cost

many millions more in lives and many billions more in money. It means that we would have to defeat the Axis with our men and boys alone instead of with the aid of British, Russians, and Chinese. It would leave them to die in vain rather than as part of a world strategy for victory. "The international implications of army demands for man-power," Bender points out, "are seldom understood. But they are as important as the need to consider man-power requirements of industry and agriculture." It is these broader implications which the dominant military have failed to understand or chosen to ignore. Popular pressure is needed to support the efforts of powerful forces here, including I believe the President himself, to combat this dangerous trend. The moment is approaching when it will be decided whether these are indeed to be United Nations fighting a United Nations war, or each waging its own struggle in desperate and foolhardy isolation.

## 1942 and 1944

BY DAVID DUBINSKY

**E**VEN the least alert voter can hardly fail to realize that a victory for Thomas E. Dewey in this year's campaign for the governorship of New York will be an irresistible Dewey bid for the Republican Presidential nomination in 1944. And it must be equally clear to him that a Bennett victory will represent a smashing blow to the New Deal and a popular indorsement of Farley's anti-Roosevelt drive which will have a decisive effect on the Democratic choice for President two years hence. In view of these simple and inescapable conclusions, the drop in registration throughout the state this year cannot be explained by general political apathy or by a lack of important issues. Behind the candidates—Bennett, Dewey, and Alfange—there are in fact far-reaching issues.

During the past ten years, since President Roosevelt rose to the leadership of the Democratic Party, the progressives have controlled the party nationally and in many of the states. This leadership saved our economic system after the 1929 catastrophe, and by the adoption of a series of progressive measures, popularly known as the New Deal, it provided the underprivileged of our nation with a measure of economic security and gave the workers a new "bill of rights."

The New Deal leadership, of course, did not receive the support of the Tories in the Democratic Party, who on numerous occasions worked hand in hand with the Republicans to emasculate or defeat the humanitarian measures sponsored by the Roosevelt Administration.

The political victories and the patronage which President Roosevelt's popularity brought the party prevented a permanent rift between its progressive and reactionary wings. Nevertheless, the reactionary group did everything it could to discredit the New Deal and to regain control of the party.

The struggle came out into the open two years ago. Led by Postmaster General Farley, the reactionary Democrats tried to defeat President Roosevelt for the renomination. The pretext, of course, was that they were opposed to breaking the "sacred" third-term tradition. Actually, they were trying to scuttle the New Deal leadership. But in 1940 the Democrats lost the battle. Roosevelt was renominated and reelected, and the New Deal for the second time won national vindication.

But while reactionary politicians may die, they never surrender. Since 1940 Mr. Farley and his associates have been building the base for the restoration of Bourbon control of the Democratic Party at the 1944 national convention. New York, the largest state in the nation, is the first they have set out to capture. The outcome of the election here can materially influence the fight in other states, where Farley has already been at work.

That the major fight in New York State is between the New Deal forces, which supported Senator Mead for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination, and the anti-New Deal forces was made dramatically evident when the delegates to the Democratic State Convention repeatedly booed and hissed President Roosevelt, Gov-



ernor Lehman, Senators Wagner and Mead, and every mention of the New Deal. Farley succeeded in defeating the New Dealers and in bringing about the nomination of John J. Bennett, an inconspicuous and docile officeholder. Bennett's sponsors rather openly assumed that liberal, labor, and independent voters, who during the past ten years have cooperated with the Democrats because the party was led by outstanding progressives, would continue to go along, and they therefore thought it safe to nominate the colorless Attorney General.

The ultimate purpose of Farley's group, however, is far more serious and ambitious than winning the governorship. Control of New York State would give them an opportunity to gain control of the next National Democratic Convention. If they succeed, the nation will again be confronted as so many times in the past, and in New York State this year, with a choice between two evils. Instead of two parties, one led by the reactionaries and the other by the progressives, we shall have two parties dominated by the same forces, both dedicated to the restoration of special privilege and the nullification of most of the advanced labor and social measures enacted during the past decade.

In the light of this analysis of the forces now at work within the Democratic Party, what are sincere and devoted liberals and trade unionists in New York State to do on November 3, when they must decide between Bennett, Alfange, and Dewey?

It is clear that the most important job before progressive voters is to prevent the reactionaries from having two political parties in 1944 while the progressives have none. The progressives cannot hope to influence the decision of the Republican convention in 1944. Nor should they expect to. The conservatives are entitled to have a political party of their own. The Republican Party has always been their political home. Conservative Democrats could consistently support it, as many of them do already, some openly, others quietly.

However, the progressives can help to maintain liberal control of the Democratic Party. This means that Farley and his group must be beaten, beaten decisively and beaten this year. Defeat will serve notice on him and his associates that the Democratic Party will not abandon its substantial record of liberalism in the national arena and in many of the states during the past ten years; that it will continue to follow the leadership of Franklin D. Roosevelt and not of Jim Farley.

There is more at stake this year than the continuation of the New Deal program. The war in which we are engaged will, we hope, have ended in victory for the United Nations in 1944 or a year later. Important problems must be solved in the post-war period—the terms of peace and reconstruction measures.

The appeasers, the defeatists, and the isolationists have been temporarily silenced by the necessities of war.

But they are far from dead. They will attempt to destroy the hopes of mankind again, just as they did in 1919 and 1920. Are we to be confronted with a Harding on the Republican ticket and a Farley-picked candidate on the Democratic ticket? If so, even though we may have won the war we shall have lost the peace.

That is why the issues of 1944 are directly involved in the election of a governor this year. By their choice this year the voters in New York will help determine what happens in 1944.

Two other things continue to perplex independent voters honestly groping for a solution of the problem they face on November 3. One of them is their anxiety lest in defeating Bennett they may elect Dewey, who may become the Republican Presidential candidate in 1944. Liberals are agreed that the Republicans will nominate a conservative in 1944. Whether it is Dewey, or Taft, or Vandenberg hardly matters. It is obvious that Wendell Willkie, for example, who has taken a liberal position on many domestic and foreign issues, has no chance of nomination by the Republicans. Whoever is nominated is certain, therefore, to be an enemy of the New Deal.

The other source of doubt is President Roosevelt's indorsement of Bennett. This indorsement, made in response to frantic appeals by the same state leaders who ignored the President's views prior to the nomination of Bennett, may prove confusing to some liberal voters. The situation, nevertheless, is quite simple. The President did what is normally expected of the titular head of a party—indorsed its candidates. But the fact remains that Roosevelt, Lehman, Wagner, and Mead, all forcefully opposed Bennett's nomination. And the President openly predicted that Bennett could not win.

The President's statement that he does not believe in "protest voting" is not likely to impress the large liberal following of the Labor Party. The rank and file of the party, like its leaders, see nothing wrong in "protest" voting. It was protest voting by the great independent mass of voters in this city which took New York out of the hands of Tammany for keeps in 1933, and "protest" voting also achieved some excellent results for the New Deal, nationally and in this state, in 1936, 1938, 1940—and let us hope it will in 1942 as well. What is even more important, a vote for Dean Alfange is not just a protest vote. It is a positive and constructive vote to preserve the tradition of liberalism in New York State and give labor a voice in the affairs of our state and nation.

It is important not only that Bennett be defeated but that the vote of the American Labor Party and its standard bearer, Dean Alfange, be tremendous. Alfange is a New Deal Democrat—an outspoken advocate of liberal and humanitarian causes and a fervent apostle of democracy. A huge vote for him and his fellow-candi-



dates on the American Labor Party ticket will demonstrate beyond question that there is a strong liberal force in this state without which a Democratic candidate cannot win. If the American Labor Party, which four years ago carried the state for Lehman and two years ago carried it for Roosevelt, can continue to hold a determining balance of power on Election Day, its position in the state as the exponent of Roosevelt's policies and of the New Deal will continue to command respect.

Independent voters owe no allegiance to the Democratic Party as such. They do owe their support to the New Deal, which has so greatly benefited the country

socially and economically. By joining with the American Labor Party in its efforts to strengthen the progressive wing of the Democratic Party, liberals and independent voters will be helping to bring about the much hoped-for political realignment in America.

All progressive voters, those in the Republican and Democratic parties as well as in the Labor Party, should unite behind Dean Alfange, the candidate of forward-looking men and women and the spokesman in New York State of those who seek a constructive solution to our social and economic problems and a democratic peace when victory has been won.

## Keep Them Out!

### IX. OUR WORST CONGRESSMEN

BY WILL CHASAN

THE demoralization of Congress, so disturbingly evident in recent months, is primarily the work of a small group of tory zealots, some of them near-fascists, whose demagoguery and cynicism have fostered a wilful disregard of national interest. These men, probably among the worst ever to sit in the national legislature, are divided by party labels but united by their bitterness toward the New Deal and an essentially undemocratic outlook. Their fierce prejudices and unrestrained malice have put Congress in a thoroughly unwholesome mood and made it an irritating burden rather than a help in the present emergency.

Obviously not every isolationist or anti-New Dealer belongs in this group. It includes only the extremists: the shabby minority which has indorsed Hitler's *Lebensraum* claims and worked with his agents and American counterparts; the conscious obstructionists, only slightly less objectionable, who charged the outbreak of war to British imperialism, disparaged the menace of fascism, and denounced every preparedness measure as an effort by Roosevelt to enlarge his powers; and finally those who supported New Deal foreign policy because it was politically expedient to do so but have used the national emergency as a pretext for broadsides against New Deal domestic policy. The records of eight notorious members of this group—Representatives Hamilton Fish, Clare E. Hoffman, Martin L. Sweeney, Stephen A. Day, and Martin Dies, and Senators C. Wayland Brooks and W. Lee O'Daniel—have already been examined in *Nation* articles, but many others who are up for reelection this November deserve special mention.

Harold Knutson, Minnesota Republican, was vice-chairman of Hamilton Fish's National Committee to

Keep America Out of War, cited in recent federal sedition proceedings as a transmission belt for Nazi propaganda. His views have a distinctly fascist tinge. He has praised Hitler for his "forbearance," suggested that the Nazi form of government is superior to the British, and characterized the war as one merely for a raw-material market. "The have-not nations," he told Congress before Pearl Harbor, "must either have free and equal access to that market or they will perish." Knutson shares at least one Nazi race theory. As far back as 1924, in discussing an immigration bill, he said, "Of all the fallacies, I think the one which assumes that all races are equal is the most fallacious." Besides opposing the Administration's foreign policy, he has fought most of its domestic measures, voted for drastic restrictions on labor, and diligently harassed New Deal agencies. His franked envelopes have been available to at least one Coughlinites organization. His speeches have been quoted generously in *Social Justice*, the *Geneva Herald*, and other pro-fascist publications. Pearl Harbor left him impenitent. Last March he inquired, "Will Americans graciously bow down to all totalitarian decrees which will restrict their sugar, their motor cars, their oil . . . simply to satisfy the ambitions of those who understand victory to be the overthrow of their enemies?"

John E. Rankin, Mississippi Democrat, has supported New Deal foreign policy and fought for public power, but the Reichstag would provide a more suitable environment than Congress for his unvarnished intolerance. He is anti-Semitic and anti-Negro. Last year he told the House that "the international bankers, largely international Jews" were "crucifying civilization on a cross of gold." Several months before Pearl Harbor he



said, "Wall Street and a little group of our international Jewish brethren are still attempting to harass the President of the United States and the Congress of the United States into plunging us into war unprepared." Rankin, probably the most violent anti-Negro Representative in Congress, protested against a measure to end discrimination against Negroes in public places in the District of Columbia on the ground that it would encourage assaults on white women. In opposing a recent bill to allow soldiers to vote without paying a poll tax, he warned that "representative government is trembling in the balance." He has voted against price-control legislation, for the inflationary farm-parity amendment, and for restrictive labor legislation. He is against the forty-hour week, and he opposed the original wage-hour law because, he said, it would "destroy individual liberty." Despite his stand on foreign policy and public power, he is an economic tory and a racial and religious bigot.

George Anthony Dondero, Michigan Republican, has his physical and ideological home in Royal Oak, center of the Coughlin movement. Shortly before Pearl Harbor Dondero assured Congress that "no nation on earth—not even Germany—has threatened the peace and security of our country," although we had "irritated and committed deliberate acts of unneutrality which would warrant Germany or Italy to declare war against us." He decried the presence in the Administration of men "notorious for their socialistic theories," and said, "Within our gates, and not without, lies the greatest danger to our American system of government and way of life." Dondero has opposed both the New Deal's foreign policy and its domestic program. He described the TVA as "one of the greatest swindles ever perpetrated on the American people," voted against the wage-hour law and other social legislation, and urged Congress to take action against "professional agitators" who seek to "impugn" the motives of business men. His post-Pearl Harbor record has been consistently bad. He voted for the inflationary farm bill and against needed tax legislation. He disapproved of restriction of automobile production. He wants to abolish the forty-hour week, time and a half for overtime, and the Farm Security Administration, and thinks that all social gains ought to be abandoned in the interest of our defense program. "One dictator nation," he said, "has demonstrated to the world how to build national defense. It was not done by social reforms or social gains." Dondero has inserted material from *Social Justice* in the *Congressional Record* and has been quoted by Coughlin's paper in turn.

James E. Van Zandt, Pennsylvania Republican, active in *America First* and an admirer of Hamilton Fish, has persistently tried to convince the country that the German war machine is invincible. On May 14, 1941, according to the *New York Herald Tribune*, he gave an *America First* rally at Brooklyn a "hair-raising descrip-

tion" of the German army, and said that if we entered the war we would share the fate of the small Balkan nations. In Congress he talked of Germany's "powerful forces" and "blitzkrieg victories" and cautioned against any effort against them. He opposed the seizure of German and Italian ships in American ports. He contended that under lease-lend Roosevelt could "literally take the clothes off your back," and he has used similar arguments against other phases of the Administration's foreign policy. His speeches have been reprinted in *Roll Call* and *America in Danger*, both named in federal sedition actions. He has placed in the *Congressional Record* articles by Lawrence Dennis, one of our better-known fascists, and Catherine Curtis, whose organization, the Women's National Committee to Keep America Out of War, has also been named in a federal sedition action. He has voted against most New Deal measures, saying of one that it gave Roosevelt as much power as the law authorizing Hitler's dictatorship.

William Purnell Lambertson, Kansas Republican, calls the New Deal "a system of planned sabotage by subterfuge for the destruction of the recognized American way." Lambertson's own conception of the American way is illustrated by a speech in which he said, "In the old days when breaking wild horses from Wyoming, it was common to put buckshot fish-line sinkers in their ears when they balked," and went on to suggest "similar treatment of defense strikers." In another speech he declared, "If there is one thing we could honestly do to help this country, it would be to dehydrate the labor standards of New York City." Lambertson opposed wage-hour legislation, the WPA, and other phases of the New Deal domestic program. His attitude toward preparedness was expressed unequivocally in Congress. "This hysteria about national defense," he said, "is hokey, and I am ready to stake my political future on that proposition." He charged that the declaration of a national emergency was a ruse to assure the reelection of Roosevelt, and he has repeatedly accused the Administration of seeking to return the United States to the British Empire. His speeches have been full of subtle anti-Semitism, and he has quoted from Walter Steele, leader of the American Coalition. In the summer of 1941 he urged a negotiated peace, berating those who were encouraging England and France to continue the war. Lambertson now holds that we "were maneuvered" into the conflict. He has continued to oppose the war program.

Howard W. Smith, Virginia Democrat, is a tireless labor-baiter and a leader of the Southern tory ring. Generally he has supported New Deal foreign policy, but last November, at a crucial moment, he insisted that Roosevelt "quell the labor insurrection with its violence and bloodshed" as a condition for further support. Smith has introduced a whole series of anti-labor bills designed



to "regulate" labor unions out of existence. As a member of the House Rules Committee he has worked with Hamilton Fish and other Tories to tie up New Deal measures. He voted against the bill to allow men in the services to vote without paying a poll tax, and he has opposed every other measure to extend at home the democracy for which he asks others to fight abroad.

John M. Robsion, Kentucky Republican, regards New Deal foreign policy as a product of Roosevelt's "personal quarrel" with Hitler. He has opposed all preparedness measures, repeating the familiar Coughlinite line that "the great threat to our country does not come from forces across the seas. If this nation ever falls, it will be because of the enemies within the gates." He objected to the admission of refugee children because it would violate the immigration laws. He has objected to sending troops and munitions to England and to sending aid to Russia. He is the author of the tactful suggestion that "we should load all these alien criminal Russian Communists on ships and send them back to Russia," and tell Stalin that unless he "accepts these criminal aliens . . . we will refuse to give him money and munitions for war." His record on domestic legislation is almost uniformly bad. He voted for restrictive labor legislation and against price control. He is a staunch friend of the Dies committee and has criticized the President for failing to cooperate with it. His speeches have turned up from time to time in the fascist press.

Dewey Short, Missouri Republican, is a loud and rabid critic of the New Deal. Typical of his style of expression are his description of the NRA blue eagle as the "blue buzzard" and his suggestion that Roosevelt permit Ferdinand the Bull to draft executive messages to Congress. He thought the spilling of "a little blood" would solve the sitdown strikes in 1937, and he has backed the most drastic labor bills. He used to oppose any participation in the League of Nations and was violently isolationist in the recent foreign-policy debate. When Willkie came out for aid to England, Short called him a "Janus, vindictive, intolerant, bigoted, conceited, utterly unfit to be a leader of any party . . . [a] bellowing, blatant, bellicose, belligerent, bombastic blowhard." His attitude toward the European war was simple. "It was Great Britain and France," he said, "who declared war upon the German Reich after being clearly forewarned by Colonel Lindbergh that it would be utterly impossible for them to compete with Germany's air force." He spoke often for America First and was on the executive council of the National Committee to Keep America Out of War.

Lewis D. Thill, Wisconsin Republican, is the one man in Congress who has been so indiscreet as to insert in the *Congressional Record* material from a publication of the German Library of Information. He has also inserted articles from the *Brooklyn Tablet* and the New

York *Enquirer*. He wrote to the Coughlinite Mothers Mobilizing Against War, "I cannot too highly praise the work your organization is doing in behalf of this country in keeping it out of war." During the foreign-policy debate he had much to say in condemnation of England and Roosevelt, but little about Germany. He has voted with monotonous regularity against New Deal domestic legislation, and he supported the most recent Smith bill to hobble labor unions.

Leland M. Ford, California Republican, sees the New Deal as a Communist plot. He fought the TVA as "socialism," predicted that mandatory joint income-tax returns would lead to the destruction of the family and to communism, and called price control a move by some people "to destroy industry in this country as well as the financial structure of the country in order to accomplish their communistic, socialistic purposes." He regards the C. I. O. as a party to the New Deal plot, and says that it "is destroying the country." He blames the C. I. O. for the fall of Guam, Wake, and the Philippines and alleges that its "main purpose" is to sabotage the defense program. In his anti-labor speeches he often refers to the "Russian-educated" Reuthers and the "Russian revolutionist" Hillman, and compares Murray with the Japanese peace emissaries. Last year he introduced a bill to make striking or inciting to strike on defense work an act of treason punishable by twenty-five years' imprisonment. Mrs. Roosevelt's comment was, "Perfect nonsense." Although Ford has generally supported the New Deal's foreign policy, last November he appealed to the House not to vote further military or lease-lend appropriation "until the Administration had demonstrated its ability at least to lick John Lewis and the C. I. O." He says that labor unions and New Deal social legislation are corrupting our democracy and makes the usual Tory analogy with the Blum government in France.

William B. Barry, New York Democrat, thinks Americans were unduly alarmed about Hitler. There is no reason, he said in the House last year, why we cannot "survive in a world where Hitlerism is involved." This belief has led Barry to oppose crucial New Deal foreign-policy measures and to speak frequently for America First and Coughlinite peace groups. He has addressed at least two meetings at which Father Edward Lodge Curran presided. At one of these Father Curran said, "We Christians don't need any help to preserve our Christianity. . . . That great priest in Royal Oak is with us." Barry, in the course of his isolationist activities, inserted in the *Congressional Record* an editorial from the *Brooklyn Tablet* and recommended it to his colleagues as "worth-while reading during the hysterical period through which we are now going." The editorial, undiluted Coughlin propaganda, asked, "Is not Churchill's expediency about the same as Hitler's, Stalin's, and Mussolini's? Is he not as cold-bloodedly anti-Christian



in violating pledges, in ridiculing ideals, in championing anti-God?" Barry disclaims any association with Coughlinite groups, but in 1941 he was boomed for borough president of Queens by a group of Christian Fronters calling themselves the American Rock. The Brooklyn *Tablet* supports him vigorously.

Roy Orchard Woodruff, Michigan Republican, has opposed every New Deal preparedness measure. He said that the war danger was "manufactured" partly to provide Roosevelt with an excuse for copying the techniques of Hitler and Stalin. He saw this "sinister danger" lurking in the third term and in almost every other Administration act. The lease-lend bill, he said in a speech denouncing it, was "in fact and effect a proposal for the setting up of a dictatorship in the United States, with the President as dictator." He attributed defense strikes to a government plot to socialize industry. He objected to the seizure of German and Italian ships in American ports and more vehemently to aid to Russia. "We hear," he declared in the House, "that Mr. Hopkins is in Moscow clasping the bloody hand of the Russian dictator, Joe Stalin." He read into the *Congressional Record* a statement by Gerald L. K. Smith—whom he described as "the great leader and national chairman of the Committee of One Million"—which asserted that any lease-lend aid to Russia would be "the underwriting of atheistic communism." Last March he placed in the record an editorial from Smith's *The Cross and the Flag*: "The most serious thing about this crucifixion of the middle class [by the war effort] is not only the fact that our

bureaucrats apparently don't care what happens to these people but they actually appear to delight in their annihilation." Woodruff himself saw "sinister conditions back of this rubber-gasoline mystery." Pearl Harbor had no perceptible influence on his views. He opposed automobile and tire freezing, he voted for the inflationary farm-parity amendment, and he has continued to hamper the war program. He has been quoted in *Broom and Publicity* and praised in *The Cross and the Flag*.

These men are our worst Congressmen. Others whose activities in Congress have been almost equally harmful are Eugene Cox, the Georgia Democrat whose labor-baiting is notorious; Clifton A. Woodrum, the Virginia Democrat who leads the House economy bloc; Paul W. Shafer and Fred Bradley, Michigan Republicans who follow the lead of Clare Hoffman; Karl E. Mundt, South Dakota Republican who was active in America First and has expressed pro-fascist sentiments; John M. Vorys, Ohio Republican who favored a negotiated peace; James F. O'Connor, the Montana Democrat who is Senator Wheeler's satellite; and John Taber, New York Republican, who has fulminated against almost every aspect of the New Deal, including the establishment of a Roosevelt library at Hyde Park. This does not exhaust the list of Congressmen who deserve to be defeated, but it is a guide to those whose continued presence in Congress would be a positive menace to the country's welfare. They are men with tarnished motives or small minds. They have impeded the war effort, and one dreads to think of how they may affect the peace.

## Reunion on the Left

BY RALPH BATES

IF ASKED to give reasons for the pre-war appeasement policies of London and Paris, nine out of ten American students of foreign affairs would mention fear and suspicion of the U. S. S. R. and the Communist parties. And most of them would probably assume that it was merely the ruling classes that were hostile and suspicious. The view is a simple one and, like most of its kind, dangerous. For it ignores what, after all, is another aspect of the division introduced into the world by the October Revolution. I refer to the hostility that has always existed between the Second and Third Internationals, the two main streams of the working-class political movement.

There is little need at this date to review the facts in detail, and even less need to apportion blame. The tactics and conduct of each body, infuriating as they were to the other, were the necessary consequence of their phi-

losophies, of their stunted and inadequate elaborations of one half of a truth that was really indivisible. Whatever we may think of either the reformist or the revolutionary tactics or of the uses to which they were put, most of us will admit that the great schism broke the force that might have prevented the rise of fascism. There is not a German Social Democrat or a German Communist who does not today perceive that the unrelenting strife between their parties was of service only to Hitler. Every incident of the ceaseless struggle against pre-war reaction illustrated the same fatal phenomenon, even when there was no open clash. There was unity in Loyalist Spain; yet party frictions, increasing as time went on, were a constant drain on the strength of the Republic. It was party hatred and distrust, in this case four-cornered rather than two-sided, which finally gave the traitor Casado his chance to capitalize on war weariness.



ness. In other countries these differences were always present to prevent the full growth of anti-fascist conviction. To a European, at least, the collisions between the two currents and the sheer political incapacity of the two Internationals, as viewed in the light of after events, must always appear as among the contributory causes of the war.

To an American this opinion may seem an exaggeration; and it may be even less easy for American liberals to believe, as I do, that the war is unlikely to throw up any powerful new movement that will rid us of this old torment of disunity. The Labor Party, as Tom Wintringham suggests, may have remained immune to the new sentiment of reform in Britain. The representatives of the Third International may also be unable to win the allegiance of the masses. Yet when the post-war crisis inevitably arrives, the old parties and the trade unions must once again become the instruments of protest. If they do not, the movement for reform will collapse, and we shall sink into despair.

There would be no point in drawing attention to the schism if its continued existence did not so greatly imperil the successful waging of the war as well as the coming peace. I do not, however, pretend that there is any immediate solution. Most certainly this discussion is not the prelude to yet another sterile effort to find an intellectual common ground for the two movements. But the movements may not always remain as they are. While their philosophies cannot be harmonized, the parties themselves are continually being molded by history; so, too, are the temperaments, the traditions, and the classes from which these parties draw their life and strength. The European parties at this moment *are* being molded by circumstances. If the circumstances last long enough, I believe the gap can be closed. It is necessary to bring Socialists of all kinds within one broadly based, yet disciplined, party. I believe that it can be done and that a beginning can be made most easily in England. In point of fact, the first small step has already been taken by the British Labor Party and the British trade-union movement. As the war drives Britain and the U. S. S. R. into closer dependence upon each other, it will be possible to take longer steps. The Anglo-Russian Treaty of June, 1942, if it endures, may at last bring the Internationals together.

## II

It is essential to review the past attitude of British Labor toward the Soviet Union and the Communist Party. One great European crisis demands attention first—the one leading to the end of capitalist intervention against the young Soviet state in 1920. It may truthfully be said that had the official British labor movement not prepared a nation-wide general strike against the government in that year, the Soviet Union might not be in existence today. The history of that crisis discloses some-

thing of extreme importance about the workings of socialist feeling in Britain. As early as December, 1918, the Labor Party Executive, by no means leftist, began to question the government's policy, but it was not until the militant Miners' Federation, at a special joint conference of the Trades Union Congress and the Labor Party in 1919, introduced a resolution demanding the end of intervention that the delegations had an opportunity to express themselves. On the evil of intervention the members were unanimous, though there was disagreement concerning action.

When, on August 7, 1920, Lord Curzon, the Foreign Secretary, officially threatened the Soviets with war if the Red Army's advance on Warsaw continued, Labor's response was instantaneous. Upon the receipt of party orders great demonstrations occurred all over Great Britain. On the next day the combined movement warned the government that "the whole industrial power of the organized workers will be used to defeat this war." A joint convention of the two wings of the movement was called, and when it met in Westminster four days later, a unanimous decision was taken. At this crowded and blazing convention British Labor pledged itself to resist any and every form of military and naval intervention against the Soviet government.

One decisive orator said, "This question you are called upon to decide today—the willingness to take any action to win world peace—transcends any claim in connection with wages and hours." That was the opinion of Ernest Bevin, now a powerful figure in Churchill's ministry. The following is from the official report of another important speech:

[The speaker] wanted to know what the party had done in the matter of the war on the Socialist Republic of Russia. They had got to realize that the present war against Russia on the part of this country . . . was not war against Bolshevism or against Lenin but against the international organization of socialism. It was a war against the organization of the trade-union movement itself, and as such should be resisted with the full political and industrial power of the whole trade-union movement.

The speaker was Herbert Morrison, now Britain's Home Secretary, and there was not the slightest obscurity in his words. The chairman of the Party Executive, Cameron, not a leftist, put the matter as bluntly:

If the day should come when we do take this action . . . we may be compelled to do things that will cause them to abdicate and to tell them that if they cannot run the country in a peaceful and humane manner without interfering with the lives of other nations, we will be compelled, even against the constitution, to chance whether we cannot do something to take the country into our own hands for our own people.

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## *Twenty Years of Fascism in Italy*

ON OCTOBER 28, 1942, Italian fascism celebrates its twentieth anniversary. The March on Rome is supposed to have been the starting-point of a movement which has given a name to modern barbarism. As a matter of fact, the exact date of its birth cannot be determined. Mussolini's movement was an influence in Italian internal affairs long before the March on Rome; and the march itself did not immediately wipe out parliamentary and democratic institutions. The day of Matteotti's assassination would be a more exact date if fascism is to be seen as the unleashing of a bloody terror upon the progressive forces of the people.

Unlike most other political movements, fascism had no well-defined philosophy or ideology. Mussolini himself once said that the core of his doctrine was to be found in his day-by-day policies and writings. Swayed by constantly changing conditions, these writings show no consistent positive line; what consistency they may have is negative—the liquidation of all progressive ideas. Sometimes Mussolini called his movement a translocation of the French Revolution into Italian; sometimes he attacked the ideas of the French Revolution as demoralizing and morbid. Sometimes he emphasized the Mediterranean influence in his movement; sometimes he called upon the Prussian ideal of absolute state power.

His foreign policy from the very beginning was aggressive and revisionist. He claimed that Italy had been slighted by the peace treaties, and fooled by the Allies in April, 1915, when the London treaty promised more than Italy subsequently received.

In the first year of its existence Italian fascism made little impression on world opinion. As a unique form of modern government it was considered an Italian internal affair. A British statesman once declared that if he were an Italian he would, of course, be a Fascist. The best propagandists for the new regime were the tourists who visited Italy for a few days or weeks, and who took the blue sky, the beautiful bays, and the hospitable Italian people for special Fascist manifestations. The highways, the clean streets, the lack of beggars, and the official enthusiasm of a small but very vocal portion of the population impressed them. The greater portion were inevitably silent, and tourists cannot understand silent people, especially when they are foreigners.

The tourists gave no thought to the fact that England, the United States, and other democratic countries had not found it necessary to stifle freedom in order to build highways and keep appointments.

Since his was the first totalitarian state in the world, Mussolini encouraged similar movements in other countries. Declaring that his ideology was not a commodity for export, he nevertheless encouraged Hitler in Germany and the fascists in Austria and Hungary. It was his agents who killed the Yugoslav King Alexander and Louis Barthou, the best Foreign Minister of France, in Marseilles and the Rosselli brothers in Paris. It was he who built a strong organization among the Italians in Tunisia and Fascist groups throughout Latin America. It was he who started the Spanish civil war; and even if he showed some hesitation about Hitler's annexation of Austria, it was clear by then that his destiny was indissolubly bound with Hitler's.

His attack on Abyssinia was part of a whole imperialist program in the Mediterranean area; his attack on France was projected before Germany started its invasion. Italian neutrality and Italian belligerency have from the start been planned from the point of view of the Axis; and what role should be adopted has been carefully calculated according to the immediate situation. Too few people read the books by Sforza, Salvemini, Borgese, or Ascoli, or the articles by Ferrero, a Prato, or Don Sturzo. Too many people saw the danger of fascism only when Italy entered the war on the side of Germany.

Italy should have taught the democracies a lesson, if a negative one. In no case was the futility of attempting to appease the Axis more eloquently proved. From the outbreak of hostilities in Europe to Italy's entrance into the war, every imaginable and even unimaginable effort was made to keep Italy neutral. Naval measures intended to stiffen the British blockade were reversed or softened just to please Rome. The slightest criticism of Italian foreign policy by a Pertinax or Kerillis was expurgated by the French press. London and Paris were ready to do anything to appease Mussolini and to help him protect fascism from the impact of the war, as they had helped uphold it in the pre-war years.

Il Duce arbitrarily fixed the birth date of Italian fascism, which came into being unheralded by the people of whom it claims to be the expression. Now it has died—died almost unbeknownst to those who today give the order for the celebration of its twentieth anniversary. It has been strangled by its younger and more terrible brother, German fascism, coming down from the north and assuming the monopoly of violence and tyranny. Hitler and his Gestapo are rulers in Rome.



### The Sword, Not the Umbrella

*"Public opinion knows that the capital crime of French policy during the interval between the two wars was that the representatives of the people placed blind trust in the technicians of the General Staff, who created an anachronistic army from the dual point of view of material and methods of combat.*

*"Public opinion knows that every technical question must be plumbed to the bottom, and by technicians. But it is disturbed by the thought that the supreme decisions of global war might be taken by the technicians alone. The place and the hour of the opening of the second front must be decided, after all the technical studies have been made, by the political leaders of the United Nations.*

*"The second front is not a question of strategy and tactics alone, but one of spiritual direction. It is, then, a question of politics in the highest and noblest sense of the word, of politics accumulating with cold lucidity the information of the technicians and taking its own tragic decisions with full responsibility.*

*"Public opinion calls upon the leaders of the coalition to carry in their hands the sword of Foch, not the umbrella of Chamberlain."*

[From a letter by Emile Vaillancourt, distinguished French Canadian writer and lecturer, to Premier Mackenzie King, Prime Minister Churchill, and President Roosevelt]

## The Radio Squadron

BY ALIX REUTHER

NOW that an Allied offensive is imminent, it is imperative that we work out a plan whereby our potential allies—the peoples of the occupied countries—may be utilized to supplement the action of our military forces. The first question this raises is: how can we inform the peoples of Europe of our plan and of their part in carrying it out?

At present our only means of direct communication is the short-wave radio. But the numbers that can be reached in this way are extremely limited. Throughout the occupied countries short-wave sets have been confiscated wherever they could be found, and the death penalty has been decreed for listening. However, though short-wave sets have been largely wiped out, nearly everyone in Europe owns a simple little radio on which he is compelled to listen to what his masters tell him. Only three or four fascist-controlled stations can be tuned in on these sets, but if we broadcast on the same wave

lengths we can be heard. How can we do this? The answer is the "radio squadron."

The radio squadron will be attached to the spearheads of the invading United Nations armies. It will consist of skilled radio technicians with superb equipment. These will become what is called, in radio language, "pirates." They will set up their long-wave transmitters to broadcast on somebody else's wave length. The Russian ghost voice has shown the world how effectively this can be done. The equipment will have to be extremely compact so that it can be moved forward behind the front battle lines and be made ready for operation just as fast as are the field kitchens and the supply columns. It will have to be adaptable for use in the Flying Fortresses or patrol planes which accompany the armies.

Just as important as the technical equipment and the skilled engineers will be the "ground crews" of these radio squadrons. They will be experts in psychological warfare, and they should be natives of the country we are moving into. They must know the "terrain."

All over the free world there are thousands of anti-fascist refugees, many of them former newspapermen. In this country a large number of them are already aiding in the United Nations' psychological war effort by broadcasting daily, over government short wave, messages of hope and anti-fascist propaganda to their oppressed compatriots in Europe. These men and women, most of whom have become experts in psychological warfare, will form the nucleus of the radio squadron's ground crews. Theirs will be the job of speaking to their own people—of telling them what we expect them to do.

The radio squadrons will have to coordinate their activity with that of the armed forces and at all times subordinate themselves to the High Command, which will have a section devoted entirely to psychological warfare. The general staff directing this new branch of our armies will draw up plans like any military general staff. It will always keep in mind that this new kind of warfare cannot be directed from a swivel-chair in Washington or London; that after the broad outline of the strategy has been decided upon, the officers of the radio squadrons must determine, on the spot, where and when the next "ether raid" is to take place.

An important part of the job of these radio squadrons will be to tell the enslaved peoples of our ideas for the peace, to reassure them, and to hammer it into their minds that our invasion will not just bring a change of masters but will help them regain their national and personal liberties. This part of the squadron's attack will be in many ways the most difficult, because it will have to overcome years of fascist lies. Another task will be to inform the people of our progress, to give them "hot" news reports. The monitor unit attached to the squadron will pick up the enemy's hoax and combat it at once.



To illustrate, let us assume that we have established three bridgeheads on the English Channel. The fascist radio is already in action telling the people of France that the Nazi army has just achieved another "victory" and repulsed the United Nations' attempt to invade the Continent. The French people, tuning in their radios, hear the Goebbels lie that we have been driven back into the sea. In reality we have established bridgeheads and have already set up not only a service of supply but our radio squadrons. The monitors, hearing the fascist radio, are greatly amused to hear that they have been drowned. The ground crew takes over, and the counter-attack starts on the same wave length on which Goebbels has just drowned the invaders. As the counter-attack swings into action, the people, say, of Rennes hear that we are only about forty miles from their city. They realize that they have given way to despair too soon and that they can go ahead and blow up that certain bridge and dynamite that nearby railroad junction, and that within a few hours they will be able to join the armies of the United Nations.

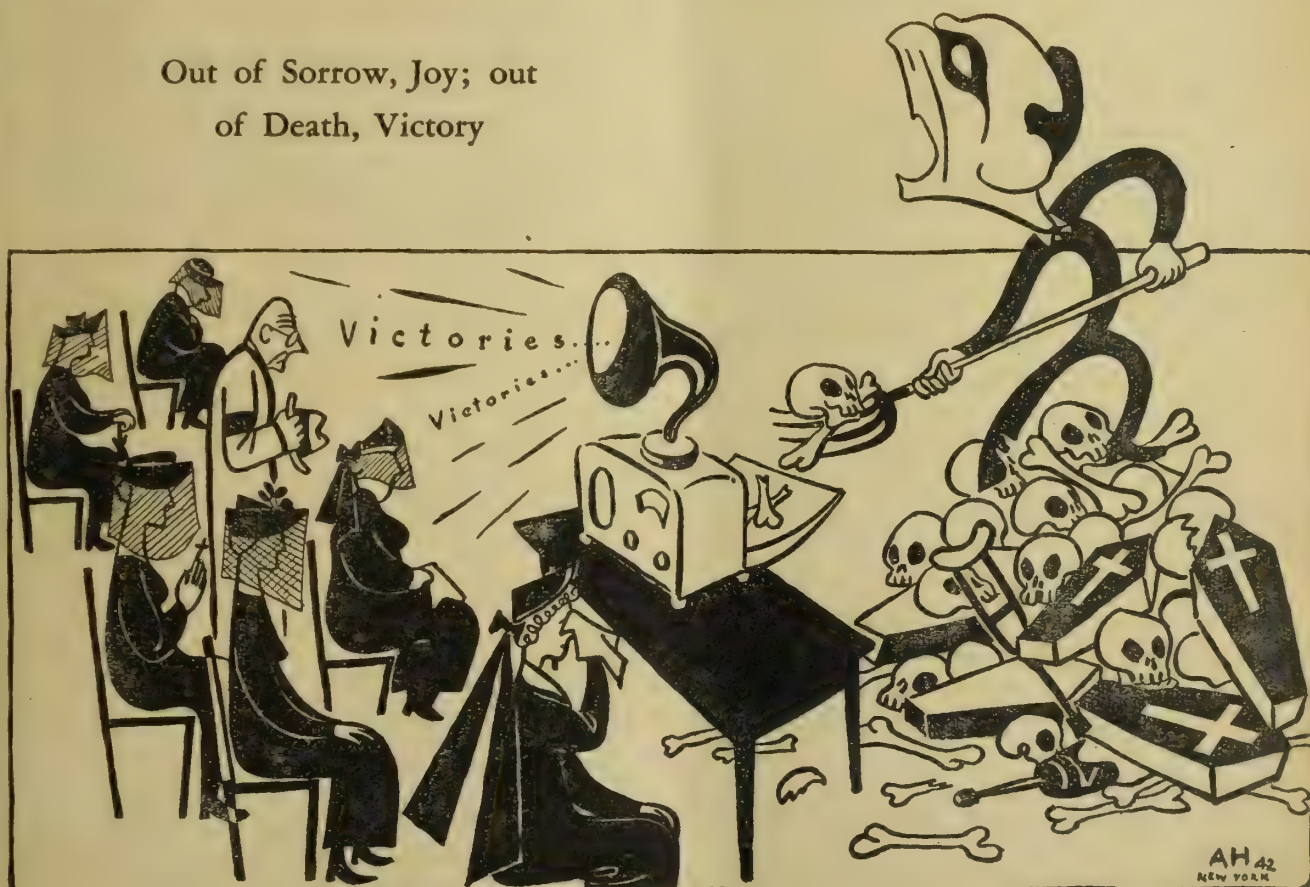
The hypothetical incident just outlined shows that it will be impossible to direct this new kind of warfare from any other point than from the fighting front itself. Washington and London might not get the complete report on the successful establishment of the bridgeheads for twelve or twenty-four hours. By then the entire situation might have changed.

The commando raid at Dieppe proved the great need for radio squadrons. The moment Allied troops landed, the British Broadcasting Corporation started broadcasting urgent messages to the French people warning them not to let themselves be provoked into any action whatever and to stay home. Most important of all, it kept repeating that the action in progress was only a commando raid and *not* the expected invasion. The British did not know whether the French heard the warning broadcasts, but they probably did not, for it was later reported that the Germans had shot eleven Dieppe civilians and imprisoned several hundred. Had these heard the British warning to lie low and take no action, they would not have become involved.

On the day after the raid Fernand de Brinon, so-called Vichy ambassador to Paris, announced that all "illegal" radios throughout France were to be confiscated immediately. What could have been the reason for that statement at that particular time? Everyone, both inside and outside France, knew very well that it was not a new order, that confiscation and reprisal had been going on for more than two years, and that there were supposedly no more "illegal" radios in existence.

It is clear that the only reason the Nazis and their Vichy associates could have had for issuing this obviously phony order was to fool us, and especially the B. B. C. They wanted us to believe that we could actually reach the people by short- and medium-wave radio. The Nazis

Out of Sorrow, Joy; out  
of Death, Victory



Drawing by Hoffmeister.



hope that once we really believe this, our General Staff will rely upon it in establishing invasion strategy. In reality, of course, any action based on such a false premise would be doomed to failure.

During the Dieppe raid and for weeks afterward the Berlin radio screamed to the world at large and to France in particular that *l'affaire Dieppe* was the greatest defeat yet suffered by the Allies inasmuch as it had been planned as a bridgehead for the second front; that this utter rout proved that the second front would never come to pass, that the Nazi fortifications were impregnable. The effect of these broadcasts on the morale of the French people cannot be exaggerated. If the commandos at Dieppe had included a radio squadron broadcasting on either the Dieppe or the Paris frequency, our warnings would have been heeded and the limited scope of the operation been made clear.

## Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

IF THE scene of a contemporary Offenbach operetta were laid in a government office called "Leadership of German Poetry" (*Deutsche Dichtungs-führung*), one would take it for rather sardonic raillery. But the thing actually exists. Goebbels, the commander-in-chief of the commandos of poetry, referred to his department as the "Poetry Leadership" several times in a long speech he delivered on October 11 before a German poets' meeting in Weimar, the city of Goethe.

There the assembled gentlemen of the pen heard once more what the chief demanded of them and what he censured in them. It developed that he was rather dissatisfied. And why? His reasons remind us of a phenomenon which has great significance for this column.

The trouble starts from the fact that the Herren Authors persistently fail to choose for their books the material which they should choose. Of course they cannot write what is forbidden; but most of them do not write what is wanted. They deny their "link with the present." They have no feeling for the times. To put it more plainly: they choose material which is not connected with the war, the Führer, or National Socialism.

And that is not all. Not only do authors refuse to use 100 per cent Nazi subject matter; they are apathetic toward other themes which the regime would like to have written about. For example, "a large group of subjects stemming out of such present-day German realities as the state or the worker receive only perfunctory treatment." Further, not enough industry is displayed in writing the popular books which the regime demands. "Many of you seem to have the idea that it is beneath your dignity, and not your mission, to write light, exciting books. I should like to say that in the National

Socialist state every cultural task acquires worth if it finds favor with the people."

Writers form only one group in the great class of the intelligentsia, and it is even more interesting to observe that Goebbels attacked the apathy and stubbornness of the whole class. Using that defensive tone which of late dominates his speeches, he insisted that the Nazi regime is in principle not hostile to intelligence. "I consider this an opportunity to put a stop to a widespread error which threatens to alarm unnecessarily a certain part of our intelligentsia and to prevent them from giving their unconditional cooperation. It is the practice of National Socialism to keep a certain type of intellectualism under sharp observation, to subject it to biting public criticism. As a result, some honorable and entirely well-intentioned persons have felt themselves attacked when they were not meant at all."

But although Herr Goebbels swore he had nothing against intellectuals as such, he flayed a whole stratum of them as indifferent, skeptical, decadent. And he asserted further that these formed the great majority of moderate intellectuals. The average member of the intelligentsia, in his presentation, is the enemy. "It would be a national misfortune for our people," he said, "if this type of person, with his persistent doubts, were able to poison public opinion. . . . No worse perversity of the human spirit can be imagined. He must be unmasked and exposed to public contempt."

The long and the short of it is that a considerable part of the German intelligentsia forms a disturbing element for the Nazis. They refuse to write the right books, they cooperate only with "reservations"; their "persistent doubts" have a poisonous effect. Anyone acquainted with conditions has known this for a long time. It is clear that the intelligentsia provides the best leverage for lifting the Reich off its hinges.

## Where Did They Go?

THE news that an Italian Alpine regiment had mutinied at Gorizia in northern Italy when it was ordered to the Russian front was hailed all over the world as a sign of Italian internal disintegration. But since the news was sent from London by Reuters, the Italian Propaganda Ministry found it easy to deny. More difficult to deny will be their own figures. The Italian High Command's report of casualties for the month of September officially announces total casualties as 13,936. Of these, 1,873 were killed, 5,431 wounded, and 5,632 missing. Further the communiqué specifies that the greatest casualties were on the Russian front; it gives them as 1,054 killed and 4,121 wounded, failing here to mention the missing. Why were they not numbered? Where did they go? The Reuters dispatch gives us a hint. On the Russian front "missing" might well mean "mutinied," and troops that refuse to fight or go over to the enemy are not included in the casualty figures.



Faced with this opposition the British government put an end to intervention.

There are many things to note about this first proof of solidarity between the British and Russian workers. First, no sympathy was shown with the tactics of the Russian government; yet the British labor movement explicitly recognized that the Soviet Union was a workers' state. A detailed account of the proceedings would show that the conventional leftist summary does not describe it properly. It is true that action was first demanded on the Clydebank and in South Wales, the two strongholds of revolutionary leftism in Britain. It is undeniable, also, that this early demand was resisted by the right-wing Executive. Nevertheless, to say that the left won the masses over to a vigorous policy of class struggle that was, in the last analysis, consistent only with a Communist philosophy would be to blunder very badly. For a considerable time before the August, 1920, showdown the vigor and enthusiasm of what is normally called the right wing had matched that of the left. The general strike was demanded by men who, ready enough to "revolt" if that became necessary, would never have instituted a regime of the Russian kind.

Second, long before August, 1920, the shrewdest labor leaders, whether they belonged to right, left, or center, understood that the British government's war on the Soviets was aimed at the whole Socialist and trade-union movement. The demand for action, however, only became unanimous when the question was unmistakably proved to be one of actual war or peace.

A last observation, on a fundamental point: one must note that sense of autonomy or "prerogative" which underlay the British labor movement's thought during this crisis. The reactionary press never made a greater blunder than to accuse trade unionists of threatening to strike on Russian orders. The British movement felt itself to be a brother of the Russian, but not a child or a pupil. It has never felt that, and it never will. And just as the political and industrial arms alike regard themselves as *the* British movement, so, through thick and thin, has British labor regarded the Russian government as the instrument of the Russian movement. I want to make this perfectly clear. I was for many years the only left-wing official of one of the largest branches of the British National Union of Railwaymen. Throughout the innumerable political debates in that branch meeting-hall, in which I was invariably in a minority of two or three, I do not remember hearing anyone raise doubts as to whether the U. S. S. R. was an authentic workers' state. As time went on, certain developments in Russia displeased more and more Englishmen, but they never destroyed the profound if sometimes vague sense of legitimacy which has attached itself to the Soviet Union from the beginning to the present day.

The British labor movement's consciousness of its prerogative is of great importance. It owes its existence to the tremendously significant fact that there is only one British working-class party of any size. Within the Labor Party the widest differences of opinion constantly give rise to debate, but the sharpest controversy has never been permitted to split the party. And when, as over the Popular Front issue, local breakaways have occurred, the splinters have returned to the national party before very long. Similarly, there has never been more than one great trade-union federation, the Trades Union Congress, within which the industrial and craft unions affiliated to the Labor Party exist side by side.

Though British Labor's attitude toward the Soviet Union remained at bottom the same, in later years the warmth and naturalness went out of it. The tactics of the Communist Party of Great Britain had much to do with this estrangement, certainly more than the rightward drift of the labor movement after the general strike in 1926. In its very first request for affiliation, dated August 10, 1920—during Labor's stirring defense of the U. S. S. R.—The Communist Party demanded to know whether "the Labor Party Executive decisively and categorically rejects the dictatorship of the proletariat." It is in the light of this question that the average British Labor Party member has always viewed the problem from that day to this. For that reason he has always rejected Communist affiliation.

On the other hand, the Communists have since vehemently asserted that the "dictatorship of the proletariat" was not in debate, that their intention was only to work within the party for a vigorous working-class program of action, a program which they were often able to devise and which was usually lacking in the major party. Whatever may have been the truth, a resolution proposing their inclusion was voted down for the first time in 1921, and for the last in 1942. It has so frequently been asserted that this rejection was the work of a reactionary trade-union leadership that it is worth while to recall one extraordinarily significant fact. It is that in the very years when the Labor Party was devising the most stringent rulings against the Communists, the British T. U. C., under its official leaders, was making persistent efforts not only to establish good relations with the Russian unions but to gain entry for the Russians into the International Federation of Trade Unions. Yet, broadly speaking, the British unions and the Labor Party were dominated by the same people. It was the October, 1924, convention of the Labor Party which most clearly defined and decided the Communist question. But in that year the Hull T. U. C., after giving a warm welcome to the Soviets' fraternal delegate, authorized a British delegation, headed by its highest officials, to attend the Sixth All-Russian Trade



Union Congress in Moscow. On November 17, 1924, in Moscow, the Russian presidium and the president and secretary of the British General Council signed a joint declaration pledging both movements to work for international unity. Next year saw these phenomena repeated. The Liverpool convention of the party took fresh and more stringent action against the Communists, while the Scarborough T. U. C. unanimously agreed to persevere in seeking Russian admission to the I. F. T. U. in the face of bitter Continental opposition. All this was long before the general strike had deflected the movement to the right.

After the general strike the controversy was constantly refought in a mood of ever-increasing bitterness. I do not think that anyone who had intimate contact with the British movement at that time can possibly doubt that it was this infuriating, never-settled debate which gradually reduced the average party member's sympathy with the Soviet Union. Rightly or wrongly he felt that the government of the U. S. S. R. approved the Communist Party's tactics.

How disastrous this tendency was can now be seen. When, after the rise of Hitler, the Comintern reversed its immediate policy and strove to create those united or popular fronts which were the corollary of the Soviets' effort to further collective security, the British Labor Party would have no part of it. Somewhat tardily the party recognized the need for an Anglo-Soviet rapprochement, but it did not understand that only a united front with all other working-class and popular organizations, as well as with the Liberal Party, could drive Chamberlain toward such a course. The fault lay by no means exclusively with the Communists, although their past tactics would probably have been sufficient to earn rejection for the proposal. By the time popular pressure had compelled Chamberlain to abandon appeasement, the U. S. S. R. had gone another way.

#### IV

Yet even through the darks days of Soviet appeasement there was no fundamental change of attitude toward the U. S. S. R. The organized British workers rejected the suicidal advice of the Comintern, but were on guard against any attempt to "switch the war" against the Soviets. While the danger of such a switch has been absurdly exaggerated, during the Russo-Finnish war Sir Walter Citrine, president of the I. F. T. U. and an old opponent of the Communists, thought it wise to warn the Chamberlain government that the movement would resist any attempt to make war on the U. S. S. R. It was not merely that the Labor Party rejected the philosophy of such men as Wilfred Wellock, who within the socialist movement argued that Bolshevism and Nazism were two routes for arriving at the same goal. There was still a belief that the Soviet government, despite all changes, was a workers' and a socialist government.

Above all, the party realized that Nazism was the only real external enemy of labor's cause.

Then, with Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union, the socialist sympathy dormant within the labor movement rapidly awakened. It has been said that the popularity of the U. S. S. R. in Britain is due simply to a beleaguered and frustrated people's admiration for a great fighter. The great measure of truth in this is still short of being the whole truth. This fraternity in combat has, indeed, given strength to a second-front movement which is able to challenge and defeat governmental candidates in local elections, though it gets its backing neither from the Labor Party nor from the Communists. I refer to the "Second Front Now" campaign sponsored by Lord Beaverbrook in his *Daily Express*—as odd a phenomenon as if the *New York Daily News* were suddenly to break into a headlong pro-Soviet rampage. The Communist Party has put on considerable weight and is waging a campaign for increased production, which is undoubtedly of great service. But very few Britons have taken Soviet military toughness as proof of the soundness of the Communist political line.

On the question of Communist affiliation this year's Labor Party convention had nothing new to say. By a majority of thirteen thousand votes in two million, the party registered a civil-liberties decision by calling for an end to the ban on the *Daily Worker*, but against the old affiliation plea a majority of two million was piled up. However, people who would make this a test of sympathy with the Soviets completely mistake the point. Labor's recognition of Soviet successes has never taken the form of rallying behind the British Communists. Enthusiasm for some achievement of the Soviets, on the contrary, almost invariably encourages a British Labor man in his support of his own party. Every burst of enthusiasm for the Soviets also tends to move the Labor Party itself toward the left, its own left. This year's Labor Party conference was no exception. The observed leftward swing was doubtless due in great measure to Mr. Churchill's reluctance to talk about real reform. The sequence of military defeats had something to do with it also. But speeches from the platform as well as from the floor suggested that admiration for the Soviets' resistance was another incentive. Moreover, while the Soviets are immensely popular far outside the workers' movement, only the Labor Party as yet has expressed itself politically. Within the party and within the trade unions the new enthusiasm has had definite political results. The rapid war-time growth of the British unions and the rising temper of the political wing make it important briefly to review these developments.

#### V

When Hitler marched into Russia, the Labor Party at once greeted the Soviet Union. The T. U. C. Executive itself was not far behind in reviving the old Anglo-



Soviet Trade Union Committee, the first war-time session of which was held in Moscow on October 13, 14, and 15, 1941. The British delegation, headed by the anti-Communist Citrine, included no member so far to the left as Tanner, the president of the Amalgamated Engineers and the most effective pro-Soviet non-Communist. More important than the eight-point agreement reached was the British invitation, in which Mr. Churchill had cordially concurred, to the Russian unions to send a delegation to England. None of the articles of the October agreement, unfortunately, expressly refer to the post-war period. The most interesting of them is the seventh, which pledges the two trade-union groups to the task of organizing mutual assistance. This is a text that may cover very much or very little solid ground. Exactly what it does mean will be decided by European developments in general. Attempts have been made to minimize the importance of the Soviet delegation's visit to England. Every account reaching me is emphatic that the Russian unionists' tour was a real source of encouragement to the British worker. Both the government and the T. U. C. had hoped that the visit would give a strong fillip to production. And there is no doubt that it did.

The Soviet delegates made no explicit political comments except to repeat strictures on management which the British unions had themselves already made time and time again. In one case, however, Shvernick, the leader of the Russian delegation, seems to have attempted to check unreasonable criticism of a management. In another case he said that the induction of women into industry was proceeding at too slow a pace, despite governmental orders, adding that it was more important to carry out these orders than to obtain an increased workers' share in management. The instructed observer will see in this a criticism of international and local trade-union leadership. At Liverpool, Leeds, Birmingham, and other industrial cities the Russians addressed important trade-union conferences and in some places took part in business meetings of the shop stewards. The T. U. C. significantly took advantage of the furor—that is the only word to describe the British response to the visit of the Russian delegation—to open a new drive for increased worker participation in management.

## VI

Harry Pollitt, the real leader of the British Communist Party, writing in the January number of the Communist *Labor Monthly*, argued somewhat revealingly that the 1941 Anglo-Soviet treaty had made possible a new labor unity. At the June convention of the Labor Party the floor gave a tremendous ovation to the platform when it was announced that the party leadership intended to ask the Soviet government to receive a Labor Party delegation with a view to establishing full and

permanent relations between the Russian and British political movements. This, incidentally, was very much more than a British move, for at the present time many past presidents and executives of the Second International are living in London. These men, as well as former trade-union officials of the United Nations, were consulted before the approach to Moscow was made, and their warm approval was given to it.

There is no reason for naivete. The kind of unity Harry Pollitt had in mind, the immediate affiliation of the British Communist Party to the Labor Party, was not intended to be furthered by this approach to Moscow. It was the larger view of Europe as a whole which moved the Labor leadership, and this was understood by the convention floor. The Labor Party was unmistakably expressing its belief that the two Internationals must draw together, for it was clearly not the Soviet government as such but the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and, behind that party, the Comintern which the Labor Party wished to meet. In thus going to what it believed to be the source of all authority in the Comintern, the Labor Party at least brought into contact the only two remaining working-class parties of any size in Europe.

It is probable, however, that a shrewd mental calculation had been made, not dissimilar to the one that seems implicit in Harry Pollitt's argument. If the Anglo-Soviet treaty of 1941, which did not promise a long-enduring post-war collaboration between the two powers, could have that effect, then the treaty of 1942, with its vision of twenty years' partnership, ought to have a greater result. The Labor Party knows that the policy of the C. P. G. B. is largely determined by the Soviets' international position. It is more than probable, therefore, that Labor thought that the Russian leaders might soon be inclined to recognize the British Labor Party as *the* British movement. The British party cannot fail to have noticed that the Comintern has not followed a strictly revolutionary policy for many years now. It is not easy to avoid polemics at this point, but it would seem that while the Communists have always kept revolutionary intentions at the back of their heads, the Comintern's direction has been increasingly concerned with Soviet defense rather than with preparing for eventual insurrection. British Labor perhaps thought that the Soviet party might be willing to make contacts with the massive and disciplined British movement upon the basis of recognition of prerogatives. Did the Labor Party also calculate that in accepting this much more effective defense against whatever opposition might arise in the post-war world, the Soviet party might advise the British and the European Communist parties to follow what could be called a Popular Front line? If this should come about, what consequences might it have?

This must be noted. The immediate policy of the



British Communists today is perfectly assimilable by any organization as broad as the British Labor Party. To be exact, the C. P. G. B., if admitted to the Labor Party, would now constitute its right rather than its left wing. In the post-war world it will almost certainly move to the left again; but as long as the U. S. S. R. enjoyed good external relations, an affiliated Communist Party would not openly violate the constitution of the movement or go contrary to its spirit.

Would a long-term association of the U. S. S. R. and the United Kingdom so mold the two parties that they might work together in this way? And if so, what would be the effect on the European labor movement? These are questions I prefer to raise rather than to answer. Both parties must be molded. From a narrow right-wing standpoint one might ask, Why should the Labor Party make concessions? Many answers could be given, but they are all accessory to one powerful argument. To move leftward is not a concession but a sheer necessity if the party is to be reinvigorated. To be in earnest about socialism is not a concession. The old hesitancy will insure defeats in the post-war world similar in kind and ultimately as grave in consequence as those of the pre-war epoch. To effect such a reinvigoration it may be necessary to reduce the power of the trade-union delegates to the party convention. Yet if the party sets out to win the British masses, even that may be unnecessary. Moreover, it is now reasonably certain that the cessation of war will see an immediate upsurge of desire for reform. Not even the diehards of the Labor right wing can wholly resist that tide. In any case, one notes with a certain grim relief, the Old Guard will be dying off very shortly.

For my part, I believe that if the Communist Party persists in demanding affiliation in an atmosphere such as may be created in the next few years, it will probably gain it. And provided this demand leads to a constitutional debate about a legitimate leftism, the gain will be enormous.

With the problem solved in Britain and with consequent security for the U. S. S. R., the sad disasters of the European movements might be undone. The development would not run counter to the history of revolutions. The French Revolution itself, opposed by Britain, nevertheless had great and good consequences for English political life. I confess, with Alvarez del Vayo, a total disbelief in the "wisdom" of the old diplomacy. The problems he raised in *The Nation* can only be solved by the people themselves, by their relentless pressure for a new social order. The people, however, cannot do this without parties. The parties exist; they need invigoration. But without unity they will not, over the whole field of Europe, find new life. A unified labor movement, on its political as well as its industrial side, is an absolute essential.

## Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

### A Tax Victory for Business

THE least-publicized feature of the 1942 tax law, signed by the President on October 21, is the comparative lightness of the new burden which it imposes on corporation profits. In his recommendations to Congress on March 3 Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau asked for total tax increases of \$7.6 billion, of which \$3.2 billion would be derived from additional levies on corporations. The tax bill in its completed form achieved the goal originally set by the Treasury, but the contribution of business had been whittled down to about half.

This result must be considered a striking victory for the corporations, since the tax law actually comes close to fulfilling their fondest hopes. Last March, at the hearings of the House Ways and Means Committee, a representative of the National Association of Manufacturers put forward proposals which would have meant an increase in corporation income and excess-profits taxes of about \$1.4 billion. This has proved a shot remarkably near the bull's-eye, for it is estimated that the increase in these levies provided by the new law will produce about \$1.5 billion. As the *Wall Street Journal* says with engaging candor, "More concern for business was shown in this bill than in any other recent tax measure. . . . The new rates are high, but they are not nearly as high as the levels which were considered and discarded."

The following table illustrates this statement and shows how at each stage of the tax bill's progress through Congress the corporate load was lightened:

	1941 law	Treasury proposals	House version	Bill as enacted
Combined normal and sur- tax on corporations with incomes over \$25,000	31	55	45	40
Excess-profits tax	35-60	50-75	90	90*
Additional revenue from corporate taxes		\$3.2	\$2.64	\$1.5

\* With a 10 per cent post-war credit and a tax ceiling of 80 per cent of total earnings.

This table, however, does not by itself tell the whole story or explain the 100 per cent difference in yield between the Treasury proposals and the rates approved by Congress. The secret lies in a mass of relief provisions which have something for almost every corporate somebody. Utility companies, for instance, benefit by a surtax deduction for dividends paid on preferred stocks which it is estimated will be worth \$18,000,000 annually to them. All corporations stand to gain from permission to buy up their own bonds at less than par without incurring a tax liability. This relief is especially signifi-



cant for the railroads, which will be encouraged to use their bonanza war profits to cut down their mountainous indebtedness.

Another section of the law is designed to foster the mining of strategic metals by exempting from excess-profits taxes all earnings derived from the production of antimony, manganese, tin, and other scarce minerals. Lumber mills and coal and iron mines are also to receive a rebate on earnings resulting from an increase in output over the 1936-39 average. Provisions of this nature are perhaps justified as war-time incentives, but the same argument can hardly be used in favor of maintaining depletion allowances for oil and other extractive industries at rates which have no relation to actually realized depletion. As Senator Robert La Follette, who strenuously but unsuccessfully supported the Treasury's recommendation of a revision in these allowances, revealed in the *Progressive* of October 12, "Tax returns filed by 78 oil companies for the year 1941 show total deductions of percentage depletion amounting to \$30,600,000, while on their own books they acknowledged the actual depletion suffered aggregated only \$6,100,000." The continued embodiment in the tax structure of special privileges of this nature is a tribute to the strength of the big-business lobbies but hardly to that of Congressional character.

In setting the excess-profits rate as high as 90 per cent, Congress appears to have outdone the Treasury in severity. But many corporations, especially those with an inflated capital structure, like the big steel companies, were delighted to exchange a punishing excess-profits rate for lower normal taxes and surtaxes. Moreover, the new law provides numerous offsets. The limitation of any company's combined income and excess-profits tax to 80 per cent of net earnings will enable some of the war babies—operating largely on capital provided directly or indirectly by the government—to make for their shareholders a very handsome return indeed on money actually invested. Those businesses, on the other hand, which have been hit by the curtailment of civilian production have been taken care of by provisions enabling them (a) to carry back losses incurred this year against 1941 taxable income; (b) to apply any excess-tax credit unused this year against last year's excess-profits payments. These relief provisions will result in some sizable refunds.

As a result of all this generosity, a good many corporate earnings statements for 1942 are going to show a much rosier state of affairs for stockholders than reports for the first three-quarters would indicate. Most companies, partly as a matter of prudent accounting, partly with the idea that a display of poverty was good policy while Congress was mulling over the tax bill, reported quarterly profits after making reserves for taxes based on the Treasury proposals. Now they will be able

to write back substantial amounts out of these reserves, which thanks to Congress have proved unnecessarily high. Under the circumstances the recent bullishness of stocks hardly requires explanation.

## In the Wind

CLARE BOOTHE LUCE was recently informed that one of her close associates in the Republican Party in Connecticut had once been decorated by Mussolini. "I know nothing," she wrote, "about Mr. Pallotti's receiving a decoration from Mussolini, nor what the time or the occasion may have been. There was a time, of course, when we all thought that Mussolini was doing a good job. That was before he became a partner in the Axis."

FROM AN ARTICLE on government press agents in the *New Republic*: "Pearl Harbor caught the United States with no clear-cut information policy. George Creel maintains that he did the job quicker, better, and cheaper."

THE DECLINE of the millionaires was the subject of a recent article in the *New York World-Telegram*: "Mr. and Mrs. Harrison Williams," the paragraph ran, "have closed four of their five homes, put their eight cars in storage, reduced the number of their household servants from twenty-five to ten, and shut off all except two floors of the thirty-room pink colonial brick mansion at 1130 Fifth Avenue where they now live. Millionaires are on the skids."

THE HOBO WAR LEAGUE, recently founded by the *Hobo News*, is starting an intensive campaign to encourage its members to fill the places of drafted farm workers. "Turn 'the bum factory' into a producing factory," is one of the league's slogans. Another is, "For Victory let us buy bonds to buy bombs to bomb the Axis bums."

THE MURDER of a war worker who had recently been involved in a felonious-assault case and because of that had lost his job was reported in the *New York World-Telegram* of October 19. The man's nickname, according to the story, was Red. But the headline said: "Aircraft Plant Fired Astoria Welder, Known as a Red."

A RECENT ISSUE of the *Wall Street Journal* reported the lengths to which employers of domestic help have gone in trying to keep their servants: "A United States employment office in Connecticut, for instance, has felt their pressure. Women protested directly to the office against factory placements, worked indirectly through their husbands. In Mississippi the government thinks it may lose a teapot battle against a group of women who don't want their help leaving for a war plant. The battle there reportedly proceeds more openly, with the well-to-do white women telling the working white women that they will get no jobs in the war factory if the colored women do."

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of \$5 will be awarded each month for the best item.—EDITORS THE NATION.]



# BOOKS *and the* ARTS

## POE AS A LITERARY CRITIC

BY EDMUND WILSON

POE, at the time of his death in 1849, had had the intention of publishing a book on "The Authors of America in Prose and Verse." He had already worked over to a considerable extent the material of his articles and reviews; and the collection of critical writing printed by Griswold after his death is something between a journalistic chronicle like Bernard Shaw's dramatic notices and a selected and concentrated volume like Eliot's "The Sacred Grove."

Poe as a critic has points of resemblance both with Eliot and with Shaw. He deals vigorously and boldly with books as they come into his hands day by day, as Shaw did with the plays of the season, and manages to be brilliant and arresting even about works of no interest; he constantly insists, as Eliot does, on attempting, in the practice of this journalism, to formulate general principles. His literary articles and lectures, in fact, surely constitute the most remarkable body of criticism ever produced in the United States.

Henry James called it "probably the most complete and exquisite specimen of *provincialism* ever prepared for the edification of men." But though Poe had his share of provincialism, as all American writers did in that period, the thing that most strikes us today is his success in holding himself above it. Intellectually he stands on higher ground than any other American writer of his time. He is trying to curb the tendency of the Americans to overrate or overpraise their own books, and at the same time he is fighting a rear-guard action against the over-inflation of British reputations and the British injustice to American writers; and he has also a third battle: to break down the monopolistic instincts of the New Englanders, who tended to act as a clique and to keep out New Yorkers and Southerners. On one plane Poe grapples realistically with the practical problems of writers in the United States of that time—the copyright situation and the growth of the American magazines, with their influence on literary technique; and on another plane he is able to take in the large developments of Western literature.

With his general interest in method, he has definite ideas about the procedures in a variety of departments of literature—fiction, poetry, satire, travel, criticism. And he can be elevated, ironic, analytical, as the subject in hand requires. His prose is as taut as in his stories, but it has cast off the imagery of his fiction to become simply sharp and precise—our only first-rate classical prose of this period. His mind is a livid but incandescent shaft that is leveled at the successive objects in the American literary landscape like the searchlight on the Albany night boat that picks out the houses along the Hudson; and as there we are induced to

stare at even undistinguished places which have been plucked out of the darkness into a spectral intensity of relief, so here we must read even the essays on insignificant figures whose dead features the critic makes radiant even while he is speeding them to oblivion. When we have put the whole picture together, we see it as clearly—to change the figure—as the geography of a landscape on the moon under an unattainably powerful telescope. There is no other such picture in our literature.

But Poe had tweaked the beard of Longfellow and had made people laugh at a Channing, and the lurking rancor of New England seems to have worked against the acceptance of his criticism. There is an anecdote in W. D. Howells's book, "Literary Friends and Acquaintance," which shows both the attitude of New England and the influence of this attitude on others. Howells had visited Boston for the first time when he was twenty-three, and he had gone to see Emerson in Concord. Poe had been dead ten years.

After dinner [says Howells] we walked about in [Emerson's] "pleached garden" a little, and then we came again into his library, where I meant to linger only till I could fitly get away. He questioned me about what I had seen of Concord, and whom besides Hawthorne I had met, and when I told him only Thoreau, he asked me if I knew the poems of Mr. William Ellery Channing. I have known them since, and felt their quality, which I have gladly owned a genuine and original poetry; but I answered then truly that I knew them only from Poe's criticisms: cruel and spiteful things which I should be ashamed of enjoying as I once did. "Whose criticisms?" asked Emerson. "Poe's," I said again. "Oh," he cried out, after a moment, as if he had returned from a far search for my meaning, "*you mean the jingle-man.*"\* I do not know why this should have put me to such confusion, but if I had written the criticisms myself I do not think I could have been more abashed. Perhaps I felt an edge of reproof, of admonition, in a characterization of Poe which the world will hardly agree with; though I do not agree with the world about him, myself, in its admiration. At any rate, it made an end of me for the time, and I remained as if already absent, while Emerson questioned me as to what I had written in the *Atlantic Monthly*.

That Emerson's opinion of Channing was not so very different from Poe's is shown by an entry in his journal for 1855:

Ellery Channing's poetry has the merit of being genuine, and not the metrical commonplaces of the magazines, but

\* It is true that Poe had not much admired Emerson and had been rather insulting about him in A Chapter on Autography.



it is painfully incomplete. He has not kept faith with the reader; 'tis shamefully insolent and slovenly. He should have lain awake all night to find the true rhyme for a verse, and he has availed himself of the first one that came; so that it is all a babyish incompleteness.

The prejudice of New England against Poe was supported by the bad reputation that had been given him by Griswold's mendacious memoir. It was not so long ago that it was possible for President Hadley of Yale to explain the refusal of the Hall of Fame to admit Poe among its immortals on the ground that he "wrote like a drunkard and a man who is not accustomed to pay his debts"; and it was only last year that Professor A. H. Quinn showed the lengths to which Griswold had gone by producing the originals of Poe's letters and printing them side by side with Griswold's falsifications.

We have often been told of Poe's criticism that it is spiteful, that it is pretentious, that it is vitiated by Poe's acceptance of the sentimental bad taste of his time. In regard to the first two of these charges it must be admitted that these essays give us unpleasant moments; they do have their queer knots and wrinkles; they are neurotic as all Poe's work is neurotic; and the distortions do here sometimes throw us off as they do not do in the stories, because it is here a question of judgment, whereas in his fiction the distortion itself is the subject of the story. It is true, as Joseph Wood Krutch has said, that there is constantly felt in Poe's criticism the same element of obsessive cruelty that inspires his tales of horror. Yet in his criticism Poe does try to hold this in check—with an occasional effect of inconsistency, in judgment as well as in tone, as when he will begin by telling us that certain passages in some book he is reviewing are among the best things of their kind to be found in contemporary writing, and then go on to pick the poet to pieces slowly, coldly, and at a length of many pages. It is also true that Poe pretends sometimes, or at least sometimes lets us infer, that he has read things he has not read. The psychology of the pretender is always a factor to be reckoned with in Poe.

The child of a fascinating actress who had died when he was two years old, he had been adopted by a Scotch merchant in Richmond, brought up as a Southern gentleman, and then cast off with no job and no money at the end of his first year of college, during which his adoptive father had failed to pay even his necessary expenses, so that he could associate, as he said, "with no students except those who were in a similar situation with myself." Poe had always been in the false situation of not being Allan's son and of knowing that in the society he was bred to his parents had been *déclassés*; and now he was suddenly deprived of his role of a well-heeled young Southern gentleman with prospects of inheriting a fortune, and found himself a poor man with no backing who had to survive in the American Grub Street. He had the confidence of faith in superior abilities, and the reports of his work at his English school and at the University of Virginia show that he excelled as a student. But his studies had been aborted at the same time as his social career, and a shade of the uncertainty of the "gentleman" was communicated also to the "scholar." Perhaps, also, though Poe's mind was a first-rate one, there was in

him a dash of the actor who delights in elaborating a part.

Out of this consciousness of being a pretender, at any rate, with its infliction of a habitual secretiveness, came certainly Poe's love of cryptograms, his interest in inventing and solving crimes, and his indulgence in concocting and exposing hoaxes. If Poe sometimes plays unavowed tricks by cheating the reader a little about what he has written or read, the imposture is still almost as gratuitous, as innocent, and as unimportant as Stendhal's disguises and aliases and his weakness for taking ladies from the provinces through Paris and misinforming them about the public monuments. And with this we must also write off Poe's rather annoying mania of accusing his contemporaries of plagiarism—a harsh name he is in the habit of brandishing to indicate borrowings and echoes of a kind which, whether more or less abject, is usually perfectly harmless. Poe himself was certainly guilty—in his imitation of Chivers, for example—of borrowings equally harmless. But these, too, touched off the pretender.

As for the charge of Poe's acquiescence in the mawkish bad taste of his period, it is deserved to only a slight degree. He more often ran counter to this taste, as when he came down on Fitz-Greene Halleck; and, for the rest, his excessive enthusiasm for poets like Mrs. Osgood is attributable to the same sort of causes as, say, the praises of Bernard Shaw for the plays of Henry Arthur Jones: the writer who is potentially a master sees in the inferior writer a reflection of the kind of thing that he wants to do himself, but the possibilities of which will hardly be plain to anyone else till the master himself has made them actual.

We must recognize these warpings of Poe's line; but we must not allow them as serious impugnments of the validity of his critical work. His reading *was* wide and great, and his culture was derived from a plane of the world of thought and art which had hardly been visited by Longfellow with his patient persistent transposition of the poetry of many lands and ages into terms of his own insipidity or by Lowell with his awful cosy titles for his collections of literary essays: "My Study Windows" and "Among My Books." The truth is that literary America has always resented in Poe the very superiority which made him so quickly an international figure.

He may have been a difficult person, though certain people seem to have got on very well with him; but it seems hard to explain the virulence with which Griswold pursued him after his death and the general hostility toward him which has haunted us ever since, except on the ground that he puts us out by making so much of our culture seem second-rate. In our childhood we read "The Gold Bug" and "The Murders in the Rue Morgue," and everybody knows "Annabel Lee" and "Ulalume" and "The Bells" and "The Raven"; but Poe is not, as he is with the French and as he ought to be with us, a vital part of our intellectual equipment. It is rare that an American writer points out, as Waldo Frank once did, that Poe belongs not with the clever contrivers of fiction like O. Henry and S. S. Van Dine but, in terms of his constricted personality, with the great inquiring and versatile minds like Goethe. So that it is still worth while to insist on his value.

In the darkness of his solitary confinement Poe is still a prince.



## Power and Freedom

*THE FUTURE OF INDUSTRIAL MAN.* By Peter F. Drucker. The John Day Company. \$2.50.

**D**RUCKER'S "End of Economic Man" was by far the most profound study of the dynamics of Nazism we have had and a very convincing refutation of purely economic theories of social motivation. It revealed its author's original mind in the field of social analysis and philosophy. There are many evidences of the same originality in Drucker's new volume on "The Future of Industrial Man." But the conclusions at which he arrives are not always convincing, and some of his most striking insights are not substantiated with sufficient historical evidence.

He is concerned in this new volume with the problem of achieving both a functioning and a free society within the conditions set by modern industrialism. The difficulties of our industrial society are attributed primarily to the rise of an irresponsible oligarchy of managers whose "illegitimate" power is the consequence of the abdication of their responsibilities by the stockholders of corporations. The power of managers, he declares, is "in no way based upon a fundamental principle, accepted by society as a legitimate basis of power." He does not assume Burnham's fatalistic attitude toward this development, and he certainly does not regard managerial authority as adequate for the problems of an industrial age. But he does not show just why and how this "illegitimate" power, this managerial irresponsibility, has produced the evils of our age.

It is important to challenge the uncritical identification of economic power and ownership which liberal and Marxist theory has made. In actual fact the real power may be held by those who control, rather than own, the economic process. The failure to recognize this leads to the illusion that the socialization of all property will eliminate all inordinate disproportions of power and privilege in society, whereas it may actually produce a new oligarchy which combines the effective control of both economic and political power.

The recognition that ownership is not identical with power in the economic process may prevent some of the aberrations of the left. But it does not cure any of the maladjustments of society which must be attributed to the inordinate disproportions of power in the economic process, whether derived from ownership or managerial function. Nor is it safe to assume that the power of ownership is completely insignificant.

Drucker rightly regards large-scale unemployment as the most obvious manifestation of the failure of our society. "The most frightening thing about industrial unemployment in the past twenty years," he declares, "was that it persisted in periods of recovery and indeed of high prosperity." He thinks that it represents "not only economic catastrophe . . . but social disfranchisement." He stresses that economic security is no solution for this double evil, for unemployment benefits may give minimal security without insuring the unemployed worker of "social status and function." The Nazis, he observes, turned the unemployed into storm troopers and gave them social status and function. But their society is organized only for "war and conquest."

The distinction between economic function and social

function is provisionally important, but if we ask how to give workers "social status and function" in a society not organized primarily for war, it will become apparent that social function must be related to economic function. The distinction is therefore not ultimately important. It is at any rate no valuable directive for the creation of a functioning society. Drucker's two fundamental insights in analyzing the problems of a functioning society are useful, but they are not so significant as he seems to believe.

The second portion of the volume is devoted to the problem of maintaining freedom in modern society. Here again he makes a valuable contribution, but he slightly overstates his case. His discussion of freedom centers in a very vigorous attack upon "rationalist liberals," who are "ultra-bold in theory and timid in action," who know what is right and just with greater certainty than any human knowledge deserves, but who cannot act because "they can neither compromise with power or fight for it." Their indecision, and the chaos created by their conflicting absolutes, invites totalitarianism. A Rousseau or a Marx emerges and transmutes a liberal ideal, such as equality, into an absolute for the sake of which he is ready to suppress all dissidence.

This analysis prompts Drucker to the equally convincing conclusion that a free society depends upon some humble recognition of the imperfection of all human viewpoints and of the corruption of interest in all political and party positions. From this recognition society must derive the desire and ambition to guarantee the free expression of all views, in the hope that commerce and competition among them will lead to more truth and justice than the monopoly of any supposedly absolutely true political creed.

The thesis, however, is slightly overstated and fails to do justice to the contribution of optimists to democratic theory. If the idea of human imperfection is stressed too consistently, it results in absolutist political theories, like those of Thomas Hobbes. For if all human points of view are merely the rationalization of interest, then society would be engulfed in the anarchy of conflicting interests and require the imposition of tyrannical authority, as Hobbes maintains.

Democracy rests partly upon the assumption that no political position can be absolutely right, but it also rests partly upon the assumption that there is sufficient coincidence between conflicting points of view to make an uncoerced commerce and competition between them possible and fruitful. Drucker hardly does justice to this second root of democratic theory and practice.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

## Season of Confusion

*LINCOLN AND HIS PARTY IN THE SECESSION CRISIS.* By David M. Potter. Yale University Press. \$3.75.

**L**IKE all the seasons of doubt and confusion which precede great wars, the months between Lincoln's election and the bombardment of Fort Sumter contain much that is perplexing to students of a later day. The Republican leaders were entirely unprepared to meet the crisis of secession. With ambiguous and frequently inconsistent policies, they drifted blindly toward national disaster. Dr. Potter's study



of the "secession winter" is a penetrating analysis of one of the most baffling periods in American history. A coherent and matured policy could not have been expected of the party which attained its first national success with Lincoln's election. Composed of dissentient factions, it was a minority party, trained in opposition but not in leadership. "The crisis . . . demanded that they produce a formula to save the Union . . . at a time when they had never borne the responsibility of appointing a postmaster."

A still greater obstacle to weathering the crisis was the Northern incredulity of the threat of secession. Because of a firm reliance on Southern feeling for the maintenance of the Union, the Republicans derided and ignored the growing movement for separation. Their complacent belief that secession was merely a temporary move in a political game persisted even after the Gulf States had withdrawn from the Union. Hence their refusal to compromise held no taint of conscienceless war-mongering—they were blandly unaware that war was the alternative.

Dr. Potter has high praise for William H. Seward's effectiveness in keeping the national authority unimpaired until the new Administration was installed. But he points out that, though Seward was active and Lincoln was silent, it was the enigmatic man in Springfield who assumed, from the very first, the control of his party. This was, in the opinion of the author, a questionable advantage, for he stigmatizes Lincoln's opposition to territorial compromise on slavery as the policy of a partisan leader. Lincoln had not yet attained the stature of great statesmanship; yet it seems severely critical to speak of his "consummate folly."

Whether or not the Civil War might have been avoided is a question which Dr. Potter refrains from answering. It is a question constantly posed by his material, and the author's declaration of opinion might have strengthened his book and resolved some of his estimates. But the material is excellently presented, and Dr. Potter's position as the sworn enemy of hindsight lends a freshness and illumination to the treatment.

MARGARET LEECH

## Sea Warfare

*A LAYMAN'S GUIDE TO NAVAL STRATEGY.* By Bernard Brodie. Princeton University Press. \$2.50.

IT IS no exaggeration to say that Dr. Brodie, a professor of political science at Dartmouth, has produced here one of the very best recent books in the military field. In his "Sea Power in the Machine Age," published a year ago, he showed fine and careful scholarship and distinct writing ability as well as a faculty for interpreting data. His more recent volume indicates complete knowledge of his field, high scholarship, and refreshing absence of bias. Both books are well worth reading.

An idea of the scope of this later work is given by the chapter headings—Sea Power in Modern War, The Tools of Sea Power, Command of the Sea, Defense of Shipping, Land-Sea Operations, Bases, Tactics of Fleet Action, The Men Behind the Guns, and, for a long chapter devoted to the airplane-warship controversy, Must All Our Ships Have Wings? All these subsidiary topics are well treated,

but the two chapters dealing with the tools of sea power form the most accurate and complete discussion of the subject which this reviewer has seen. Although written in July when shipping losses were at their highest point, the chapter on Defense of Shipping predicted that these would shortly be brought down—a prediction which has since been fulfilled. That on tactics is somewhat theoretical, and some naval men might be inclined to question its conclusions.

In his discussion of the place of the airplane in sea war Dr. Brodie pays full respect to the accomplishments of the plane but holds that its place in naval war has been greatly exalted by its proponents. Bombing planes in particular, with abundant opportunities during more than three years of war, have not lived up to expectations. The author admits that the torpedo plane is the greatest menace the warship faces today, but he believes that the problem of protection will be solved as it was for countless inventions in the past which appeared to revolutionize sea power. This chapter should be read with Major de Seversky's recent book in mind. Reviewing much the same historical data as those considered by De Seversky, Professor Brodie reaches diametrically opposed conclusions. Because of American negligence and Japanese treachery he feels that Pearl Harbor does not invalidate sea power. And the fact that under the very nose of the Luftwaffe the British, operating without air support, were able to withdraw 47,000 out of 60,000 troops from Crete does not indicate its obsolescence. Losses of both merchant ships and warships due to planes have so far been only a small fraction of those for all causes. In short, while the airplane has greatly affected sea war, it has not destroyed the value of any kind of sea power, especially that of the battleship. Whether or not these conclusions are correct, they are worthy of consideration and offer a good antidote to those critics who see victory only in terms of air power.

"A Layman's Guide to Naval Strategy" has many virtues. It is erudite in its background, balanced in interpretation, and cogent in reasoning. Unlike many recent books it is not written to convert anyone. Its only major weakness lies in the amount of detail and the lack of colorful illustration. It is, frankly, a trifle over the head of the average layman and is more apt to be read by students of war than by the general public.

DONALD W. MITCHELL

## Klee as Archaic

*PAUL KLEE: PAINTINGS, WATERCOLORS, 1913 TO 1939.* Edited by Karl Nierendorf. Introduction by James Johnson Sweeney. Oxford University Press. \$6.

A DISTINCTION of Berenson's may be recalled as one examines the art of Klee:

No art can hope to become classic that has not been archaic first. The distinction between archaistic imitation and archaic reconstruction, simple as it is, must be clearly borne in mind. An art that is merely adopting the ready-made models handed down from an earlier time is archaistic, while an art that is going through the process of learning to construct the figures and discover the attitudes required for the presentation of tactile values and movement is archaic. On the other hand, an art which has completed the process is classic.



Klee's art is authentic reconstruction, not so much of "tacit values" as of movement (now that the faddishness of Berenson's formula has passed, we may admit that it has become an element of every intelligent appreciation); but above movement, of imagery, and beyond imagery, of a visionary and intuitional immediacy that sustains the unprejudiced innocence of perception without sacrificing the crystallizing intensity and coherence of genuine analysis or the severely objectifying sensibility that enforces the analysis. This sensibility he integrated with both wit and intellect, and he brought the preconscious to utterance, not with the loose and exhibitionistic self-indulgence of most current surrealism or with the denatured rigor of the more absolute abstractionists, but with an acute delicacy of nervous definition that rightly makes him envied and yet independent of both those rival and, in most cases, logically self-exhausting and inconclusive schools. Whether it was the music and poetry mentioned by Mr. Nierendorf in his biographical sketch as major passions of Klee that bred his disdain of a too theoretical sterility, or whether—as is more likely—it was his native and vigorous wholeness of sensibility, there is no mistaking here the presence of an authority that touched the quick nerve of a purpose and intention, and so brought into modern art one of its severest and yet most humane inventors.

Mr. Sweeney's foreword is apologetic to the point of misinformation ("Klee's art is engagingly simple of approach") and of irrelevance ("Klee does not pretend to reproduce the visible world"), and it makes sales talk of the symbolic principle; but it is engagingly persuasive, and with these well-chosen plates should aid the two Museum of Modern Art exhibitions (1930 and 1941) in furthering in America the knowledge of one of the most remarkable of modern creative personalities, a rival in his field with Chirico, Picasso, Miro, and the better Ernst, an immediate corrective to the excesses of Dali and his followers, and a master of one of the most living lines, subtle surfaces, intense sensibilities, and exploring intelligences the art of our time has known.

MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL

## The Nazis in Poland

*THE BLACK BOOK OF POLAND.* Issued by the Polish Ministry of Information. G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$3.

THE Polish Ministry of Information here assembles the detailed records of what surely is the most appalling attempt to obliterate a nation since the days of Genghis Khan. As these pages pile thousands of verified details one upon another, we lose all human sense of magnitude. Newspaper readers shudder when they read that a hundred persons have perished in a flood or an earthquake. They cannot shudder much more if the number is a thousand. When the record shows death, torture, exile, enslavement for hundreds of thousands, the imagination goes numb.

Here are accounts of tens of thousands shot as hostages or merely for the crime of being respected leaders of the people, of hundreds of thousands sent into virtual slavery as common laborers in foreign countries, of millions deported from their homes, often on a few hours' notice, and

dumped into strange lands without prospect of livelihood. Here we read of systematic stealing of property ranging from household effects to business corporations and landed estates. We read of priests and professors selected for the concentration camp or the firing squad merely because of their patriotic opinions, of squads of young girls requisitioned for "required service" in German army brothels. We read details of cruelties practiced by German soldiers on the streets, in prisons, in private homes. And we read how, as the Poles are driven from the farms they own, Germans are systematically moved in, to take possession.

The catalogue of horror is endless. Make every conceivable allowance for the difficulty of obtaining attested statements for such a compilation as this, allow for the unreliability of rumor, for the patriotic impulse to represent stern military measures as atrocities, for the tendency of propagandists to estimate in large figures; still this book reveals the persecution of a great people carried out on a scale and with a systematic sadism previously unknown in modern times.

It is hopeless to attempt to summarize in limited space the multitude of forms which this persecution has taken. But let us try to obtain from these pages some outline of the crude logic and purpose behind it.

For there is a logic in it—a Nazi logic. It would seem that Hitler has two immediate objects: (1) to "Germanize" western Poland, with its predominantly Polish and Jewish population of ten million, the part incorporated into the Reich, by depriving all non-Germans of their property and then dumping them en masse into the "Government General" lying just east; and (2) to reduce the Polish and Jewish multitudes of this latter province to a permanent condition of hewers of wood and drawers of water for the German *Herrenvolk*—a subject race without culture or social leaders, without any save the most elementary education, without any civil rights save the obligation to serve their masters.

Is it possible to maintain such a slave economy under modern conditions? Undoubtedly it is physically possible for a long time, provided the armies of the *Herrenvolk* are always victorious. But there are indications, even in this necessarily vague account of German economy in conquered Poland, that the Polish soil does not now yield what it used to, that such factories as are permitted to remain do not produce up to normal—in short, that slave economy is distinctly not a going concern in Poland.

This "Black Book of Poland" does not attempt any record of the lot of the inhabitants of those parts of Poland which were for nearly two years, in 1939-41, under Soviet rule. From all we know, hard as their life may have been under crisis conditions, the Soviet government has never discriminated between Poles and Jews and others of its citizens. If the Polish Government-in-Exile possesses factual information as to the condition of the Polish population that was "conquered" by its present ally, Russia, it seems regrettable that it did not incorporate such information in this book.

And why on earth does the Polish Information Bureau forbid the reproduction of any parts of its record "in any form without permission"?

HIRAM MOTHERWELL



## IN BRIEF

**EAST OF FAREWELL.** By Howard Hunt. Alfred A. Knopf. \$2.50.

An absorbing novel by a twenty-four-year-old ensign about life on a United States destroyer—a book about this war written by someone who has actually fought in it, and the kind of book that in the last war was not written until the war was over. Mr. Hunt has no doubts that the fight must be fought and won, but like the officers who are the chief actors in his drama, he isn't trying to convince either himself or anyone else that to convoy a group of freighters through submarine-infested waters is a romantic pastime. The men are bored, dispirited, short-tempered, and at odds with each other; they don't have the right kind of food or enough sleep, they suffer from extremes of heat and cold; even the boat itself isn't all it should be. There is a literalness, almost a simple-mindedness, in the narrative that seems to vouch for its authenticity as reporting—the automatic way in which, even as a novelist, Mr. Hunt separates his officer world from his world of enlisted seamen; or the uneditorialized report of the officers' attitude toward their colored servants. Yet when the destroyer finally does engage the enemy, every man does his job beautifully and bravely: victory is the only glamour. That a realistic novel of this kind can be written and published at the beginning of a war is surely a high compliment to our peculiar much-to-be-cherished brand of American morale.

**THE BEST AMERICAN SHORT STORIES, 1942.** Edited by Martha Foley. Houghton Mifflin Company. \$2.75.

Mixture as before, put together this time by Martha Foley instead of the late Edward J. O'Brien, representing everything from the *Saturday Evening Post* to the small quarterlies. Most of the selections are unimpressive, but there is a beautifully talented story by Nelson Algren, Biceps, from the *Southern Review* and a nice piece, Those Are as Brothers, by Nancy Hale, from *Mademoiselle*. The *New Yorker* representation, despite Miss Foley's prefatory salute, is well beneath the best of that magazine: the Bemelmans selection, The Valet of the Splendide, is surely that fine writer at his least happy, and the Sally Benson story, one of her Kensington reminiscences, is the *New Yorker*

at its limpest. Thurber is represented by an over-the-shoulder baseball yarn from the *Saturday Evening Post* and Steinbeck by a mild but pleasant sketch, from *Harper's*, about how a little girl named Edith McGillcuddy met R. L. Stevenson.

**THE LITTLE PEOPLE.** By Albert Halper. Harper and Brothers. \$2.50.

In the thirties Mr. Halper's novel about a group of retail-store employees—clerks, salesmen, delivery boys, elevator operators, hatters, and the like—would have been announced as proletarian literature; in the forties it is fashionable to think of such persons as "little people." The change in political approach, between the two decades, is clearly reflected in Mr. Halper's approach to his story. There are no trade unions, strikes, or demonstrations in this novel; love is a valid, end-in-itself problem; even an employer is allowed his human miseries. For the rest, so far as insight into character goes, "The Little People" comes out of the same old competent—very competent—realism machine.

**THE PRODIGAL WOMEN.** By Nancy Hale. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$3.

In adolescence Miss Hale's prodigal women—two sisters and a friend who grow up together near Boston—are full of vitality and high hope, but love and marriage put an end to the promise of their youth. This is the bald outline of Miss Hale's story: it scarcely suggests the psychological extravagance with which it is developed. Concentrating on the relations between men and women, Miss Hale provides her three heroines with two men who belong nowhere but in a psychiatric case book. Instead of going crazy themselves, however, the men drive their wives crazy—in one case, literally—and confusion is twice confounded by the fact that the wives clearly ask for just this kind of treatment; Miss Hale even stacks the cards on the side of pathology by demonstrating that the life of the only woman who resists subjugation to a man issues in emptiness. In all this welter of sexual paradox one wonders where the author herself stands. In a scene near the close of the book, when a conversation turns to politics, one of the characters points out the analogy between dominating men and conquering countries, between masochistic nations and masochistic women. Clutching at straws and recalling the stern bias against fascism which Miss Hale has expressed in her stories, one cherishes the faint hope that she intended her novel as political parable,

though if it is parable, it is entirely unsuccessful. To anyone acquainted with Nancy Hale's intelligent well-knit short fiction, her 700-page novel must be a great disappointment.

**THEN WE SHALL HEAR SINGING.** By Storm Jameson. The Macmillan Company. \$2.50.

Miss Jameson has written a grim fantasy on the subject of what science can and cannot do in support of political evil. To a village in a German-conquered protectorate comes an eminent German surgeon with a plan to destroy people's will to freedom by destroying certain sections of the brain; in the course of his experiment he discovers that there are factors which his "medicine" has failed to take into account. Despite a perhaps inevitable touch of mysticism, Miss Jameson's novel is distinguished by its refusal to make political hope too easy, and by Miss Jameson's creative handling of her simple villagers.

**THIS SIDE OF LAND.** By Elizabeth Hollister Frost. Coward-McCann. \$2.75.

Mrs. Frost's novel about the early settlers of Nantucket is subtitled "An Island Epic," and epic it is, if to write an epic is to lard your prose with eccentricities that pass for poetry and make a heavy-handed to-do about the primal forces. There is no question that Mrs. Frost has mastered her historical material: when what she *knows* about life in Nantucket, as opposed to what she feels, manages to come through her overlaid narrative it is fascinating stuff—which is, of course, all the more reason to regret that she didn't pass it on less self-consciously. Added sour note: at least one reader could dispense with twins named Me-Me and You-You and an infant named Bay-be.

**FRONTIER PASSAGE.** By Ann Bridge. Little, Brown and Company. An Atlantic Monthly Press Book. \$2.50.

Neither the flesh of a spy story, fish of polite fiction, nor fowl of political commentary, Miss Bridge's new novel still manages to do a pleasant and decent job. It is about an English family by the name of Oldhead—father, mother, and seventeen-year-old daughter Rosemary—who come to the town of St. Jean-de-Luz on the French-Spanish border in the last year of the Spanish civil war; Rosemary makes the acquaintance of an assortment of newspapermen and refugees, both red and white, and be-



comes precociously involved in a series of border intrigues. By no means a "serious" book but an interesting example of the effect of our turbulent times on a conscientious writer in a modest tradition, and notable for one fine descriptive chapter on the French reception of the first refugees from Franco's terror.

**THE DOLLAR GOLD PIECE.** By Virginia Swain. Farrar and Rinehart. \$2.75.

Kansas City in the 1880's, what it looked like, how its people dressed and ate, the color of daily life in a boom city in the Middle West—a whole wealth of patient detail to embroider a shabby story about an heiress and a pair of fortune hunters, one an anonymous young man from the East, the other a scheming young woman befriended by the heroine's father. The chief distinction of Miss Swain's novel is its curious morbidity. The major suspense of the story, for instance, hangs on the revelation of the heroine's mysterious malady; the heroine's father and the scheming lady secretly read up on it in medical books; there is a villain who is horrified by disease but has the misfortune constantly to stumble on dogs with broken legs and beggars with no legs at all; a neighbor's child has a penchant for murdering her dolls—and so on.

## Drama Note

**BIRD IN HAND** (Morosco Theater) is announced as the first of "a series of established Broadway plays" to be offered at \$2.20 and down per admission ticket. Such ambitious announcements are not always to be taken as binding promises, but the present enterprise at least deserves good wishes. Some critics complained that the opening performance left something to be desired in the way of smoothness, but when I saw the piece several days later the presentation of Drinkwater's pleasant if not exactly searching comedy about the younger generation struck me as competent all the way through and quite admirable so far as the contributions of Romney Brent and Harry Sothorn were concerned. It should also be reported that the appreciative audience did not seem to find the play any more old-fashioned than it was intended to be.

As for George Abbott's "Beat the Band" (Forty-sixth Street Theater), I must admit that I have no great fondness for such polite and plot-ridden musical comedies and much prefer the

more orgiastic review. Even so, I think I am safe in saying that "Beat the Band" is pretty mild even for its genre and should be recommended only to those whose prejudice in favor of the so-called sophisticated operetta is as strong as I admit my prejudice against it to be.

J. W. K.

## MUSIC

**MUCH** of Berlioz's "Romeo and Juliet" is not only exquisitely contrived as sound and as music but marvelously contrived for the realization of the poetic qualities of the episodes it deals with. I say this about the work as it reached my ears at the recent performances by Toscanini with the New York Philharmonic-Symphony Orchestra; and my statement therefore characterizes the performances as well as the music. Toscanini's approach to the music was at all times by way of the poetic situation: it was as the pronouncement of an angered prince that the passage for the brass in the Introduction was worked over for quality of sound, inflection, legato, portamento; at the point where Romeo's entrance into the vault of the Capulets *Allegro agitato e disperato* broke off, Toscanini prefaced the soft antiphonal chords of the brass, the woodwinds, the strings with hushing outspread arms and the words "grand silence!" and the tearing phrases later in this section caused him to remind the orchestra: "DI-SPER-A-TO! You are all DI-SPER-A-TI!"

His poetic insight operated through the unique musicality that produced its usual marvels of inflected, contoured phrases and plastically moulded forms; poetic insight and musicality made use of the ear for beauty of sound and texture, the technical mastery that produced what the ear desired; technical mastery was made effective by the will, the concentration, the intensity which—on this occasion as on so many others—had to overcome the inertia, the indifference of some for whom this was merely work for pay. It was not until the second performance that the beauty of sound and texture was fully achieved by the orchestra; not until the third that the horns played their difficult passage in Queen Mab without the blemishes that had disfigured it previously. On the other hand the singing of the Westminster Choir and of Jennie Tourel was superb at all three performances.

With music like Berlioz's it is poetic insight; with other music it may be

called emotional insight; and in Toscanini's performances of Beethoven or Mozart, no less than in his performance of "Romeo and Juliet" there is not a tempo, not a nuance that does not proceed from his feeling for what the music is about. The feeling is his own; it is very often different from Koussevitzky's, Beecham's, Walter's; it may be different from yours or mine; and though one must respect it one does not have to agree with it. My idea of what Schubert's Unfinished Symphony is about is different from the one that Toscanini expressed in his broadcast performance last year (notwithstanding which I would want to hear the performance every time he gave it); but the man who produced that mercurial finale of Haydn's "Clock" Symphony, with its subtle, sharp inflections, understands Haydn for me. And this understanding was evident in the performance of the great Symphony No. 99 at the second week's concerts of the New York Philharmonic-Symphony Society—a performance marvelous as a construction in sound embodying content, blemished this time by the occasional dryness and stridency of the strings in fortissimos.

At these concerts there was also a performance of Shostakovich's Seventh Symphony, which I would have been able to listen to after Brahms's First, but not after Haydn's No. 99.

The "Gramophone Shop Encyclopedia of Recorded Music," originally compiled by R. D. Darrell and published in 1936, has been revised by George Clark Leslie (Simon & Schuster, \$3.95). Though it does not mention his name the new volume retains the larger part of Mr. Darrell's 1936 listings and his elucidations of the complications of some of the listings; the revision subtracts and adds what was withdrawn and issued between 1936 and December 1941 for foreign records, June 1942 for domestic, and offers new introductions to some of the composers. The book assembles and arranges in convenient form the information that is to be got only from a number of catalogues; on the other hand a statement on the front of the jacket—that the book "lists the best performances of the best works"—which gives the impression that it is also a selective guide, is misleading. The best are listed, but together with the less good, and with nothing to distinguish one from the other in music, performance, or recording.

B. H. HAGGIN



# Letters to the Editors

## Changes in the C. I. C.

*Dear Sirs:* I feel that when *The Nation* has more information on the problem which the Chinese Industrial Cooperatives have faced, it will not regard the recent administrative changes as inimical to democracy in China.

The cooperatives were organized near the start of the Sino-Japanese war because a few farsighted individuals saw that China's final victory would depend as much on economic as on military resistance. They have enjoyed a close relationship with the Chinese government from the beginning, since their initial capital—\$5,000,000 (Chinese)—was loaned by the government, and they receive a subsidy of \$20,000 (Chinese) monthly, without which they could not continue. Today 35 per cent of the total capital is supplied by the government, about 10 per cent comes from paid-up shares owned by the workers, and the rest is mainly supplied by the Chinese banks. Their own financial machinery is being developed in the Kung Ho treasuries, already organized in many localities, with the hope of a Central Cooperative Bank.

The organization has had the interest and generous support of friends abroad, especially the overseas Chinese. With support from the Philippines, Malaya, and Java cut off, the contributions from British and American friends are correspondingly important.

The American committee, known as Indusco, Inc., has remitted funds to an International Committee in China. In doing so, it has by-passed the Central Headquarters of the C. I. C. This has made an unfortunate triangle, creating within the movement in China dual control and dual loyalties and an uneven disbursement of funds. Central Headquarters must be able to account for all revenue, whether from the government or from contributions.

If I know Rewi Alley and I *think* I have known him for fifteen years, he is one of the last men to desire to be put on a pedestal as the sole founder and indispensable head of a great Chinese organization. But I fear he thought the only way to retain American aid was to insist on letting the International Committee—British and American with one Chinese as secretary—receive and disburse American gifts, ignoring Cen-

tral Headquarters and the Central Executive Committee, which is Chinese.

Admittedly the Central Executive Committee was not elected by the individual cooperatives. But neither was the International Committee. The new secretary-general, a man of high integrity and fine administrative record, Z. Y. Chow, was not so chosen. But neither was Rewi Alley, nor George Hogg, nor Ralph Lapwood, nor any of the other regional directors and inspectors. The units are not that articulate yet. They are already organizing themselves into federations to handle supply and marketing. Local federations will organize into regional ones. And a national federation will finally emerge, bringing to fruition the highest hope of the C. I. C. leaders—that the cooperatives will finally be completely self-governing.

In the meantime, C. I. C. administration is no less decentralized than before. The Chinese government has no more control than formerly. There is no reason to lose faith in either the cooperatives or China. To seek to run the movement by the remote control of our contributions from America would be a form of philanthropic imperialism as outmoded in China today as extra-territorial rights. Its true meaning would be none the less apparent if cloaked as "liberalism seeking to circumvent an undemocratic government." The C. I. C. need encouragement and support from abroad, but they will remain a Chinese organization under Chinese leadership. And they will be one of the most significant movements the world has ever seen.

GERALDINE T. FITCH

New York, October 22

[*The Nation* is glad to pass on to its readers the information contained in this letter. Unfortunately, many persons who have been closely associated with Chinese cooperatives from their formation are profoundly disturbed by the recent reorganization, believing that its purpose is to crush any development of democracy in the movement.]

## Grand Fellows

*Dear Sirs:* The following is taken from a letter just received by my family from a young British naval officer whom we entertained last summer while his ship was in port here for repairs:

The most popular, well-mannered, well-behaved, respectful, and soldierly warriors ever to land on English soil are your American Negro troops. This is the nation-wide opinion and a very strong one too; they quite outshine the white Americans in popularity, even the nicest type of female enjoys their company and their courteousness. Isn't it strange? or is it? Unfortunately, the American authorities over here have requested that Negro soldiers be barred from certain clubs, pubs, and the like. Our own authorities have agreed to post notices but absolutely refuse to give the police the authority to interfere in any way. I do not think our attitude will alter; I am sure it won't. After all, which is preferable, a crowd of quiet interesting Negroes or a crowd of noisy English or American soldiers? Anyway, the Negro soldier is considered a real grand fellow, and if his present exemplary behavior continues, he will continue to be thought so.

October 19

L. B. S.

## For Martin Dies— a "Way to Heaven"

[*The following letter was sent to Representative Dies in Washington; a copy of it to us. It is published here as a ringing answer to the charges of disloyalty Martin Dies has leveled against large groups of American citizens.*]

*Dear Sir:* In your defense to Congress against the Attorney General's report that your charges of Communist sympathy against more than one thousand government officials are unsupported, you repeat the charge against nineteen officials, including myself, and also include several organizations.

If you made an investigation, you found, what you already knew, that I am a Democrat, but distinguished from yourself in at least one particular—that I am an Administration Democrat. From the beginning I have been devoted to the Administration's defense and war measures, as I am to its domestic policies. You will of course recall conferences you and I have had in the past respecting pending legislation recommended by the President. I urged you to support it. You criticized and opposed it. You had a perfect right to oppose such measures, but you have no right to misinterpret my views and my attitude.

Far more serious than your attacks upon myself or any individual are the indiscriminate and inaccurate charges of disloyalty leveled from time to time



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against large groups of loyal citizens, such as the Farmers' Union and many labor organizations. The Farmers' Union, for example, as you and everyone else knows, is an organization of patriotic farm men and women. At this moment they are helping to feed the nation, pay its bills, and fight its battles. Thousands of its members and their sons are serving in the armed forces. This organization is vigorously cooperating with the President to bring about a higher degree of national unity in order more effectively to prosecute the war, to curb inflation, and to plan post-war security.

An honest report would not conceal but would reveal these facts.

Labor unions are another example. More than two thousand of the Maritime Workers, as you must know, have perished on torpedoed ships, yet these seamen continue to volunteer for this hazardous service to insure delivery of food and war supplies to our allies. Must they continue to sail submarine-infested seas with charges of disloyalty ringing in their ears?

An honest report would reveal these facts.

Allowing for some exceptions, management, labor, and farmers have joined hands with the Administration to give to the nation a maximum of striking power against the enemy. An honest report would record these facts, plus the fact that tens of thousands of members of these organizations are in the nation's armed forces on every battle front.

You know very well that this government and its people, by cooperating with our Russian ally to crush Hitlerism, is not embracing communism any more than our alliance with the people of China commits us to chopsticks or Taoism, although I might commend to you the Taoist precept that "to withdraw into obscurity is the way to heaven." At this moment the American people and our armed forces are watching with intense hope the heroic defense of Stalingrad. The suggestion that this sympathy with the steadfast Red Army is un-American is plain political claptrap. The battle raging in that Hitler-created hell is as much ours as the battles of the Atlantic and Pacific in which our own resolute sons are fighting to destroy Hitler's power.

I am a relatively unimportant government official. Nevertheless, as a citizen and supporter of the government and its war measures I must challenge any Hitlerized methods and procedures designed to lynch the reputations of

citizens and their organizations without hearing or trial, while they are giving to the nation the best service of which they are capable. Those who are unfit for service either in the armed forces or on the civilian front can at least abstain from poisoning the atmosphere in which their fellow-citizens must fight and work. If you want something un-American to investigate you can find a wide variety of home-grown Nazis and Fascists. The FBI and the press are turning them up almost every day.

MERLE D. VINCENT

New York, October 20

## CONTRIBUTORS

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## *The Shape of Things*

### ON THE STALINGRAD FRONT NAZI ATTACKS

have slackened, but a new threat to vital Russian positions has developed in the Caucasus. There the Germans have switched their main effort from the Mozdok region to the central foothills below the pass over which the great Georgian military road leads to Tiflis. They have captured Nalchik and are now thrusting toward Ordzhonikidze, the railhead at the northern end of the highway. Here as elsewhere the Red Army is putting up a great fight, but it is handicapped by difficult communications between the lateral valleys which it is defending. On the other hand, the Nazis will encounter increasingly heavy going as they work upward toward the deep snows that cover the pass 16,000 feet above sea level. Meanwhile it must cheer the Russians to know that a rain of shells and bombs as heavy as they have had to endure at Stalingrad is now crashing on Rommel's lines in Egypt. It is true that owing to the comparatively small number of men involved Soviet commentators tend to regard the desert battle as a sideshow, but the fact remains that a British victory would have important strategic results beneficial to Russia. Cairo continues to be reserved in its claims, but General Montgomery's tactics appear to be wearing down Axis resistance. And his armored forces are still in reserve ready to mop up if the enemy lines crack. ✕

### THE STRONG JAPANESE COUNTER-OFFENSIVE

in the Solomons has apparently been beaten back, thanks largely to American air power. Navy and army fliers share the credit, and Admiral Halsey and General MacArthur deserve congratulations for the effectiveness with which they have cooperated. We should also like to commend the navy for speeding up its news releases, even though this has added to the difficulty of reconstructing the course of events chronologically. It appears, however, that a very powerful Japanese task force, seeking to outflank our position in the southern Solomons, was met by our fleet in the neighborhood of the Stewart Islands, northeast of Guadalcanal. As in the Coral Sea and Midway battles the actual fighting seems to have been carried on by planes, though it is not yet entirely certain that there were no clashes between surface craft.



Our blows were struck not only by carrier-borne aircraft but also by land-based Flying Fortresses and dive bombers, which intervened with effective and nicely timed blows. Our acknowledged losses were an unnamed carrier and the destroyer Porter sunk and several vessels damaged. The navy makes no claims of enemy ships actually sunk, but a great many were damaged, including two carriers and two battleships, and it is reasonable to suppose that some of these did not return to their bases. Our own experience has shown that heavily bombed warships do not usually sink immediately but succumb after a few hours to internal injuries. In any case Secretary Knox's claim that we have "won the first round" seems to be justified, for it was the Japanese who retired. Part of their fleet is back again at Buin in the northern Solomons, where it is being steadily pounded by MacArthur's fliers. And control of the waters around Guadalcanal is in our hands, making it possible for surface craft to bombard enemy shore positions by daylight.

✱

WESTBROOK PEGLER NEEDS A CHAMPION, and ever ready to defend the underprivileged, we rush to his support. Poor Peg's recent assault on the character and purposes of Eleanor Roosevelt has raised again the question of whether he is a deliberately vicious fellow or merely an unfortunate man who finds himself with a keen style and no mind to match it. The defense inclines to the latter belief. Pegler, it must be remembered, lays no claim to any knowledge of the world affairs which he discusses every day in his column. He is fiercely anti-intellectual and associates any kind of organized knowledge with long hair, brain trusts, and Red Russia. He really believes, we contend, that the wife of the President went to London to plot the class struggle which will one day bring her and Franklin D. Roosevelt to power. Britain, you see, "is the base from which her communistic and Social Democratic authorities or feeders are now operating," and as a "cunning and persistent politician" she has to be on hand while plans for the overthrow of the American system are being worked out. Since precedents are always useful in these matters, we wish to draw on the case of *The People vs. John Glutz* (N. Y. Supp. 327) in which defense counsel pleaded with the jury: "My client may talk like a fool and he may act like a fool, but don't be deceived, gentlemen. He really is a fool."

✱

IN THE MOVIES THAT OLD REPROBATE, SEX, is rendered invisible by an impenetrable Hays of censorship. But sex will out, and it seems about to encompass the ruin of Errol Flynn as it once caused the fall of Fatty Arbuckle. We find it very difficult to choose between Mr. Flynn and the two movie-mad girls, Peggy and Betty, who have assumed the role of outraged virtue

in a real court. Neither of them pretends to have been seduced against her will. Betty admitted that she had been "raped" before. "I said 'No' three times," she said, describing one episode, "then I disrobed." But both girls happen to be under eighteen, and the law of California rules that a sex offense against a girl under eighteen constitutes rape, regardless of consent—a state has to have *some* standards. One might think that Mr. Flynn would have had at least enough gray matter, or legal advice, to observe the statutory limit if for no higher reason than to protect his lucrative career from such ruinous assaults. We can't say we should miss Mr. Flynn as a celluloid lover—his banishment would save us the trouble of making sure we missed him; we do not share the enthusiasm of the giggling Betty, who revealed that two days after the "criminal attack" she had returned, so to speak, to the scene of the crime by going to see his newest picture, "Desperate Journey." But we hope, nevertheless, that the case will be thrown out of court.

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THE ORDER LIMITING SALARIES TO \$25,000 a year after payment of federal taxes is a crude and ineffective instrument for accomplishing the limitation of income that was twice proposed by the President. The regulations issued by Director Byrnes will limit earned but not unearned income. Since the bulk of the really large incomes in the country are unearned, the limitation on salaries will probably accomplish little in the way of curbing inflationary spending or eliminating the discontent that results from flagrant inequalities in war-time sacrifices. It has the disadvantage of limiting the incentives of management without penalizing idleness. And it will prove extremely difficult to administer. Responsibility for the inadequacy of the order rests not with Director Byrnes, who went as far as he could under the law, but with Congress for failing to accomplish its purpose by the simpler and more direct method of taxation. Congress not only failed to consider the President's specific request for a \$25,000 ceiling on income but ignored the vital question of morale by enacting a tax bill in which a disproportionate share of the burden is placed on incomes ranging from \$1,500 to \$2,500.

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A CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE FORTY-HOUR week has been under way for some time in a large number of the country's newspapers. In trying to make a case against the present provisions of the Wages and Hours Act, many of the papers have been guilty of a shameless distortion of the facts. In contrasting the average work week of fifty-six hours in England with the average forty-three-hour week in this country, the usually careful *New York Times* neglects to point out, for instance, that England has retained its standard work week throughout the war, paying overtime as provided under union con-



tracts for the additional hours. Most of the papers also fail to point out that many of our essential war industries are now working a forty-eight-hour week, or longer, and that the only effect of wiping out the provision requiring the payment of time and a half for overtime would be to reduce wages for the workers and increase profits for the companies. Most workers are willing to put in additional hours if necessary to increase war production, but there is no reason why they should consent to a cut in wages. The only way the government could benefit from the reduced costs resulting from the abolition of overtime pay would be through a renegotiation of all existing contracts. But no one advocating revision of the wage-hour law has even taken notice of this fact.

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REAR ADMIRAL EMORY LAND HATES UNION organizers, and if there is any substance in the charges brought against him by Senator Aiken of Vermont, we can see why. In a letter to Senator Walsh of the Naval Affairs Committee, Senator Aiken accuses the Maritime Commission, of which Land is chairman, of brazen collusion with private interests. "It [the commission] has spent millions of dollars in subsidizing ships for private corporations, particularly the Alcoa Steamship Company, owned by the Aluminum Company of America, when these ships were intended primarily to carry the goods of the corporation itself. It has failed to collect the statutory 3½ per cent interest charge from shipping corporations on secured and miscellaneous accounts (other than new construction), constituting an estimated indebtedness of \$45,139,824." These are only two points of the indictment. The commission is accused of having bought for \$45,000 an old Coast Guard cutter which it knew had been sold six years ago for \$6,605. It is said to have been a party to transactions whereby completed ships were sold to private companies which later resold them, with the commission's knowledge, to the navy at a higher price. Presumably these charges will be fully investigated by the proper authorities. There was ample cause for removing Admiral Land after his outburst two weeks ago; if Senator Aiken's accusations are well founded, he should certainly be eliminated.

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THE RIGHT OF 10,000,000 AMERICANS TO choose their representatives in Washington hinges on the battle now being waged to bring the anti-poll-tax bill to a vote in the Senate before the end of the session. It is taken for granted that the bill will pass by a substantial margin if it can be brought to a vote. It will be recalled that in August the upper House voted thirty-three to twenty to abolish the poll tax for soldiers. The issue raised in the present bill is essentially the same. If the poll tax is undemocratic as applied to soldiers, it

is equally undemocratic for the civilian population. For rather obvious reasons, support of the poll tax is limited primarily to the Senators from the eight poll-tax states. Yet this small group could carry on a filibuster under the Senate's free and easy rules. Whether they will dare to tie up all legislation in the upper House for the last two months of the session in order to thwart the free exercise of the right of suffrage in their states depends on how actively public opinion in the other forty states demands passage of the bill.

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REWI ALLEY, FOUNDER OF THE CHINESE Industrial Cooperatives, has been retained, temporarily at least, in his post as field secretary as a result of protests by liberal groups in China against his dismissal. To what extent this action represents a solution of the conflict that has grown up around the movement is not clear at this distance. But those who know Alley personally are confident that he would not remain if the essential democracy of the movement had been destroyed. The clarification of the situation in Chungking makes it difficult to understand the action of the United China Relief in withholding a very considerable amount of money which it has collected for the cooperatives. The United China Relief is only a collection agency and as such is not responsible for the distribution of funds. This responsibility rests with Indusco and the International Committee, both of which are still operating. We assume that steps are being taken to forward the badly needed funds to the cooperatives.

## *Monopoly in News*

THE Department of Justice is being bitterly attacked for launching an anti-trust suit against the Associated Press. Once again the banner "freedom of the press" is being unfurled by the publishers as if that precious constitutional right were their exclusive possession. We must remind them that freedom of the press is primarily a right of citizens as a whole—the consumers of printed matter—and that any tendency toward a monopoly in the publishing field is an abridgment of that right.

In its complaint against the A. P. the Department of Justice certainly makes out a prima facie case in support of the charge that our major news-gathering organization constitutes "a combination and conspiracy in restraint of trade." It is the courts, however, which are being called upon to decide whether or not this charge can be sustained, and we fail to see why the government should be attacked for seeking a formal legal test of so important a public issue. Our sensitive publishers must learn to distinguish between prosecution and persecution.



The gravamen of the charge against the A. P. in our view is not that it is a monopoly in itself but that its membership requirements are such as to promote and perpetuate local newspaper monopolies by placing obstacles in the way of new competition. No daily newspaper can exist without access to the services of a news agency. If it is barred from membership in the A. P., its choice is restricted to the United Press and the International News Service, neither of which has such extensive coverage. Furthermore, both these commercial agencies are controlled by publishing chains; so that in many cities a new newspaper may be compelled to rely on an agency closely connected with a competitor. This situation is undoubtedly a serious handicap to any would-be newspaper promoter and one that helps to account for the low birth rate of daily journals. More and more, local competition between newspapers is becoming a thing of the past. According to a Federal Trade Commission report, in 1940 there were only 181 cities in the United States with competing daily newspapers, as compared with 1,245 cities in which there was a local monopoly.

This is not a healthy state of affairs. In a recent University of Chicago Round Table discussion, Samuel E. Thomason, publisher of the *Chicago Times*, declared: "In my judgment the free press that the public is entitled to is one in which any member of the public can find a newspaper in which he can have confidence and, incidentally, in which he must have interest. The function of the newspaper publisher is merely to see that the public doesn't lose its free press, not that *he* doesn't lose his free press." It can hardly be denied that in many American communities many citizens cannot find the kind of newspaper to which Mr. Thomason says they are entitled, and to this extent it may be said that the public has lost its free press.

The answer filed by the A. P. to the complaint of the Department of Justice has, however, little bearing on this aspect of the question. Claiming to be "a mutual cooperative association," the A. P. asserts that if it were obliged to admit every paper prepared to pay a pro rata share of expenses, it would become merely "a commercial news agency." Further, it declares that in this case it might really become a monopoly, since "in view of the good-will attaching to its name . . . it might well become the only news agency furnishing complete news coverage." These statements show a queer confusion about the principles of cooperative organization, the first of which is that membership must be open on equal terms to all. And if the A. P. adopted this principle, it would not become a monopoly even though it might obtain exclusive possession of the news-agency field. For it would be offering all consumers of its product—news—the same opportunity to buy it at the lowest economic cost.

In its answer the A. P. makes great play with the case

of the *Chicago Sun*, alleging that the government only moved against it after membership had been denied to the *Sun*. This is no reply to the charge of monopoly, and its place in the brief must be ascribed to an attempt to confuse the issues with political red herrings. The government complaint does, indeed, cite the exclusion of the *Sun*—as well as that of the politically opposite *Washington Times-Herald*—but it is thoroughly justified in so doing since this provides a flagrant example of the way in which the A. P.'s rules operate against the public interest. Until the advent of the *Sun* nearly a year ago, many citizens of Chicago could not find a morning paper in which they could "have confidence." The monopoly of the *Chicago Tribune*, a monopoly which it successfully fought to preserve at the last A. P. convention, was buttressed by its exclusive possession of the A. P. franchise. It is true that the *Sun* has succeeded in establishing itself despite this handicap, but the fact remains that its exclusion is a serious obstacle to its growth.

Incidentally, in the course of its brief the A. P. most unfairly and unnecessarily repeats the attacks made against Marshall Field, owner of the *Sun*, by the *Chicago Tribune*. Publication of the *Sun*, it declares, enables Field "to deduct from his personal income tax whatever loss he may sustain by reason thereof." The result is, it continues, that Field enjoys a subsidy at government expense which places him at a great competitive advantage. How far are the newspapers supporting the A. P. brief prepared to carry the implications of this charge? Is it in the publishing business alone that a man must refuse to invest his money in an enterprise which may yield only losses for some years? Is it true that high taxes promote risk-taking, and if so why is the conservative press always telling us that high taxes discourage rich men from venturing their wealth? Until we receive some intelligible reply to these questions we shall regard the pleading of the A. P. in this particular as both specious and nauseous.

## Negroes and Unions

DISCRIMINATION against Negroes by powerful international and local unions of the American Federation of Labor has become a national scandal. It is too late for weasel-worded apologies, for assurances that "the situation is improving," for pious citation of the federation's formal—and meaningless—resolutions against race bias, for reminders that employers are more frequently guilty of discrimination than labor unions. These rationalizations are as obsolete as they are unconvincing. They merely reflect the inertia and complacency and—in some cases—the outright prejudices of the A. F. of L.'s high command.

Nor is there any point in the A. F. of L.'s protest that airing the issue will give "aid and comfort" to labor's



enemies. The issue has been publicly presented to Westbrook Pegler and his cohorts by such A. F. of L. dignitaries as Tom Ray, boss of Local 72 of the Boilermakers' Union, which has a closed-shop contract with Henry Kaiser. Ray recently informed reporters that he would "pull the place down" if Negroes were given equal classification rights at Kaiser's Portland yard. As this is written, government officials have summoned a conference for November 10 at which Ray will be confronted with new demands for relaxation of his lily-white standards. John P. Frey, head of the A. F. of L.'s metal-trades department, has even sent Ray an indignant telegram, and has indicated that he will support the government representatives in their showdown with the Portland metal-trades crowd. His bold gesture, however, comes after weeks of behind-the-scenes conferences and pleadings to persuade Ray to treat Negroes—who traveled from New York to take jobs at the Kaiser plant—as fellow-workers. Moreover, on the same day that Frey made public his telegram William Green was insisting in New York that the federation was powerless to do anything except write telegrams. "I can't tell Ray what to do," he said. "It's like the President. Can he tell the governor of a state what to do?"

Ray may ultimately yield, but the total problem will remain, and other Rays will dictate their own policies for war production. They will do so as long as Green flaunts his own lack of authority. They will do so until federation leaders clean house at the top as well as at the bottom, putting pressure on international unions which retain color clauses in their constitutions and disciplining local big-shots who exclude Negroes from jobs.

The federation's recent convention failed to meet the issue. It heard A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters—and one of two Negro delegates to the Toronto meeting—deliver his annual indictment. His bill of particulars was not new; the A. F. of L. had heard it before. Randolph cited more than ten international unions which have color clauses or "ritualistic provisions" that bar Negro workers; among them are such important units as the Machinists, the Boilermakers, and the Department of Railway Employees. He mentioned others, including the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and the Plumbers, which have "unwritten laws" excluding Negroes. He described international unions as influential as the Carpenters which have no constitutional color lines but permit locals to do as they please; the locals are often pleased to draw the color line. Finally he condemned the Jim Crow units which have been created by the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks and other unions as a "compromise" solution. These "auxiliaries" permit Negroes to join, pay their dues, hold separate meetings—but deny them the right to elect delegates to national conventions.

Randolph had been heard and ignored at previous conventions; but this was the year when federation orators felt called upon to pay longer and lustier tributes to the democratic way of life and a free post-war world. This, moreover, is a time of approaching man-power shortages, when victory over our enemies requires the complete mobilization of our man-power. The federation's leaders weren't moved. They listened to Randolph and they ignored his appeal. They turned down even his minimum request—the creation of a committee to investigate cases of discrimination within the federation. Such a step, A. F. of L. leaders have always explained, would violate the ancient "autonomy" of federation unions. Moreover, a resolution adopted by the convention said, "We are doubtful whether any method other than the educational one can make the progress which is necessary." Tom Girdler used to express the same views about the Wagner Act.

Only Dan Tobin tried to make a reply; it was a dismal effort. For it was no answer to accuse Randolph of "lighting the torch of disunity," no answer to say that hundreds of A. F. of L. units welcome Negro members, no answer to say that the Teamsters have always loved the Negro worker. In effect Tobin talked like an apologist for lynching who takes pains to point out that many Negroes die natural deaths.

The Manpower Commission has stressed the urgency of increasing Negro employment in war production. In the coming months every worker—black or white, male or female—must serve in the post for which he is best fitted. This must be done whether Governor Dixon of Alabama or Tom Ray of Portland likes it or not. Labor representatives on the Manpower Commission are opposing enactment of new work-or-fight legislation and employment controls. Green has publicly pleaded for further trial of "voluntary methods." The Negro issue is a key test. Are A. F. of L. officials prepared to open all the doors to Negroes? Are they ready to challenge international unions which cling to constitutional provisions against Negroes? Will they crack down on intransigent local officials—not via Western Union appeals but by summary dismissal or revocation of charters? "Autonomy" in the federation is sacrosanct only when its officials don't want to act. If a union local fell into the hands of avowed Nazi agents, would its "autonomy" be respected? Is Ray much above that level?

The truth is that a clean-up is neither as difficult nor as complex a process as the A. F. of L. leaders suggest. A few decisive steps in individual cases would have repercussions throughout the federation; repudiation of Jim Crow by one powerful international would put others on the spot. Instead, Tobin and other A. F. of L. chiefs have covered up for the offending unions and Woll has fashioned various profound legalisms to safeguard them.



# The Strategy of Reprisal

By FRED A KIRCHWEY

THE Axis war of reprisals moved into a new area when the Nazi Foreign Office let it be known that Germany and its associates were considering the advisability of denouncing the Geneva convention in regard to the treatment of prisoners of war. This threat, the sickening implications of which have sent a chill through every non-Axis nation, is obviously an answer to Britain's proposal that the Swiss government investigate the original German charges. The Germans, it will be recalled, put in chains some 1,300 British and Canadian prisoners of war as a reprisal for the alleged chaining of captured Germans after the Dieppe raid. Thereupon a similar number of German prisoners were put in chains in Canada and England. These acts set off a barrage of charges and counter-charges. They were followed by Japan's promise to punish for "inhuman cruelty to civilians" the American fliers captured after the raid on Tokyo. And the anti-Axis world discovered that it was faced by a new and peculiarly horrible variety of political warfare. How it is to be met, no government seems to know.

One thing is certain. Hitler's war of reprisals, like his war on the innocent inhabitants of conquered territories, will neither be waged nor settled according to any rules laid down in the past by civilized nations. Such rules will be used by Hitler only as weapons against those who respect them. They will be used as fake alibis to excuse in advance acts of terrorism to come. And no decent peace in this war against helpless men can be negotiated through the good offices of any neutral power. Even to suggest such procedure is to appear to accept Hitler as an honorable opponent who has made his charges in good faith. The one useful purpose that may be served by a neutral investigation of the facts is to prove to the non-Axis world the nature and purpose of the Axis reprisals.

Hitler's threat to denounce the Geneva convention was, of course, his only possible next move. He must now do as he has always done—follow specific false charges with vastly broader ones, step up the offensive, and, when the rules can no longer be used against the enemy, wipe them out altogether on the pretense that the enemy has violated them.

But if legal procedures are likely to prove useful to the Allies only as a form of counter-propaganda, if they have no value as a deterrent or to save prisoners already suffering reprisals, what can be done? The half-hearted counter-reprisals instituted against German prisoners are certainly no answer. The British victims are still in chains, and Hitler has threatened to visit vengeance on Allied prisoners, without regard to nationality, in a

ratio of three for every German suffering reprisal. But it needed no new threats of frightfulness to teach the old lesson that in a competition in terror the Axis war lords are sure to win. They will play the game according to a double-or-quits system that other nations would never dare to adopt. Already Hitler's spokesmen have threatened to deprive of sight and hearing an unannounced number of British prisoners in Germany if German prisoners are "inhumanly" treated by the Allies. A war of reprisals is won before it starts by the nation trained and hardened to methods of terror at home.

What is necessary is a cool examination of the reasons why Germany, followed so closely by Japan, has adopted this new strategy. Assuming, as we may reasonably do, that Hitler expected retaliation in kind, what use can he make of it? It is unlikely that he hoped to frighten his enemies into inaction by the threat of mistreating prisoners. The sickening brutality practiced against captives—military and civilian alike—in Russia has not weakened the morale of the Red Army. It has stiffened it by generating a murderous hate. The Nazi atrocities in the occupied countries have created a spirit of general rebellion in place of dull apathy. Hitler can hardly believe that the British, who were forged into a solid fighting force by the fires of the blitz, will waver or give up in the face of new threats.

I feel sure that the Nazis have launched their war against prisoners in the confident hope of counter-reprisals. For counter-reprisals can be presented both to the German people and to the German army as unprovoked atrocities—samples of what the soldier must expect if he surrenders, what the simple German citizen must expect if the Allied forces succeed in their plans for invasion. Counter-reprisals will only provide propaganda material to bolster up the faltering courage of the German people with threats of the horror that will follow defeat. In an article published in *The Nation* over a year ago J. Alvarez del Vayo wrote: "It would be unduly optimistic to expect the Nazis and their accomplices, when their backs are to the wall, to surrender without a terrible struggle. . . . They will fight like mad dogs before giving up." Today Hitler is still far from surrender. He is, however, facing a fourth bitter winter. Stalingrad stands. His war factories must be manned by slave power from the occupied lands. His people are apathetic and weary. His vast conquests have brought neither victory nor peace. A strategy of reprisal is a strategy of desperation, the act of a tyrant on the defensive. To say this is not to underestimate the dangers that lie ahead. But it is to discount utterly the hope of defeating this strategy by either of the methods so far attempted. However hard it is to look on while innocent prisoners suffer, we may as well accept the brutal fact that they cannot be helped except through the final defeat of the terrorists who are using torture as a political provocation.



# *It's Not a Laissez Faire War*

BY I. F. STONE

*Washington, October 30*

THERE are some extraordinary revelations in the latest report of the Tolan committee. Most of them reflect the planlessness that continues to be the principal characteristic of the war-production effort, despite the innumerable directives, the endless flow of orders, and the vast amount of paper work at the capital. Some elementary steps in effective organization of procurement, production, materials, and man-power have yet to be taken. Perhaps the most appalling single sentence in the entire report is this one: "No contract to date has carried with it a bill of material requirements and a time-production schedule."

The failure to gear materials to production has forced war contractors to grab and hoard what they could get. "Excessive inventories," the committee says, "have become the rule." But the inventories, though excessive, are not well balanced, and major contractors have surpluses in some materials, shortages in others. The gravity of the problem is indicated by the committee's estimate that not more than half of the increased steel production in 1940 and 1941 "went into military items and increased civilian production." The rest was hoarded.

More than a year ago the Tolan committee urged recapture of excessive inventories. It believes "an aggressive inventory policy could increase our material supplies of copper and steel by 50 per cent in the next six months." The chief of the WPB inventory branch reported that although there were probably about 400,000,000 pounds of copper in excess inventories, only 100,000,000 pounds had been reported and only 30,000,000 pounds taken over by the WPB. When Donald M. Nelson was before the committee he was asked why it took so long to recapture these inventories. His floundering attempt at a reply revealed the confused state of affairs in his organization. "Well, I cannot answer that," Nelson said. "It has taken too long, there is no doubt about it. It involved the setting up of a corporation, involved trying to evaluate these different products. We have done as good a job as we could have done on the recapturing of the inventories. I cannot say except that it has taken too long." This is not the answer of a man with a real grip on his job.

Lack of time-production schedules, like inadequate supervision of materials, has unbalanced the supply of war materials and their components. Production scheduling, if any, is largely in the hands of the individual producer, who tends to concentrate on items easiest to make. "Trucks and radios which closely resemble normal civilian products, for example, may run far ahead

of schedule, while the tanks to which they are complementary lag behind." Each producer tries to fill his contract at maximum speed, but there is a lack of over-all scheduling to gear his output with that of other components: "Frames are completed without engines or instruments to make them into airplanes." This kind of scheduling is elementary in big business. The job of marshaling the flow of materials, parts, and sub-assemblies over the production and assembly lines is a basic one in General Motors or General Electric. G. M. cannot afford to be left at the end of the season with, let us say, 30,000 cowls and 100,000 radiators and 5,000 mudguards. Yet our war-production program today is out of balance in just this way. "Critical materials and labor time are tied up in components which do not make final assemblies: we have airplanes without propellers, guns without carriages, machine tools without spindles."

The WPB and Nelson do not have a monopoly on fumbling. The same slipshod management is evident in the agencies dealing with man-power. As the shortage of labor grows acute, it is more important to keep some men at their work bench than to put them in the armed forces. Yet the committee discovered that "Selective Service is making huge monthly drafts of men without any adequate machinery for occupational deferment." The armed services bid for man-power as they please. "During the past six months," the report says, "major aircraft concerns on the West Coast have lost thousands of workers through volunteering. Many of these men are highly skilled, and others are required temporarily to train workers being drawn into that expanding industry." Certain branches of the armed services insist, nevertheless, "upon drawing off the cream of the nation's youth through individual recruiting techniques and the use of preferential commissions." If the manufacturer could find out in advance what men he could keep and how long he could keep them, he could plan training programs to replace those he will lose, but the Selective Service boards "receive little advance notice of requirements" and are unable to provide the war contractor with this information.

Hoarding and poor planning are as evident in the case of man-power as in that of materials. The committee proposes that we adopt the British system of labor-supply inspectors, working out of regional man-power offices. Improper utilization of skills is as pernicious as hoarding, and both may be found in government arsenals and navy yards as well as in private plants. In one instance brought to the attention of the committee, "demand by a government plant for 200 machinists resolved



itself upon analysis into need for a small number of machinists and various types of machine operators with much lower orders of skill." The committee believes that by reorganizing and rationalizing the use of labor within plants we can obtain the equivalent of a huge increase in man-power. Brigadier General Frank J. McSherry of the War Manpower Commission testified that in some plants productivity had been increased from 50 to 75 per cent by more efficient use of the labor force. The commission announced weeks ago that a force of labor inspectors would be established, but this has not yet been done, "though considerable time was spent in wrangling with the War Production Board over which agency would supervise the inspection system."

The man-power problem is made more difficult by the maldistribution of war orders and the construction of new facilities in new areas instead of the conversion of existing facilities. Here too there is confusion. "There is not today available within the federal government any single agency," the committee says, "which knows whether conversion has taken place at 30 or at 50 per cent efficiency." The committee found idle convertible facilities in both large and small business. "Whole areas, including both small and large cities, exist," the report declares, "which through mismanagement of contract letting and subcontracting are idle." The committee found this particularly true in the Middle West and New York City. Plans to concentrate civilian output in smaller plants in areas of labor surplus "continue to be shuffled back and forth between industry branches, industry advisory committees, and other sections of the War Production Board." Of the three concentration programs announced so far, "at least one has concentrated production in an area of labor shortage."

This lack of planning derives from *laissez faire* habits of mind. Nelson, as he explained to the committee, conceives of the WPB as an "umpire," settling disputes between various war and civilian agencies competing for materials. "We cannot expect to organize war production by using umpires," the Tolan report comments tartly, "any more than we can expect to operate a railroad system with umpires instead of schedules." The natural tendency is to think of the war-production program in terms of normal business. "War production," the committee says, "is treated as a salesman's proposition rather than as the mobilization of our entire national industrial plant for total war." The different parts of the government act like rival business firms. "In the absence of a program of production and an organization to coordinate it," the report declares, "we have today only a series of individual competing production projects. At virtually every point where coordination and planning should be exercised, we find competition and maneuvering. There is competition among the major branches of the military services. There is competition between

the military services and the industry branches of the War Production Board. There is endless jockeying among the individual industry branches."

To carry on the war-production program in the image of the free market is only possible with a surplus of men, machines, and materials. We have a shortage of all three. One of the chief virtues of the Tolan report is that it sees man-power and materials and production and strategy as parts of one big problem, so closely interwoven by the necessities of total war that they cannot be dealt with separately. Without a decision on strategy, decisions cannot be made about man-power and munitions. The production needed to implement the strategy cannot be insured, in its turn, without man-power, materials, and production schedules. This is the frame of reference in which the Tolan committee opposes compulsory labor service; the problem is much too complicated to be solved by the bark of a labor sergeant.

The Tolan committee believes that the time has come for a reorganization of the war-production setup which will provide centralized supervision of men, machines, and materials. It proposes an Office of War Mobilization headed by a director. Under this there would be three offices—one the equivalent of a Ministry of Supply, the second to handle man-power, the third to control prices and wages. The first, the Office of War Supply, would take over the procurement divisions of army, navy, Maritime Commission, and lend-lease, as well as the functions of the War Production Board. Though mere organizational changes are often of dubious value, this one would have two advantages: it would give us a coordinated war effort, and it would finally take the job of procurement away from the armed services, which have enough to do and which have not demonstrated any genuine capacity for industrial mobilization. "The Director of War Mobilization would by this reorganization," the committee says, "assume for the first time the power to demand a significant detailed accounting from the armed services. He would become the agent for obtaining a statement of military requirements and for matching them against the capacity of our economy to deliver. The flow of materials, man-power, and machine facilities would become subject to his regulation."

The Tolan committee would have the war program planned, not "umpired." At the same time it understands that to plan is not the same as to regiment. Wise planning is not synonymous with centralization. If we finally begin to chart our course instead of allowing monopoly to muddle through, we can provide for much more participation and initiative on the part of the individual region, community, and plant than they have today. For the most important of our idle resources is the energy and enthusiasm that would be released by giving the worker, the independent business man, and the small town a more responsible role in the war program.



# Congress and the People

BY ALEXANDER MEIKLEJOHN

A BASIC principle of American political theory is now being sharply challenged. The legislative body, we have been accustomed to say, is more truly "representative" of us than is the executive or the judiciary. It has therefore a certain superiority over them. Our lawmakers, it is true, must recognize as equals in status the other branches of the government. For example, we speak of a "balance of powers" among these three. We have also devised methods of procedure by which they may "check" each other in various ways. And yet the essence of free, representative government has seemed to require that the Congress shall be, at least, "first among equals." The President may act. But fundamentally his action is limited to the execution of the decisions which "the representatives of the people" have made. The judges may rule and interpret. But the conclusions of the courts are not intended to add to or subtract from the explicit or implied meaning of the laws themselves. These limiting statements are, as all men know, open to question and even to qualification; but it remains true that in a peculiar sense the Senators and Representatives of our federal system "represent" the sovereign people. The will of the nation resides in the body of the legislature.

But nothing seems more obvious than the fact that the principle of which we are speaking, as a description of the actual processes of our national government, is no longer valid. The Congress is not, today, first among equals. It does not rank in public esteem and confidence above the executive and the judiciary. So far as representative character is concerned, it is commonly regarded as blocking and distracting the will of the people. We do not trust it to make wise and objective decisions furthering the general welfare. Apparently its action is wise only when it does what the executive or the voters tell it to do. It "plays politics" even when the winning of the war is at stake. Of course the same charges have been made against the executive and the judiciary, but the difference in degree at this point is so great that it becomes a difference in kind. Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Wallace, Mr. Henderson, Mr. Stimson, Mr. Nelson—whether one agrees with them or not—must be regarded as working desperately in the common interest. The Congress, on the other hand, seems to be regarded as an obstacle, as a body that must be cajoled, or frightened, or driven into actions that are essential for the realizing of the common purpose.

A striking and dramatic illustration of the drift of

which I am speaking was found in President Roosevelt's recent "shotgun" message to Congress. In that message he declared that if the lawmaking body did not, before a certain date, take action toward an assigned end, he, as executive, would take the matter into his own hands. Further, in his Labor Day broadcast, he appealed to the people to support him in that intention. There can, I think, be little doubt that as the issue was then seen, the people stood by the President. And on the whole they are convinced that in the entire present situation he "represents" them. They are equally convinced that, in general, the Congress is failing to give expression to their will. American citizens may deplore that such apparent executive usurpation of authority should be necessary. But the plain common sense of a people is ready to declare that if, in a desperate emergency, one branch of the government fails to meet its responsibilities, some such action as that of the President in this case must be taken. We seem ready to say that, if necessary, Congress must be bludgeoned into doing its duty.

A second observation supporting my contention has to do with the general attitude of Americans toward their representatives. President Roosevelt, it must be noted, did not originate the shotgun method of handling Congressmen. We too deal with them by hold-up methods. We too threaten and demand. In our attempt to influence their action, it does not usually occur to us to present "reasons" to appeal to their judgment. We pile up mountains of telegrams and letters to terrify them. We impress upon them how many votes they will lose if they fail to do our will. Editors, columnists, advocates of causes good and bad seek to drive or lure them into submission. And in all this we do not seem to recognize that we are declaring them unfit to represent a free people. No man can represent the citizens of a democracy if he will change his mind, or change his vote without changing his mind, because of threats or pressure. And the fact that we deal with our Senators and Representatives in these terms shows all too clearly what we think of them. They are not our representatives; they are our messenger boys. And messenger boys as such, though they can deliver telegrams, are not fitted to represent the highest intelligence, the most resolute purpose, of a free people.

## II

If what has been said is true, it is evident that our government is confronted with a constitutional crisis which is exceedingly difficult to interpret and, hence, to



deal with. If it appears that our chosen representatives do not represent us, we have a desperate problem on our hands. Something fundamental to our scheme of government has slipped. And the difficulty of the problem is increased rather than diminished if we recognize, as I think we do, that the defect in the action of Congress is not primarily one of personnel but lies rather in the governing process itself. The basic trouble is not that unwise or corrupt men are elected to office. As the Congressional ranks now stand, unwisdom and corruption seem to be far overbalanced by ability and experience and devotion to the common welfare. The essential difficulty is that the moral and intellectual standards of the legislative body as a whole fall below those of the individual legislators. And to say that is to say that Congress does not "represent" even its own members. The political machinery by which men are elected or defeated, by which they are reelected or discarded, by which they keep in touch with their constituents, by which they do their work in committees and on the floor—all this machinery seems designed to make bad men effective and good men helpless. It gives representation to selfish desires and interests and prejudices. It does not, in any adequate degree, give representation to deliberate purposes and common intentions and reasoned judgments.

If the representative defect of the legislature does not lie in its personnel, where precisely does it lie? To answer that question we must ask what, in a democratic government, "representation" is of and for. In what sense, for example, is it true—as it undoubtedly is—that in the conflict over the control of prices, Mr. Henderson has been more representative of the will of the people than the farm bloc which stood in the way of his attempts to prevent inflation? What are the representatives of a free people expected to do and to be? The American answer to that question seems, at present, to have neither clarity nor validity.

### III

Any agency which undertakes to act for the people has two tasks facing it. First, it must find out what the people want. It must discover and take account of the whole range of private interests which are at stake throughout the country. In this sense, every individual, every group, every region, has a right to representation in the councils of the government. And that representation must be equal, must be enjoyed without prejudice and without special privilege. But, second, since the huge conglomeration of a nation's desires and needs and intentions is riddled with conflict and contradiction, since interests are at war with one another, any representative body has another job to do. It must choose. It must think. It must discover the common good in all the separate goods. It must deny as well as affirm. In every

case it must make sure that the greater good prevails over the lesser. As it does so, no genuine human interest of any individual or group may be ignored. But it is equally imperative that no private or public interest be allowed to have its way if it denies other interests which are found by impartial judgment to be more important.

Now the falling off of public confidence in the Congress is, I am sure, a popular recognition of the fact that our national lawmaking body is failing in both these fields of its responsibility. But the failure in the second field is far more extensive and disastrous than in the first. With some degree of adequacy the legislature does represent our wants. But as an agent of our thoughts the Congress is a misrepresentative body rather than a representative one.

In both fields American political philosophy has been drifting into a belief which has eaten away the integrity of our representative institutions. We have said that every interest, when expressed, becomes a vote. And we have taken this to mean that every vote expresses, in the last resort, an interest—and nothing more. The outcome of this theory has been that we have thought of the halls of Congress as a battleground. They are for us places where any interest may thrust itself forward, may demand and fight for such attention and acceptance as it can get.

This is the "pressure-group" theory of legislation, a theory which has given a basis for lobbying in all its vicious forms. According to it, each legislator is fighting for some interest or some set of interests, and in the free-for-all which results when all the interests meet in the common arena, he must see to it that "his" interests are persistently and cleverly promoted. The process of legislation thus becomes one of struggle and compromise and bargaining. In that struggle interests are not equally represented. The powerful, the selfish, the unscrupulous fight their way to dominance. The weak, the generous, the scrupulous are unheard and unheeded. The free-for-all of partisan strife does not give equal representation to all the interests of all the people.

But it is especially in the second field, where plans are to be made, where interests are to be measured, where purposes are to be woven into a coherent pattern, that the pressure-group theory has undermined the legislative process. It is here that the present-day legislator falls far short of the present-day judge or administrator. The President, as he watches over our national interests in war or in peace, cannot trust the blind struggle of conflicting interests to make his decisions for him. He must think and plan and decide. He must take into account all interests and must try to resolve their conflicts by means of deliberate and well-considered policy. So, too, the Supreme Court; so, too, Mr. Stimson, or Mr. Hull, or Mr. Nelson, or General Marshall. These men



are responsible for the welfare of the nation as a whole. They must therefore study the forces at work and seek to control them. They must, as we like to say, "get tough" whenever private interest or individual stupidity stands in the way of the general welfare. But that means that they are doing what Congress is apparently unable to do. They are "deliberating." It is a curious and tragic reversal of the basic presuppositions of our scheme of government when it can be said that "deliberation" upon our common problems is to be found not in "the deliberative assembly" but in the courts of judicial decision and in the offices of executive administration.

## IV

What shall we Americans do in the face of this constitutional crisis which has come upon us? There is no quick and ready answer to that question. The difficulty goes too deep for easy mechanical remedies. We cannot remove it merely by devising new political machinery. It rises out of our national understandings and misunderstandings of what freedom is and what government is. Very near to the source of it is the false theory of "localism" which has played such dreadful havoc in the field of American education. Appeal to that localism is today the favorite device of those who, with or without good conscience, fight for selfish advantage at the expense of the common good.

But these words are not written to offer a solution of the problem. Their purpose is, rather, to insist that the problem must be faced and studied by everyone who has regard for the basic principles of our government. First of all, we must recognize that our representative institutions have gone wrong. Our political smugness must be shattered. We owe many good things to the political genius of President Roosevelt, but I am inclined to believe that no action he has taken will prove to be more significant than his recent challenge to the legislative branch of the government. He challenged not primarily the control of prices but rather the efficiency and integrity of the process by which our laws are enacted. On an earlier occasion he issued a like challenge to the Supreme Court. That action was open to serious question, but this time he is clearly right. The representatives of the people must represent them. And they are not doing so.

One additional remark must be made. In my opinion, the principle of the primacy of the law-making body is fundamentally valid. The Congress must be first among equals. It must stand higher in public confidence than either the executive or the judiciary. And the practical question is: How can that principle be reestablished in our political life? If we are to have a government under law, then the making of the laws must be recognized as the expression of the highest intelligence, the most resolute purpose, of the people. Only as it meets that demand will Congress be restored to its proper place of domi-

nance in our political life. Representative government rests not upon the freedom of our interests but upon the freedom of our minds. The basic question is: Can Congress, as a legislative body, represent the mind and will of America? Can Congress think—as a deliberative body must think if it is to take the lead in a government of equality and freedom?

## Dulce et Decorum Est pro Batten Barton, Durstine, et Osborne Mori

*Hymn to Victory, by a Sailor on Shore Leave*

Hail to thee, Victory!  
Victory dresses and Victory hats,  
Victory camembert, Victory spats,  
Victory coffee-bags, Victory milk,  
Victory undies (much *better* than silk),  
Victory doughnuts, they're shaped like a V,  
Victory pants—not a cuff will you see,  
Victory malteds to keep up your strength,  
New cigarettes in a Victory length.  
Science has leaped o'er the grimmest of hurdles:  
Hail to the rubberless Victory girdles!  
Double-size Victory bottles for booze!  
Victory cocktails to lighten the news!  
Try Viktori-Rub for that pain in your chest,  
Eat Victory bread, Uncle Sam says it's best;  
And when your lips murmur a prayer for the dead,  
Be sure that your lipstick is Victory red.

Hey diddle diddle! Rome's burning, let's fiddle!  
"Here's an idea, boys—hot off the griddle!  
Looks like our sales are beginning to droop;  
How about launching a Victory soup?  
Red, white, and blue stripes all over the can,  
Under the trademark a shot of Bataan;  
Plaster the land from Seattle to Trenton  
(Dignified copy, though—paintings by Benton).  
Hang the expense, it would all go in taxes;  
Here's the big tag—'In the Soup with the Axis!'"

... Oh, say, can you see, by the dawn's early light,  
Sales going up, with the end not in sight,  
Ads getting bigger and sales mounting higher,  
Climbing like flames from a city on fire?  
Hail to thee, Victory, goddess so fair,  
Torch in the night of a sailor's despair,  
Sent from on high to the land of the free  
To replace Latakia and Vitamin B.  
Victory, hear—when this struggle is past,  
And the full, final triumph is ours at the last,  
We'll leave to the billboards that name maledictory;  
Whatever we call thee, we'll not call thee "Victory!"

HERMAN WOUK



# Americans Can't Be "Frozen"

BY THOMAS FOYLE

LET'S be honest with ourselves about this question of man-power. Involved in it are four uncomfortable facts which must be faced squarely before a satisfactory solution can be reached. These facts are:

1. There is a strong prejudice in many industries against employment of women, Negroes, Jews, aliens, and first-generation American citizens.

2. Public opinion is turning against the closed or union shop; and it is not easy to justify forcing a man to join a union because he works at a job which he has been forced to accept.

3. Wages are very unequal throughout the United States for jobs requiring comparable skill and physical effort.

4. Equalizing wages on a basis of skill and effort would require either an inflationary increase in total pay rolls or drastic reduction in the pay of certain skilled and strongly unionized workers.

Unless the war is won sooner than anyone has a right to expect, these four facts will interfere seriously with the production necessary to win the war. At best, solutions for the problems they present cannot be found before much damage has been done. If they are not dealt with soon, victory may be long delayed, and if they are not dealt with at all, victory in war may mean defeat for decency and progress in the reaction which will come with peace.

Prejudice against women and minority groups is slowly giving way before the pressure of circumstances. Few employers are so reactionary that they will turn away business rather than change their employment policies, and from now on most employers will have to take any workers they can get or do without workers. The problem will be chiefly to guarantee fair and equal treatment for the new employees. Even though there is likely to be a revival of prejudices after the war, there will be some net gain in tolerance, as there was the last time.

The union question is more delicate. If there is a draft of man-power by federal legislation, Congress will be under tremendous pressure to include a provision which would outlaw the closed shop at least so far as new workers are concerned, and there is a good chance that all closed or union-shop contracts will be voided for the duration. An unyielding attitude by union leaders on this point might easily lead them to disaster. Now is a time for political realism, not for stubborn clinging to principles which were developed when the nation was at peace and unions were struggling for a toe-hold in mass-production industries. Every poll of public opinion indi-

cates that the newspaper campaign against strikes in war industries, dishonest as it is on the basis of statistics, has been widely effective. In the long run the unions stand to gain far more by voluntary action which would disarm hostility than by a last-ditch battle for their abstract rights, whether they win or lose.

Nor is political expediency the only reason why unions should act with some caution in war time. The economic and moral justifications for a union shop of the traditional type are largely lacking when wages and working conditions are fixed by government decree. Collective bargaining has been virtually suspended, for reasons accepted by an overwhelming majority of the American people, and for the duration the chief function of unions has been wholly changed. Their contribution to war production in providing a mechanism for adjustment of grievances, in making suggestions for greater efficiency, and in reporting bad management practices to government authorities and to the public is of the greatest value. But it would be hard to argue that this contribution depends upon a closed or union shop.

On the other hand, the unions have every right to insist that the war should not be made an excuse to sabotage the gains they have already made, or to train millions of potential scabs. Union leaders have an opportunity for constructive leadership in suggesting a solution to this problem which would win public support without sacrificing the principles of unionism. They might, for example, offer memberships to emergency war workers with nominal dues, and might even consider allowing non-union workers to be employed in closed shops if union rights were properly safeguarded by long-term contracts. The unions have much to gain by offering temporary concessions of their own free will, and everything to lose if they offer nothing. They are now dealing primarily with public opinion rather than with employers—whose labor costs in the heavy industries are largely paid by the government—and it will be tragic if they fail to adjust their actions accordingly.

Moreover, the unions particularly and labor in general have an opportunity today which transcends any program for standing pat on the gains of the last ten years. For the first time since the Industrial Revolution conditions are becoming ripe for labor solidarity based on equal pay for equal work throughout a whole nation. The stumbling-block to labor unity for sixty years has been the fact that the privileged classes of labor could not join the rest without losing their special advantages. Skilled workers had a stake in existing conditions,



not only in their own higher wage rates, but also because sweatshop conditions in non-union industry kept down the prices of the shirts and food and luxuries for which they spent their money.

Today, prices are frozen. The threat of inflation is being used as an argument to freeze wage rates also. But



Paul V. McNutt

farm labor and poorly paid labor generally will not stay put when jobs go begging at high wages in shipyards, plane factories, arsenals. The notion that men can be frozen to their jobs when much more money is offered elsewhere borders on the fantastic; Americans are not built that way, and neither persuasion nor force will keep them in one place when they can do better somewhere else.

In sober terms of war production, over a period of more than a few months, the idea is hopeless. Preventing a man from taking advantage of opportunity is so wholly contrary to American tradition and to every statement of the aims for which the war is being fought that it is hard to accept it as the suggestion of a sane person. It is, quite literally, a proposal to freeze the *status quo ante bellum*, and that is most certainly not what we are fighting for. There is something monstrous in this delusion that the way to win the war is to keep everyone, except those drafted into the army, exactly where he is now. It is equally reactionary to propose that men and women should be shifted from one job to another without regard to the rates of pay.

But how can wages be equalized on a fair basis with-

out starting a cycle of inflation which would be disastrous to the middle-income groups who hold the balance of political power? More specifically, how can the United States provide adequate incentive for the production of food without raising the price of subsistence beyond the means of four families out of five?

These questions must be answered not only in relation to winning the war, but also in relation to conditions after the war. If it is the intention of the people of the United States to keep on paying farm labor much less than industrial labor—and to pay textile labor much less than automobile labor—then the chances are that the war inflation and post-war deflation of twenty-five years ago will be repeated. The pressure of labor supply and demand during the next year will blow the lid off any attempt to keep the arbitrary differentials between various wages and prices exactly as they are today. There is no justice in many of the existing wage differentials, and there is no logic in many of the existing price differentials. Sentimental arguments about soldiers fighting and dying for \$50 a month will not long carry weight in a country where more than one-third of the families have less than \$50 a month clear above room and board, and another third have a hard struggle to make ends meet.

For the moment, the United States is still enjoying war prosperity. The stores are well stocked with goods no longer being produced. Unemployment is disappearing. But real hardship and the impact of a new tax bill are just around the corner. When the people begin to feel the blow, they will not take kindly to a freezing of conditions which are not, as they thought, the conditions of November, 1942. When the full meaning of this war hits them in their pocket-books and in their standards of living, their anger against a program which purported to keep things as they are today will grow in intensity, and it may turn in any direction. Talk about equality of sacrifice means nothing yet, because there has been little real sacrifice. But when the United States faces both casualty lists and lack of consumers' goods next year, the gross inequities of wages and prices frozen at current levels may gravely disrupt this country.

There is no serious demand for dead-level equality, for paying the cotton picker or the loom tender exactly the same wage as the skilled mechanic. At the same time there is an increasing realization that many of the cotton pickers and loom tenders are quite capable of becoming skilled mechanics in a few months, and these workers are not likely to accept a 1,000 per cent difference in wages if at the same time they are denied the right to become mechanics. Since we must have cotton pickers and loom tenders to win the war, the only alternatives are to pay them more or to keep them in their places by force. No matter what pretty words man-power stabilization is dressed up in, it comes down to one of those two things.



And keeping Americans in their places by force—even by vote of Congress—is not likely to win the war unless we have the improbable luck to win a full victory before the people know what has been done to them.

To win the war, and to win the peace after the war, a flexible system of adjusting wages, prices, and employment is infinitely preferable to any attempt to freeze them. To be honest about it, a flexible system would mean some inflation—the degree depending upon the skill with which it was handled—and the political tides are all against that at the present moment. Middle-class families with comparatively fixed incomes are in the saddle. They are not only numerous enough to be effective, but sufficiently justified in their fear of a run-away depreciation of the dollar which would wipe them out to have the support of poorer people with a sense of fair play. Unfortunately, they do not see that their attempt to stand without bending at all may lead to a break which will destroy them completely. The sentiments of the political leaders who are trying to achieve wage and price stabilization are praiseworthy, but the effort to postpone adjustment of gross inequalities of wages and salaries until after the war is likely to lose the war. Liberals, radicals, and reactionaries in the United States have apparently reached a curious agreement on a war economy which has no resemblance to either *laissez faire* or socialism and no virtue except that it puts a sudden stop to argument. But it will not do.

The United States in its war economy can easily afford to make adjustments in wage rates which will satisfy workers compelled to stay in the jobs where they are most needed. Obviously wage rates should be adjusted upward wherever necessary, and where necessary, prices should be adjusted upward to meet the increased wages. Moderate relative increases in some prices will provide a basis for a much sounder economy after the war, and any inflationary tendency caused by increased wage payments which are not compensated for by the moderately higher prices of such commodities as food and textiles can be adjusted by generally increased taxes.

The proposal is not utopian. Workers as a whole will be satisfied if reasonable adjustments are made. Full adjustment is a long-range problem to be dealt with after the war. But it should not take an extended argument to prove that there will be more war production if some wage adjustments are made, to correspond with war man-power needs, than if men are told arbitrarily to work at certain jobs for whatever those jobs pay.

For the moment, the war man-power picture seems to have got badly out of focus, with a lot of emotionalism about draftees and the horrors of inflation. In perspective, it becomes a natural part of the economic changes which everyone accepts in theory as a consequence of the war. The odd thing is that so many people expect the economic consequences to wait until the war is over.

## In the Wind

A MOVIE SHORT now being shown in theaters throughout the country contains an appeal for scrap material by Donald Nelson and numerous pictures intended to convince the audience that steel and rubber shortages are an immediate obstacle to all-out production. Another being shown simultaneously in some houses warns against loose talk. One example of this, it says, is the story that we may lose the war because we are short of raw materials. Actually we have all we need, says the commentator, and the film shows huge stockpiles of steel and rubber.

THE LOS ANGELES TIMES, which favored the reelection of Representative Leland Ford, a leader of the anti-labor forces in Congress, defended its position on military grounds. It would be unfair to the army, the paper said, to relieve it of such a vigorous and capable young officer as Lieutenant Will Rogers, Jr., Ford's opponent, by electing him to public office. And it would be harmful to the morale of parents whose sons have been drafted to allow soldiers to return to civilian life merely by being elected to Congress.

THIS COLUMN on October 24 cited "rumors in Washington" to the effect that A. A. Berle, Jr., Assistant Secretary of State, was about to become a Catholic. We have the best possible authority for reporting that these rumors, though persistent, are unfounded; that Mr. Berle was baptized a Congregationalist and expects to stay one.

A WRITER in a Brussels Nazi paper laments the refusal of some Belgian mayors to register babies who have been christened with German names. "I have heard," he wrote, "that some mayors refuse to allow Germanic names to be given to our children. But what could be more beautiful than a name like Erwin, which means 'man of honor,' or Oswald, which means 'holy power'?"

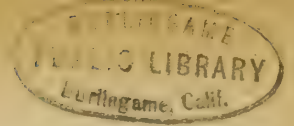
CITY COLLEGE in New York, which once was the center of agitation against military training for undergraduates, now has the largest volunteer R. O. T. C. unit in the country—3,157 members.

GAS RATION COUPONS sell at about fifty cents a piece in the black markets on the East Coast.

ASKED FOR A STATEMENT on a murder believed to be the work of a Negro, Governor Paul B. Johnson of Mississippi said: "I'm doing everything I can to locate that Negro murderer and to see that he is . . . given the benefit of as fair and impartial a trial as would be given to any Negro charged with murder."

[The \$5 prize for the best item received in October goes to Girolamo Valenti of New York City for his quotation from Clare Booth Luce, "There was a time when we all thought Mussolini was doing a good job," published October 31.]





# American Progressives—Your Hour

WITHOUT indulging in the delusion that the peoples of the earth are fighting to establish the American Century or that America alone should order the march of the democratic coalition, it is certain that no other nation can so dominate the outcome of the present struggle as the United States. That is what gives the question of America's position on the problems of the war and the peace such overwhelming importance. To rise to its task, this country must liquidate the last vestiges of isolationism and substitute a constructive and bold democratic foreign policy.

Pearl Harbor put an end to isolationism in its most virulent form. Among his political opponents Roosevelt lost to the Axis his place as Enemy No. 1, though only to become Enemy No. 2. The slogan "Better Hitler Than the People's Front," had been so closely identified in France with the betrayals of the Pétains and Laval that after Pearl Harbor the American isolationists dared not openly adapt it for domestic use. "Better Hitler than the New Deal" could become a respectable public expression only in the eventuality of a negotiated peace. For the moment it was not a platform on which even a Hamilton Fish would feel entirely comfortable.

But we must not deceive ourselves. Isolationist thinking survived the terrific shock of December 7. In one way it is natural that this should be so. Even among the best Americans the tradition of the long period preceding the First World War was still alive—that period in which America's political and economic development followed its own energetic course, rather removed from that of the rest of the world. Suddenly, in 1917, the United States plunged into the struggle of the nations and within a year turned the tide in favor of the Allies. Nothing was better calculated to liquidate the isolationism of the previous century. But hardly had the last shot been fired in Europe than America again withdrew into its traditional detachment.

Twenty years later neither the terrific lesson of 1939-40, with the destruction of a dozen independent nations and the immediate menace of an attack on England, nor the Nazi penetration in Latin America was sufficient to induce certain American elements to abandon their isolationism. Isolationism, in fact, showed itself capable of resisting every reality. The Hitler war was a world war, all right, not only because the fighting engulfed one continent after another, but because for the first time in history a nation and a regime openly promised to make good the megalomaniac dream of world domination. American planes flying to Europe

in eight or nine hours without landing liquidated a part of the isolation. The other side of the coin was also visible to everyone. In the same number of hours European planes could fly to New York. The plane led the way, arguing the interventionist case. Policy followed, hesitating. And more hesitating still, the general thinking of a country of 130,000,000.

But let us suppose isolationism definitely overcome. There remains the second part of the problem. The mere fact of ceasing to be isolationist does not make a foreign policy democratic. In the case of the United States the main danger lies in the absence of an organized left to fight efficiently for a progressive foreign policy. Though they agree in their general position, the groups of intellectual liberals are disconnected. Labor was until recently predominantly isolationist. Today its interest in world affairs has deepened in a most encouraging way. But labor is not yet a force that influences the foreign policy of the United States. With all its millions of organized workers, American labor has not the strength and perhaps not even the desire to force its way into the inner councils of government as has British labor. If the American labor movement were to take the same interest in international problems that it takes in trade-union problems, an army of eight million organized workers would be decisive in the waging of political war.

To create a popular basis, not in terms of emotion, but of political efficiency, for a foreign policy oriented toward a people's peace is the immense task that confronts American liberals and labor leaders. It is their hour. And it would be most encouraging if such groups were to come forward with some concrete proposal that would give their intervention a realistic quality. The first and most important change to introduce in the present situation is the creation of an Inter-Allied Political Council to conduct the war as a war of the people. We are convinced that the struggle itself will impose the creation of such a council—whether with the will of the leaders of the United Nations or against their will. We are convinced of this because the alternative is defeat, and as we have said many times, the peoples are not going to allow themselves to be defeated only because of the obstinacy or the routine conservatism of their leaders. The creation of a council now could spare the democracies many disasters. A delay of six months or a year may lead to a situation in which the first task of the council would be not to wage political war against the Axis, but to reestablish peace between the United Nations themselves.



But in the United States the Attorney General's decision, though in itself it must be warmly applauded, will have harmful consequences if it is not coupled with another measure. The government should announce that proceedings have been initiated to deprive of their citizenship certain prominent persons of Italian extraction who have taken part in Fascist activities during these last years, thus showing that their oath of allegiance to the American Constitution was taken with mental reservations.

All Fascist agents for the past twenty years have been teaching citizens and residents of Italian origin in this country that "democracy" is stupid, gullible, and inefficient, and that it can be challenged by anyone without danger. If the stigma of "enemy aliens" is removed and nothing more done to give evidence that "democracy" knows how to be firm when necessary, generosity will be construed as stupidity.

Attorney General Biddle has provided the Fascist agents—who are still active and aggressive everywhere—with a fresh argument discrediting "democracy." "At last," they are telling simple-minded people, "we have won our point. We are always in a position to dictate our will to Washington. We have demanded that the Italians be no longer regarded as enemy aliens. And we have got what we wanted."

There is no need for hecatombs. No more than two or three score people out of one million Italians in New York, half a dozen in Boston, a dozen in Chicago, should be singled out. But they should be taken from among the big shots and not from among the small fry, and the widest possible publicity should be given to their names and their punishment. To deprive of his citizenship some braggart like Domenico Trombetta when the highest leaders of the Fascist movement are left undisturbed, even kept in key positions, will lead nowhere.

## *Behind the Enemy Line*

BY ARGUS

THE political strategists of Berlin have had ample opportunity recently to ring changes on the theme of the disunity among the United Nations. Such demonstrations as the demand for a second front or the editorial in *Life* have not escaped them. For weeks they have been passionately reminding the Russians of the treachery of the London plutocrats, and the English of the arrogance of the Moscow bolsheviks. When speaking to America they have, pro *Life*, denounced the perfidious egotism of the British; and when speaking to the countries of the British Empire, they have, contra *Life*, declaimed against the self-seeking perfidy of the Yankees. It was inevitable. The chief aim of Nazi foreign propaganda is to strengthen any tendency toward mutual

dislike or distrust among the various members of the United Nations.

The dissensions of the Allies have also been a favorite topic with the German people during the past few weeks. All through October the press and the domestic radio have resounded with it. It is said not only that each of the Allies is completely indifferent to the war the others are waging, but that each is carrying on a Machiavellian war against the others. That is the situation between the "Anglo-Saxons" and the Russians, and even more markedly between the Americans and the English. America is fighting only a nominal war against Germany—as camouflage. Its real purpose, the motive underlying all its acts, is to destroy the British Empire and inherit its lands.

It is fantastic, the incidents that are seized on to make the German people believe in this shadow war of "American imperialism" against Great Britain. Secretary Knox made a statement that the American navy would soon be the largest in the world. What did he mean by the largest, and what did he mean by soon? Simply that America intends to take over the British fleet and incorporate it in its own navy. Word has been received—false or true—that the American government has been granted the use of a railroad in Canada. That means, of course, that "sooner or later Canada will be swallowed up by the United States."

One wonders whether such stories—provided that they find credence—arouse any interest or emotion. Probably not. To the average German today nothing seems of less importance than which flag is finally going to wave over Canada or what will be the future relationship between England and the United States. However, a propaganda which is active twenty-four hours a day must sometimes use rather unpromising material.

Whether the fantastic story of anti-British American imperialism is accepted as true is another question. Obviously its inventors assume that at least part of their public will believe at least part of the tale. It is a fact that some Germans tend to view any alliance between states as a mask for attempts to swindle each other. During the First World War many informed persons, addicted to this brand of realism, were wholly convinced that the English could never be turned out of Calais. Published documents show that Marshal Hindenburg, for example, was of this opinion. At the end of September, 1918, when Ludendorff proposed that Germany ask for an armistice, Hindenburg answered, "But we must lay down the condition that the English shall not keep Calais." Ludendorff interrupted him harshly: "It is not the time for that now." For four years the Field Marshal had been convinced that the ultimate purpose of France's ally, England, was to despoil France.

This throws light on how certain groups in Germany conceive of their own obligations toward their allies.



# G. E. F. (*Ilium*)

BY JOEL SAYRE

SAMUEL BUTLER, that perverse man, once argued that the "Odyssey" was written by a young woman. Well, whoever Homer was or wasn't, a young woman surely did not write the "Iliad." Whoever had the final say on the "Iliad" had been to the wars. He had been in battle, and he knew how it looked and smelled and sounded and felt. In their sharpness of detail, both visual and emotional, great chunks of the "Iliad" seem as modern as the finest Hemingway. Yes, I would bet any money he had been in many a battle, this fellow who put the "Iliad" together, for he knew all the gear, and how the men talk when they are sore at each other, and all the old soldier tricks. As they say in the Marine Corps, he was salty. What a combat correspondent!

These Greek troops—they had been on this front nine years, remember—are as genuine as the characters in "What Price Glory." You might argue that they themselves were marines, for they were at home on board ship, too. They are brave in battle, homesick out of it, interested in equipment—Homer stops his story a long time for an almost microscopic description of Achilles's armor—and in girls, food, drink, sports. As for their serious side, exactly as Catholic soldiers in the field nowadays are careful about their religious duties, so the more pious Greeks would not think of neglecting their proper sacrifices and prayers. And when anybody gets hit, Homer gives it to us the way it was, in close-up slow motion.

Besides all this wonderful reporting, which could take some cutting in spots, there are characters you can't forget: Thersites, the silly, chattering guardhouse lawyer who has been found in every outfit that ever fought in any war; Odysseus, the smart operator, greatest master of strategy or tactics in the whole campaign; Diomedes of the loud war cry, who in civil life raised man-eating horses; Nestor, the first Old Soldier in literature, endlessly complaining that he can't understand what's got into these kids of 1183 B. C.—when he was their age, men were men; Helen, the War Aim, who kept insisting to the Trojans, "You must think I'm terrible!"; Patroclus, the young squire of Achilles, who, sulking in his tent, couldn't stand it any more when the Greeks began to get their brains kicked out and rushed back into battle to save the day and the war and be killed; Chryseïs of the Fair Cheeks and Briseïs of the Fair Cheeks, the two Charmaines that caused all the trouble between Achilles and Agamemnon, a stupid boothead of a man if there ever was one; poor old Priam, father of Hector and forty-nine other sons; and Paris, the pretty boy, whom

his brother, great Hector, caught strutting and wenching back in the city when every man was needed in the lines.

But what makes you positive that Homer was in the field himself was the way he understood fear. Take the great scene near the close where Achilles has driven all the Trojans back into the city except Hector, who stands there in front of the gates. His mother, Hecuba, and old Priam plead with him piteously, but he won't move; he just waits there while the terrible Achilles runs toward him. Then this superb Homer goes inside Hector's mind and gives him a short, sad day dream as he watches Achilles come closer and closer. What would happen if he took off his armor and laid aside his spear and stepped out, offering to shake hands? Suppose he made Paris give Helen back to Menelaus and all the riches he stole with her, and they agreed to throw in half the city of Troy for reparations. Why wouldn't that be the way to end this awful thing? But then he takes another look at Achilles, sees his face and the smoke pouring out of his shinguards, and he knows he has just been thinking foolishness.

Suddenly his nerve snaps. He turns and runs, and with Priam and Hecuba and all the Trojans watching from the walls, he is chased by the swift-footed Achilles. Then Hector gets hold of himself and turns to make his last stand. He puts up a great fight, a fight that he should have won; but it is down for him to die, and as he dies he asks Achilles please to send his body back to his family. But Achilles says, "The only family that'll be at your funeral, Jack, will be the dog family and the vulture family." So Hector says, "All right, you iron-hearted bastard. You're living on borrowed time yourself. I hope you know it's all set for Paris to get you. Ha ha, my silly little brother, Paris. That's a good one, that is." He dies. Achilles strips the armor off him, and then the other Greeks come up and stick their spears in him, one after the other.

Achilles is spoiled, selfish, swollen-headed, and lacking in team spirit, like a star athlete who goes on strike because he thinks he isn't appreciated, but you never have any trouble believing how good he is once he gets going. Even when he battles a whole river in torrent, you somehow believe it. If you saw that in a movie, what a sequence it would make!

The "Iliad" is also a poem, in case anybody has forgotten. Achilles is trying to cremate Patroclus. He has put his dead friend on the pyre with horses and cattle



and a dozen young Trojans for kindling, but he can't get the fire lighted:

But the pyre of the dead Patroclus kindled not. Then fleet-footed Achilles had a further thought: standing aside from the pyre he prayed to the two winds of the North and West, and promised them fair offerings, and pouring libations from a golden cup besought them to come, that the corpses might blaze up speedily in the fire and the wood make haste to be enkindled. Then Iris, when she heard his prayer, went swiftly with the message to the winds. They, within the house of the West Wind, were feasting all together at meat, when Iris sped thither and halted on their threshold of stone. And when they saw her with their eyes, they sprang up and called to her, everyone to sit by him. But she refused to sit and spoke her word: "No seat for me; I must get back to the streams of the Ocean, to the

Ethiopians' land where they sacrifice hecatombs to the immortal gods, that I too may feast at their rites. But Achilles is praying to the North Wind and to the loud West Wind to come, and promising them fair offerings, that ye may make the fire be enkindled whereon lieth Patroclus, for whom all the Achaians are making moan."

She having thus said, departed, and they rose with a mighty sound, rolling the clouds before them. And swiftly they came blowing over the sea, and the waves rose beneath their shrill blast; and they came to deep-soiled Troy and fell upon the pyre, and loudly reared the mighty fire. So all night drave they the flames of the pyre together, blowing shrill; and all night the fleet Achilles, holding a two-handled cup, drew wine from a golden bowl, and poured it forth and drenched the earth, calling upon the spirit of the hapless Patroclus.

## Can We Win with Planes?

BY DONALD W. MITCHELL

**I**N A period which has seen only moderate naval and air activity and fighting by less than 1 per cent of the troops in our army, blueprints for defeating the Axis have appeared by the score. A campaign in the North Pacific, an invasion of Italy, a land offensive against Japan on the continent of Asia, victory through air power, and even psychological warfare have all had their more or less able advocates. The furor over strategy has produced a few weighty books, several brilliant defenses of military get-rich-quick schemes, and a fair amount of trash.

Most of these books plead a special cause, the use of some one weapon or line of attack. They offer air power *or* land power *or* sea power as the way to victory rather than all three. Because the air-power enthusiasts are the most vocal and persuasive of these special pleaders, it may be useful to survey the role of the airplane in the war to date.

World War II has developed two major uses for the airplane. First, it can be employed in the capacity foreseen by General "Billy" Mitchell and the Italian General Douhet and championed in recent years by Major de Seversky and Al Williams—that is, as a long-range striking weapon which can either win a war alone or so greatly damage economic life and morale as to make subsequent mopping up by army or navy a comparatively simple matter. The current bombing offensive of the Royal Air Force is an example of this use of air power, as was the Luftwaffe's unsuccessful all-out attack on England in 1940. Secondly, air power can be used as

an extension of other forces. It played this role in the battles of Midway and the Coral Sea, and on land was a component part of a victory team in the German conquests of Poland and France and Rommel's defeat of the British in Libya last summer.

A study of the war to date shows us in which of these capacities it has been most effective. As an independent striking force air power has to its credit the destruction of ships, bases, cities, and industries, but it has never dealt a decisive blow. In the German counter-blockade of England, airplanes, despite great geographical advantages, have been only one-fourth as destructive as submarines. The current air offensive over western Germany has enjoyed many advantages—it has had large targets at close range and met inferior defending planes—but the undoubted devastation it has wrought has not crippled Germany's production centers, transportation, or armed forces. Whether it can do so in the future is a question yet unanswered.

On the other hand, as a cooperating force air power has usually been decisive. The exceptions are few. In Libya Rommel defeated an enemy superior in air power but failing to coordinate it effectively with ground forces; in the Burma fighting the A. V. G. for some time held the whiphand over the Japanese air forces, yet the British were steadily pushed back by the invading army. But in most instances an army that has lost command of the air or a naval force whose protecting umbrella of air power has been destroyed is earmarked for defeat.

Air power today is operating in four main theaters—



Egypt, the Soviet Union, Western Europe, and the Pacific. The Pacific is, of course, so vast as to include many lesser arenas. What are the conditions in each of these areas, and what may we expect of air power?

In Egypt the United Nations have had air superiority for at least a year. They have employed their airplanes as an independent striking force—with moderate success—and as a cooperating unit as well. In the first capacity the R. A. F. has hindered the shipment of supplies across the Mediterranean, sinking or crippling a number of ships and badly damaging harbor installations and supply dumps. But though its activities in this field have been of considerable value, they have not compensated for its failure to act in concert with the Army of the Nile. The stunning British defeats of early summer would almost certainly not have occurred had the troops benefited from the aerial reconnaissance and received the close support in battle which the superiority of the R. A. F. made perfectly feasible. The last-ditch stand of the British army before Alexandria was due in no small measure to a change in aerial tactics: the fliers were directed to put cooperation with the army before the bombing of military targets, no matter how tempting. Not aerial weakness but unintelligent use of our aerial strength has been responsible for the Allied disasters in Africa. The solution is being found in an improvement in tactics.

We know less about the air fighting in the Soviet Union. Both sides have used planes as support for their armies rather than as an independent striking force. Neither air force has at any time seriously threatened the destruction of the other, though the surprise and impact of the original German attack handicapped Soviet planes during the first few months of the war. Most of the time the Luftwaffe has been somewhat superior in numbers. Because air operations here and in Libya are usually conducted at low altitudes, some of our older fighter planes have done better on these fronts than elsewhere. The good quality of most types of Soviet planes has refuted the statements of such airmen as Major Al Williams, who before the war dismissed them as valueless misfits. The real surprise, however, has been the success of the Russian Black Sea Fleet in maneuvering under the nose of German air power.

In Western Europe too much was expected of both the R. A. F. and the U. S. Army Air Corps after the June raid on Cologne. There followed loose talk about thousand-plane raids every night and even wilder predictions of raids of five thousand planes a night. Since the replacement and maintenance problems of 1,000-plane raids are almost prohibitive, these expectations were not fulfilled. Only on two occasions, over Emden and Bremen, were the airmen able to repeat; bombing expeditions of from five hundred to a thousand planes have occurred only half a dozen times. Although centers

as far distant as Genoa and Danzig have not been forgotten, attacks have been concentrated on northern France and western Germany. That they have achieved great destruction of material and impairment of morale is revealed by the industries that have been moved elsewhere and the as yet unfulfilled promises of help from both Göring and Goebbels. The summer and fall raids frequently dropped many times the quantity of explosives that fell on Coventry. German retaliation has been weak and intermittent.

The air offensive will increase in scope and effectiveness in the coming months as more American bombers become available for daylight raids and as the longer nights lengthen the range of British night bombers. At the same time, the fact that the Germans have not recalled their air force from Russia proves that Allied air activity is not yet considered a serious threat to German victory. Another disappointing feature of the air war in Europe was the unfortunate failure at Dieppe, in spite of Allied air dominance and close coordination between planes and landing forces.

In the southwestern Pacific, now an active area, the United States has clear-cut qualitative superiority in air power and possibly superior numbers as well. Here airplanes operate both independently and in conjunction with sea and land forces. While the inability of planes alone to prevent Japanese reinforcements and supplies from being landed on Guadalcanal is disappointing, the general record is good. Had sea and land units been managed recently with equal skill, the United Nations would undoubtedly be in a better situation.

At Kiska the Japanese seem destined to take an unmerciful pounding, since nearby American air bases now give us all the advantages. Unless a Siberian campaign is opened, this foothold has lost for the enemy the very slight strategic value it once possessed.

Meanwhile, aerial reinforcements have aided both India and China. In conjunction with the terrain obstacles, the reinforcement of British naval units, and the large Indian army, they have made an immediate Japanese attack on India unlikely. In China they have improved morale and aided the Chinese armies. The limiting factor on their effectiveness has been the difficulty of transportation and supply—especially the supply of gasoline. In evacuating airfields within bombing range of their homeland the Japanese probably knew that these fields could not immediately become bases for Flying Fortresses.

If there is one lesson which the war has emphasized more strongly than any other it is the need for cooperation. Victory is the reward of teamwork, not of brilliant solo performance. A command which has kept our air forces unified with the army and navy has made mistakes but has spared us many of the jealousies and squabbles which have hindered the teamwork of the two services.



# BOOKS *and the* ARTS

## MERRY-GO-ROUND

BY CONSTANCE CARRIER

Out of the sterile eye he sees, or does not see,  
the live ones galloping by in angular grace,  
their manes and their tails blown back by the wind like  
banners,  
their hoofbeats heavily hollow against the ground.

And now the music begins: the machinery starts,  
and the wooden horse moves with it, his lifted forefoot  
ignorant always of motion, of the feel of the ground,  
the flare of his nostril a travesty on breath.

But he gains momentum, and the moving air  
slides over his painted body as over live hide:  
he is carried around the core of the music—around  
and around and faster and faster till surely  
he has come into freedom at last, for almost the hoof  
paws at the air, almost the carved mane breaks  
the pattern to which hand shaped it, almost he leaps  
to run with the others across the measureless meadow.

But the music stops, and the ancient crazy engine  
slows to a grinding halt, and the moment is over,  
and the others, the living ones, gone, and he only left  
tethered,  
staring inscrutably, fiercely, speared on a rod,  
his mane blown back by no wind, his forefoot lifted.

## Brown Among the Brass Hats

*SUEZ TO SINGAPORE.* By Cecil Brown. Random House.  
\$3.50.

**E**XPELLED from Rome, arrested as a spy by the Nazi invaders of Yugoslavia, Cecil Brown reached the Palestine border in high hopes. "Here there were men who wanted to kill Axis soldiers with the same lust to kill that I felt. . . . This was escape, mental and physical, from the Axis."

This honeymoon mood quickly changed to disillusion. Brown got on happily enough with the fighting British, for whose steadfast courage he again and again expresses the utmost admiration, but he was soon at loggerheads with the officials and brass hats. Everywhere he found himself tripping over red tape and banging his head against a blank wall of censorship. Buzzing like an angry bee and stinging every hand that refused to feed him information, or snatched from him the news he had gathered for himself, he tried in vain to make the British authorities see that their cause would be strengthened by giving America unvarnished reporting instead of bed-time stories.

All Mr. Brown's colleagues—including those British correspondents now struggling with censorship in Washington—will sympathize with his tribulations and applaud his

valiant fight. But, it must be admitted, his valor often got the better of his discretion; somewhat suaver methods might have proved more effective in achieving the commendable task he had set himself. Stupid as many of the censors were, they were not always at fault, and some of them may be forgiven for resenting the brashness of a correspondent who, on occasion, seemed to take the attitude that the war was being fought chiefly for its news value and ought to be regulated to conform with American deadlines.

It must be admitted, too, that Brown was given to editorializing in a way which would have made a good copy-desk man, as well as a censor, reach for his blue pencil. For instance, on December 3, 1941, Sir Robert Brooke-Popham, commander-in-chief of the British forces in the Far East, gave a general off-the-record press interview on the subject of probable Japanese moves. He said, in effect, that while Japan might go off the rails, the indications were that it would not attack Britain or America at that time. Brown accurately scribbled on his note-pad: "They think it ain't going to happen"; but when he wrote the story of the interview, he began: "Informed quarters whose reliability unquestioned asserted Japan now virtually certain to engage in military operations and direction will be southward." The censor sent it back reading: "Informed quarters asserted Japan not certain engaging in military operations," which was a much more accurate summary of Brooke-Popham's talk. Brown, however, complains: "That, of course, changed the whole sense. My effort was to try to convey to the American people that war was coming out here. . . . The British still believed that war was not coming." Clearly Brown was a better prognosticator than Brooke-Popham, but as a reporter it was not his job to substitute his own views for those of the authority from whom his story had been derived.

In spite of such lapses, Cecil Brown is normally a good and careful reporter. His greatest story, brilliantly retold in this book, is of course the sinking of the Prince of Wales and the Repulse, a tragedy of which he was an eyewitness and nearly a victim. But apart from a few such set-pieces, the chief interest and value of the book are in its running account of the decline and fall of Singapore. And a grim tale of muddle, mismanagement, and complacency it is. Brown quotes Edgar Mowrer as saying that the legend of Singapore's "impregnability was the greatest hoax ever played on the American public." The truth seems to be that the British authorities, unwilling or unable to divert troops and materials on a really adequate scale to Malaya, built up the legend in the naive belief that they could scare off the Japanese. Instead of bluffing Tokyo—whose spy system functioned with unimpeded efficiency—they succeeded in persuading themselves that nothing would happen. Even the first Japanese raid didn't wake them up. They still relied on the "impassable jungles" of the Malay Peninsula to stop the enemy.

"Suez to Singapore" would be a better book if it were shorter. There are too many personal details, too many



round-by-round accounts of fights with censors, each one depressingly similar to the last. In his broadcast talks Mr. Brown is forced to be terse; he may be allotted exactly three and a half minutes to describe a whole campaign. He can, therefore, be forgiven for seeking relaxation in a literary sprawl between covers. But his publishers would have been doing both him and his readers a service if they had cut this self-indulgence short.

KEITH HUTCHISON

## Four Decades of American Prose

*ON NATIVE GROUNDS.* By Alfred Kazin. Reynal and Hitchcock. \$3.75.

ALFRED KAZIN'S study of the American prose literature of this century is an admirable book. Good in itself, it seems even better when compared with two works of smaller but similar intention, Bernard Smith's passionately dull "Forces in American Criticism" and Maxwell Geismar's dully passionate "Writers in Crisis." Mr. Kazin has no political partisanship to defend, no simple moralism to recommend. He writes with spirit, though an essentially good manner is too often spoiled by too much of itself; his scholarship is notable for range and painstakingness; his taste is mature and discriminating.

It is a good book and a saddening book. Some of its saddening quality is, I feel, unnecessary, but most of it is inescapable. Mr. Kazin believes, and he is right, that the common estimate of our literature has been too lenient, that we still judge our recent literary past with the pleased surprise that we have any books at all. And when it is judged, as Mr. Kazin judges it, by standards more than local, our literature of the last forty years seems far from adequate—seems, indeed, almost to have failed.

In saying this, Mr. Kazin says what is now in many people's minds. Now, in a period of literary pause, when literature seems to be waiting for events to resolve themselves, we naturally turn back to what we have so long considered the periods of fertility; we look for something in the not-so-distant past to fill the present gap, and we find very little. Sydney Smith's famous question was answered long ago: everybody reads an American book. The new question is, "Who rereads an American book?" To be sure, our classic literature of the nineteenth century still stands, but how easily the great names of twenty, fifteen, ten years back have become merely historical and symbolic. They are the names of the men who helped educate us, but can we read them now with the pleasure which, in literature, is profit?

Even when we take into account the natural impulse to overvalue what is contemporary and even if we take for granted that, in any period, the greater number of interesting writers must soon sink out of sight, we cannot help feeling that the proportion of the demodé and the impossible to read is too high. As Scott Fitzgerald said, there are no second acts in American lives, let alone third acts—not in American literary lives. We seldom see a writer grow in power, develop and go on to new things. The typical fate of the American writer is to burst forth with the perception of a moment, impress it on us, exhaust his own vision, and die.

Such, I think, is the saddening fact. It is hard, perhaps impossible, to explain. Mr. Kazin gives a good deal of weight to the rapidity with which American political and social situations change. By the time a writer has encompassed a particular situation it has passed, without giving him a chance to grow into it: to the writer, American life is a series of challenges from an antagonist who steps out of the fight and leaves his opponent flailing the air. And the pressure of rapid change has a provincializing effect, for the American writer becomes so preoccupied with the present and the local that he maintains no adequate relation with the past and the general, with the tradition of Europe or of his own America. Of this Anderson and Dreiser are examples. Then there is the public demand that every book be an event, so that no writer can easily conceive his career as a development; Sinclair Lewis exemplifies the effect of this demand. None of these, of course, is a sufficient explanation; the sad fact remains unexplained.

Yet perhaps Mr. Kazin makes the fact even sadder than it really is. His appreciation of achievement is both delicate and generous, yet he too much inclines to rest his judgments on the inadequacies rather than the accomplishments of a writer's work. Thus, to take a notable example, in dealing with John Dewey, Mr. Kazin ends with Dewey's lack of the tragic sense of life and supports his judgment with a quotation from Yeats. Perhaps this is a pertinent objection to make to Dewey (though it would be better as a comment on him), and I will not dispute it except to say that Dewey is not Yeats and that Yeats does not have the manipulative sense of life; but I think it is not an objection that qualifies, to the extent Mr. Kazin suggests, the monumental work Dewey achieved. So with Edmund Wilson: Mr. Kazin has a just appreciation of both Wilson's powers and limitations; yet he would have been even juster if he had begun with Wilson's limitations and ended with his powers, rather than the other way around.

There is, indeed, a saddening amount of individual failure in our literature, but there is also a heartening amount of general success. The individual figures shrink under close examination, any number of them did not fulfil the promise of their talents: but I cannot help feeling that the general achievement is large. And clearly Mr. Kazin thinks so too—the belief is implicit in the very tone of his book; the very assumptions by which he judges failure could have been made only in a culture that had developed successfully.

I am sorry that the plan of Mr. Kazin's book forced him to exclude the poets. They would have made the picture both more cheerful and more instructive. Not that all our poets are exempt from the judgment of inadequacy. But many of our poets, preoccupied as they are with form, hopeless of appealing to popular taste and of seeming to solve immediate situations, have been able to cultivate the inwardness and growth whose lack in the prose writers Mr. Kazin so often and so rightly deplures. When we have said all the hard things about the obscurity by which they have alienated popular taste, we must see that they, far more than the novelists and critics, have given us that rightness of tone which—we too often forget—is all-important in literature. The very saddest thing we can say of contemporary literature is that so few men's voices ring in our ears as trustworthy



and lovable. I think all of us are beginning to be conscious of sharing Pascal's feeling that what we want is not the "writer" but the "honest man"—remembering of course that the voice of the honest man depends on the honesty of his art. What we have all become so dissatisfied with in our prose writers is exactly the tones of their voices—Anderson's quasi-religious cheerful whine, Wolfe's velvety self-love, Dreiser's sourness, Hemingway's brag, Faulkner's rant. And among the poets there are voices—Frost's, Cummings's, Stevens's, Van Doren's, Louise Bogan's, Ransom's—that can sound right and true.

And this suggests the ground of my disagreement with Mr. Kazin when he attacks the formal critics—Ransom, Tate, Blackmur, Cleanth Brooks—putting them at the opposite pole of critical extravagance from the Marxists. With the political assumptions of these critics, when they have them, I do not agree. With much of their method I have elsewhere expressed disagreement. But these critics with their precise, sometimes too precise, study of poetry have helped remind us what poetry is.

Other readers of Mr. Kazin's book will find other matters about which they will want to argue with him, and their disagreement will be, as mine is, the measure of the respect his book commands. Conceived on a grand scale and as not only a literary but a moral history, it is quite the best and most complete treatment we have of an arduous and difficult subject.

LIONEL TRILLING

## Progressive Unionism

*THE DYNAMICS OF INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY.* By Clinton S. Golden and Harold J. Ruttenberg. Harper and Brothers. \$3.

**L**ABOR practice and theory are coming of age. No longer forced to wage mere guerrilla warfare for recognition, organized labor is broadening the tactical approach to its interests to fit them into the interests of other useful functional groups in the community. The Golden-Ruttenberg book is an important expression of the new unionism.

The book comes out of the experience of the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee, now the Steel Workers' Union, in the years 1937 to 1941, as distilled through the understanding and imagination of a regional director and the research director of the union. Workers come alive in this book, animated by their needs and the needs of the community in which they work and live as workers and citizens. You will not find in these pages either the distortions of the limited old-style unionism or the distortions of "radical" doctrinaires who want to make labor the object of their struggle for totalitarian power. The book is fresh, clear-headed, realistic, yet unyieldingly faithful to labor's interests. It propounds thirty-seven "principles" of union-management relations; most of them are basic, only a few are incidental or dubious. The revealing discussion of many problems—the human as well as economic motives that impel workers to join unions, qualified property right in the job, the workers' quest for security, the case for the union, not the closed shop, the need for industry-wide collective bargaining—is knit together by understanding of the attitudes of both

workers and management and by a broad grasp of economic tendencies and realities.

Case after case might be cited to prove the book's clear-headed, realistic, fresh approach. One of them is the need for wage equalization because of what the new technology is doing to old wage structures. Under the new technology, which is largely automatic, efficiency depends almost wholly on the mechanical equipment, not on the workers. Hence the value of incentive wage systems becomes nil. Moreover, wage rates based on the workers' muscle and skill are no longer an index of performance. Yet in the new continuous-strip steel mills, for example, sheet-metal workers—upon whom output used to depend, whereas it now depends on the equipment—are still paid a specific tonnage rate; this brings about unjust conditions, with one group of workers overpaid and other groups underpaid. It is one of the "most explosive" problems in union-management relations; the Steel Workers' Union is experimentally yet courageously tackling it in a move for equalization of wages.

Golden and Ruttenberg use the term "industrial democracy" in a narrower yet truer sense than the doctrinaire "radicals," to designate a constitutional democratic set-up in industry, where labor and its free unions have definite rights and powers in relation to management and government. It is not the metaphysical "industrial democracy" of communism, which ends in bureaucratic totalitarian mastery over the workers. The Golden-Ruttenberg conception of industrial democracy—democratic relations and inalienable rights in the places where people must work to live—fits into any form of economic organization, from private enterprise to public enterprise and cooperatives.

The Golden-Ruttenberg conception of union-management cooperation is much broader and more progressive than the one that prevailed in the 1920's. The older conception was largely an expression of union weakness; the new is an expression of union strength. While the new conception emphasizes the increased productive efficiency—cases are cited in which cooperation brought efficiency gains ranging from 20 per cent to more than 50 per cent—union-management cooperation as practiced by the Steel Workers' Union is an integral part of collective bargaining and proceeds under definite contractual relations, with machinery for research and planning composed of an equal number of union and management representatives; *no worker loses his job from the greater efficiency that comes of union suggestions.* Moreover, cooperation becomes the foundation of a constitutional order in industry where—in the words of the president of a steel company quoted by the authors—"the union and plant management are a kind of natural check and balance on one another."

The book closes with a plea for more governmental economic activity and planning to bring full production, which cannot be brought by collective bargaining and union-management cooperation. This is the least satisfactory part of the book since its argument is limited almost exclusively to the "industry council" idea, for which too much is claimed. More exciting and significant is the fact that the authors see what so many liberal intellectuals do not see—the danger of statism, the need to confine the state's new powers to those spheres where they are indispensable while



allowing the largest measure of self-government to all useful functional groups in the community.

In a free society [they write] private groups can fail to settle their problems in direct relationships only at the peril of their independent existence, because each unsettled social and economic problem eventually finds its way into the halls of Congress. And when the government assumes final responsibility for the solution of these problems, private groups must forfeit certain freedoms and powers. Government action in the field of social and economic matters should be in the form of assisting private groups in our economy toward a solution. . . . The future of free America might well hinge on the extent to which industry will go in cooperation with organized labor, and government will go in encouraging it.

LEWIS COREY

## The Carrier Lex

**QUEEN OF THE FLAT-TOPS.** By Stanley Johnston. E. P. Dutton and Company. \$3.

**I**T WAS a new kind of war to which Stanley Johnston sailed when the aircraft carrier Lexington set out from Hawaii one morning last spring for the South Seas. The experience was almost as new to the navy as it was to the lone newspaper reporter aboard. The Lex, as navy men called her, was twenty years old, but they had been peace years, and her wars had been fought on blackboards.

On this cruise she was put to the test, and so was her brand of warfare. She became the first American carrier to engage an enemy carrier in battle, and she sank it. She played the starring role in the war's first major naval engagement, the Battle of the Coral Sea, which was so predominantly aerial that the contending surface ships never came within gunshot of each other; the carriers and their planes decided the issue. She made history, and she went to the bottom in flames.

Mr. Johnston saw it all. His recounting of it is not too smoothly woven together; for the most part it is unadorned, and better so. He does not belong to the introspective school of war correspondents. His hero is the Lex, not himself, and he does not mention the fact that her commander asked the navy to cite him for heroism for having dragged seared men from the fires inside her in her dying hours. Later he and his paper, the *Chicago Tribune*, were under fire from the Navy Department because his background analysis of the Battle of Midway was supposed to have given away secrets. A grand jury cleared them. No one who reads this book could believe that Mr. Johnston would knowingly write a single word injurious to the navy.

If anything, he is over-enthusiastic. He likens the Lexington's battles to the conflict between the Monitor and Merrimac as a turning-point in naval warfare. To him the aircraft carrier is supreme, despite the loss of the Lex, and his book makes a convincing case. The battleship simply is not in the picture. Whether land-based planes will outmode the carrier, as Major de Seversky maintains, is a question at present irrelevant in these vast ocean areas of the Pacific; no land planes with sufficient range are available.

The value of Mr. Johnston's book lies in his fascinating

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details about the new warfare he watched. When dive-bombers attacked an enemy aircraft carrier, they started at 16,000 feet and followed each other down in the same track, "like salmon flashing over an immense waterfall." Scout planes two hundred miles at sea identified themselves by girls' names in reporting back to the Lex by radio: "Jean to carrier. Concentration enemy shipping Tulagi." A pilot in the clouds above the Lex reported a Japanese four-motored seaplane, and the carrier asked where it was. "Wait a minute and I'll show him to you," replied the pilot; sure enough, a minute or two later a large ball of fire spun to the water in the midst of the fleet. In the last hours of the Lex, when the ammunition was about to blow up, the men waiting to be rescued calmly ate up the ship's ice cream.

Mr. Johnston's book offers something no other correspondent has been able to write—a tale of war pioneers in action.

MARCUS DUFFIELD

## To God via Semantics

*PHILOSOPHY IN A NEW KEY: A STUDY IN THE SYMBOLISM OF REASON, RITE, AND ART.* By Susanne K. Langer. Harvard University Press. \$3.50.

*PATHS OF LIFE: PREFACE TO A WORLD RELIGION.* By Charles Morris. Harper and Brothers. \$3.

THESE two books testify to a rather startling development, which has its tinge of irony. Hitherto theory of signs, or "semantics," has been chiefly associated—and especially in its popular manifestations—with debunking. The debunking has usually been directed against metaphysics, art, ethics, and religion in behalf of the scientific attitude. With Dr. Langer and Professor Morris, however, a more thorough philosophical exploration of semiotics—as the study is called by philosophers—has led to the conviction that science is not enough, that the symbols of art and religion have their indispensable value. Neither of the two philosophers in question, indeed, has been primarily a debunker. But both have acquired their reputations principally as students of the scientific uses of language. Mrs. Langer, of Radcliffe, has written an excellent "Introduction to Symbolic Logic," and Professor Morris, of Chicago, is an editor of the "International Encyclopedia of Unified Science" and the author of "Foundations of the Theory of Signs," a synthesis of those scientifically minded doctrines, positivism and pragmatism.

Mrs. Langer declares that for our age the key to both scientific and humanistic problems is the study of "symbolic transformation." This study is considerably more inclusive than what has been popularized as "semantics," and wider even than philosophy of language. In "Philosophy in a New Key," Mrs. Langer attempts to treat the scientific of ritual, myth, and art. To this end she draws upon the findings of psychoanalysis, anthropology, and aesthetic criticism as well as upon those sciences which have previously been the focus of semiotics.

What is distinctive about her philosophical approach is that it is, to put it technically, naturalistic without being reductive. The study of artistic and religious symbolism has for the most part been carried on by idealists who have been

more concerned with establishing a transcendental source for mind than with analyzing its operations. When empirical and naturalistic thinkers, on the other hand, tackle these problems, they usually employ a heavy hand. They force the non-scientific uses of symbols into the scientific categories; or they dismiss them as "emotive"; or they "explain" them by means of such crude concepts as glandular functioning or conditioned reflexes. Mrs. Langer starts from the principle that man has characteristically human needs, and the chief of these is the need of symbolization. Man is the talking animal, the symbol-making animal. Other creatures use signs, but only man has the developed capacity to use symbols. Signs are proxies for objects, events, or situations—indications of their existence, past, present, or future; they are merely instrumental to action. Symbols, on the other hand, are both instruments and ends. Their primary function is representative, and they represent conceptions as well as objects. Man has a compulsive need to transform his experience into symbols, so that symbolization is an activity pursued in part for its own sake.

Mrs. Langer accepts the highly speculative theory of the "festal" origin of language, according to which speech becomes fixed in the rituals generated in the play-excitement following successful communal enterprise. Expressions whose meanings are thus established are applied to similar feelings and perceptions outside the festive situation, and speech develops by the dual processes of "emendation" and "metaphor."

Ritual and myth, then, are the twin sources of symbolism. Ritual begins in motor tendencies, and has as its chief function the articulation of emotional and practical attitudes toward the world. Myth begins in dream-fantasy, and develops through the folk tale, heroic legend, and epic into a coherent picture of social and cosmic forces, imaginatively represented.

From here on, symbolism branches out in two divergent directions. One is toward the logical and scientific functions of speech, which create language. The chief characteristics of language are a vocabulary of elements with fixed meanings, definite rules of syntax, and the logical implications that flow from these. The other direction of symbolism is toward artistic expression. Music, the art which receives most of the author's attention, is not, properly speaking, a language, for its notes do not constitute a vocabulary, since they do not have in isolation definite meanings which are retained when they are combined. Yet music is not mere self-expression; it has a semantic function. It represents and communicates "emotions, moods, mental tensions, and resolutions"; it gives a "logical picture of sentient, responsive life"; it is "a source of insight, not a plea for sympathy." It is suggested that the characteristic function of art in general is to give us a similar "knowledge by acquaintance" of our affective life.

The book concludes with a plea that our ethical and social thinking should take into account the universal human need for imaginative as well as logical symbolism. Man "can adapt himself somehow to anything that his imagination can cope with, but he cannot deal with chaos." Since logical symbolism does not suffice to organize our emotional and ethical attitudes, we need also the "charged" symbols with



multiple meanings which have been supplied in the past by art and religion. "A life that does not incorporate some degree of ritual, of gesture and attitude, has no mental anchorage. It is prosaic to the point of total indifference, purely casual, devoid of that structure of intellect and feeling which we call 'personality.'"

In "Paths of Life," Charles Morris is less concerned with the general theory of symbolism than with establishing a set of concrete symbols which can help us to understand and direct our lives in a chaotic age. The conflicts of our time have emphasized the need for a "basic orientation of the total personality," and this, he declares, is the religious need. Yet no one of the existing traditions can now fill this need.

The first task, he holds, is to find a scheme for classifying the principal components of human personality. The components he singles out are the "Dionysian," "Promethean," and "Buddhistic," which consist respectively of the emotionally expansive tendencies, the active or manipulating tendencies, and the tendencies leading to self-restraint. Combined in various proportions, these give rise to six personality types, which he classifies as the Buddhist, Dionysian, Promethean, Christian, Apollonian, and Mohammedan. Arts, doctrines, and cultures take their form from the personality types which prevail in them.

Each of the six, however, Morris says, neglects some important aspects of human nature. So he proposes for our allegiance a new ideal of personality which he calls, after the future Enlightened One prophesied by Gautama Buddha, the Maitreyan. This is the completely balanced man, who will hold the Dionysian, Promethean, and Buddhistic components in equal proportion. Maitreyan man's goal is "detached attachment"; this consists in a critical humanism which seeks to absorb the partial insights of other points of view without falling into an amorphous eclecticism. Morris conceives Maitreyanism as not merely an ethics but a religion, and in an appendix he contributes some free-verse psalms to its liturgy.

Such attempts to *will* a religion have their sanguine side, and it is easy to laugh at them. Certain objections will readily occur: that religions in the past have not been created by fiat but by a slow and secular growth, that similar efforts, from the French Revolution's worship of the goddess of Reason, through Auguste Comte's Religion of Humanity, to the humanistic cult of the Reverend Mr. Potter of Chicago, have failed to win popular allegiance. A difficulty with the first two of these, at least, was that they attempted to cut a religion out of whole cloth. Professor Morris seems to be aware of the problem, since he says that in America we have our Christian and Promethean traditions to build on. A still further problem is the absence today of a rich popular store of myth, legend, and folk art such as frequently has blossomed into high religion. But our civilization is self-conscious as no previous one, and it is unlikely that a worthy new religious movement, if possible at all, would "just grow." The need which Mrs. Langer and Professor Morris are concerned with is such a tragically evident one that we should give ear to our prophets, however strange and uncouth may be the mantles they wear.

PHILIP BLAIR RICE

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## The Sorcerer as Elegist

*PARTS OF A WORLD.* By Wallace Stevens. Knopf. \$2.

THE toucan is an enchanting bird. He is perky and pensive by turns. His round eye flashes as he eats, but when he has swallowed, the long beak bends slowly down, now to one side, now to the other, and the head is the head of a skeptic. Wallace Stevens, who often writes of toucans, is the most entrancing of them. But now he seems to have swallowed his magical world for good, and to watch him sadly contemplate the darkening scene is to wish, sometimes, that he were an eagle.

For it takes an eagle, preferably a Yeats eagle, to be at ease on the heights to which Stevens here aspires. Of course, he may become one: his growth has been steadily manifest these past twenty years. In "Harmonium" he created an enchanted country, uniquely rounded, wholly credible. It has its pathos, but chiefly that of individual yearning for a more perfect imagined universe: the "idea of a colony" in "The Comedian as the Letter C," the "paradise" of "Sunday Morning." In the two subsequent collections, "Ideas of Order" and "The Man with the Blue Guitar," the conflict of such longings with the increasingly cruel outer world is dramatized, and the poet's power grows with his theme. Once it was Crispin, the aesthete "comedian," "green crammer of the green fruits of the world," who sought a "mythology of self." Now it is "all people," those who "cry and cry for help," that must find again "the warm antiquity of self." And when the search leads to defeat and despair,

Stevens approaches the tragic, as in *The Men That Are Falling*, which I consider his most intensely moving poem. But the present collection reveals that he has been experimenting with that perilous thing, the poet's answer to his own predicament.

Our time makes such answers peculiarly hard, because the predicament is largely imposed by the very formation of a poetic personality, a creative ambience. Colossal effort of will is needed in order to dwell for the needed time "where," as Henry James phrased it, "in the dim underworld of fiction, the great glazed tank of art, strange silent subjects float." And this effort necessitates a severance from the actual. How is the artist to "return," to set his art right with the world, if to do so he must employ the only creative processes he knows, those which established his unique world, his true mythical self?

As with Yeats, Stevens's attempt involves some rejection of former aims. Yeats "banished heroic mother moon and vanished, came to look upon the timid sun"; and Stevens cries, in *Montrachet-le-Jardin*, the most successful of these poems: "Bastard châteaux and smoky demoiselles, / No more. I can build towers of my own, / There to behold, there to proclaim, the grace / And free requiting of the responsive fact, / To project the naked man in a state of fact, / As acutest virtue and ascetic trove." But he doesn't build the towers; he chiefly proclaims that he can. In the series entitled *Examination of the Hero in a Time of War* he does make an impressive effort at construction, developing—by his accustomed devious routes, but with fewer green vistas than before—a concept of the hero as a redeeming, radiant force inherent in humanity: neither the superior "Leader" nor the uncreative "common man," but "Instead of allegory, / We have and are the man, capable / Of his brave quickenings, the human / Accelerations that seem inhuman." It is good doctrine, strongly and often beautifully stated, but not with the light and music, pensive and perky by turns, that made his other world so livable. These are more evident in the shorter, more personal poems, many of which are extremely lovely, notably *On the Road Home* and *The Hand as a Being*, utterances of a contemplative yet quickening love of the sensible world.

Stevens himself, as one would expect from so sure a critic of his work, seems disquieted by this development. He finds it necessary to append a comment stating that in war time "consciousness takes the place of the imagination." I assume that by "consciousness" he means "intelligence," but the choice of words is revealing. As the "unconscious" imagined world fades, the force that created it is supplanted by the endeavor to *understand* the total world—or so Stevens feels. But this feeling indicates that his is not the invincible imagination of the supreme poet, an imagination that always feeds, peace or war, week day or holiday, on precisely that "consciousness," in Stevens's sense of the word. Why, as it increases, does a Yeats grow greater, a Stevens become unsure? For one thing: toucan or eagle, Stevens's imagination matured in a willed detachment, Yeats's in a willed togetherness with the past and present of his nation. Such factors may have nothing to do with the difference between talent and genius, but they certainly affect the capacity of self-renewal.

FRANK JONES

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## IN BRIEF

**THE STATUS SYSTEM OF A MODERN COMMUNITY.** By W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt. Volume II, Yankee City Series. Yale University Press. \$3.

This is the second of six volumes in the most elaborate study of an American city ever made. The study is important, and this volume deals with a fresh and badly underworked aspect of American life. But the authors bury their readers under an avalanche of matter-of-fact summaries of statistical tables and charts. It is regrettable that such a magnificent study has been put together by the mechanical routine of the assembly-line. Professor Warner and his staff here analyze how the 17,000 people in a New England city, classified in six social classes (from upper upper to lower lower), group themselves into associations, cliques, economic, political, religious, and other structures. This has never been done before, and it is an important thing to do, particularly at this time when we Americans confront the urgent necessity of discovering how to weld our society together more securely and effectively. But the point in studying static structure is to get on beyond it to the understanding of dynamic interaction. And the authors largely let things stand as structure. The treatment of the phenomenon of "social class" is typical. The authors dislike "class" as the nasty controversial concept Karl Marx talked about; so they attempt to get down beneath the solid fact of "class" as an economic phenomenon to its allegedly more real essence in "social status." This procedure succeeds so well that it largely blunts the cutting edge of "class" as a dynamic analytical concept for dealing with the life of an industrial city.

**UNTIL THAT DAY.** By Kressmann Taylor. An Eagle Book, Distributed by Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. \$2.75.

The author of "Address Unknown" does a quiet, circumstantial but inevitably dramatic account of the Lutheran Church's fight against Nazism. Karl Hoffman, the son of a pastor in Magdeburg, was a student at the time of Hitler's coming to power; he joined his father in maintaining God against the swastika—a heroic battle and an uneven one in which the father is killed and the son is in constant danger until his final escape to America. A

book to prove that at least some part of the church can and will fight when once it recognizes fascism's threat to its existence.

**FAIR IS OUR LAND.** Edited by Samuel Chamberlain. Introduction by Donald Moffat. Hastings House. \$5.

A fine collection of strong, clean, and unpretentious photographs, weakened by the inclusion of a few insipid etchings. There are no contributions from the "Tobacco Road" school of photography, but an abundance of technically superb images of often fabulously beautiful landscapes. By way of foreword Mr. Moffat has deliberately written something so "fine" that even this hardened reader of picture-book prefaces still does not believe it to be possible.

**THE PORT OF NEW ORLEANS.** By Harold Sinclair. Doubleday, Doran and Company. \$3.50.

New Orleans, by all odds the most romantic American seaport, receives the least romantic treatment of any so far covered in the Seaport Series. As there is no dearth of romantic books on the subject, which possesses enough fascination to stand the most straightforward account, this is not in itself a drawback. The political and social history of New Orleans, however, is subdued to a mere adjunct of its economic rise and fall as the gateway to the Mississippi Valley, and its atmosphere and charm are dealt with in a rather grudging final chapter tacked on as compensation. The author's whole attitude is sharp and hard-boiled, doubtless in reaction to the lush travel writers. One is glad to have his plain facts but wishes for greater sympathy and proportion in their presentation. It is also a pity that he has not refrained from topical reflections more suited to newspaper correspondence, which will date the book almost immediately. Few subjects lend themselves better to illustration; but the pictures included are few, random, and not particularly interesting.

**WHAT'S IN A NOVEL.** By Helen E. Haines. Columbia University Press. \$2.75.

The object of the book is to survey the content of the novel rather than to discuss styles or evaluate achievements in purely literary terms. Nevertheless, judgments are often made, upon the basis of a somewhat indiscriminating appetite. Several useful chapters deal

with the European and South American novel as it has been translated into English. Miss Haines's volume might serve fairly well as a reader's guide, though the effects of her chapter on Reviewing a Novel might well be disastrous to one aiming to develop his critical insight.

## RECENTLY PUBLISHED

*Aishah, the Beloved of Mohammed.* By Nabia Abbott. Chicago. \$2.50.

*When Doctors Are Rationed.* By Dwight Anderson and Margaret Baylous. Coward-McCann. \$2.

*The St. Lawrence.* By Henry Beston. Farrar and Rinehart. \$2.50.

*Primer for Combat.* By Kay Boyle. Simon and Schuster. \$2.50.

*The War in Maps: An Atlas of the New York "Times" Maps.* Text by Francis Brown. Maps by Emil Herlin. Oxford. \$1.50.

*Lower Mississippi.* By Hodding Carter. Farrar and Rinehart. \$2.50.

*The Hormones in Human Reproduction.* By George W. Corner. Princeton. \$2.75.

*Time to Enquire: How Can We Restore the Freedom, Opportunity, and Dignity of the Average Man?* By Samuel Crowther. John Day. \$2.75.

*Flush Production: The Epic of Oil in the Gulf-Southwest.* By Gerald Forbes. Oklahoma. \$2.75.

*Memories of Happy Days.* By Julian Green. Harper. \$3.

*Safe Deliverance.* By Frederick C. Irving, M. D. Houghton Mifflin. \$3.

*How to Be Fit.* By Robert Kiphuth. Yale. \$2.

*The Starlit Dome: Studies in the Poetry of Vision.* By G. Wilson Knight. Oxford. \$4.50.

*On Borrowed Peace.* By Prince Hubertus zu Loewenstein. Doubleday, Doran. \$3.

*The Last Man Comes Home.* American Travel Journals, 1941-1942, of Stephen Longstreet. Random House. \$3.

*Men and Ideas: An Informal History of Chinese Political Thought.* By Lin Mou-sheng. John Day. \$2.50.

*Plays for Americans: Thirteen New Non-Royalty Radio Plays.* By Arch Oboler. Farrar and Rinehart. \$2.50.

*Willard Gibbs.* By Muriel Rukeysner. Doubleday, Doran. \$3.50.

*Dogsled Apostles.* By A. H. Savage. Sheed and Ward. \$2.75.

*The Theory of Capitalist Development.* By Paul M. Sweezy. Oxford. \$4.

*Francis Parkman: Heroic Historian.* By Mason Wade. Viking. \$4.50.

*Dust Tracks on a Road: An Autobiography.* By Zora Neale Hurston. Lippincott. \$3.

*German Philosophy and Politics.* By John Dewey. Putnam's. \$2.

*German Psychological Warfare.* Edited by Ladislav Farago. Putnam's. \$3.



*This Is America.* By Eleanor Roosevelt and Frances Cooke Macgregor. Putnam's. \$3.

*America and the Axis War.* By Denys Smith. Macmillan. \$3.

*I Came Out of the Eighteenth Century.* By John A. Rice. Harper. \$3.

## MUSIC

THIS man, is he a musician—or is he a musicologist?" was the way one great musician expressed his opinion not only of a statement in a book, and of the man who had written it, but incidentally of what musicologists feel and think and find to say about music. The musicologists' own opinion of the value of their activities was expressed in Dr. Lang's statement in the *American Scholar*—that the public would get the guidance it needed when newspapers opened their columns to the scholars. They do not contend merely that their investigations into matters like "Dissonance in Early Polyphony up to Tinctoris" establish valuable facts in the history of musical language and style, or that their investigations into the relation of a musical style to the other human activities of its period establishes valuable facts in the history of culture; they contend instead that knowledge of such facts is indispensable for the complete experience and correct understanding of music as music. When they insist on our being aware of the relation between a piece of music and the other activities of its period it is not merely to give us correct notions about history: we are, as I understand it, to take Mozart's G minor or Beethoven's Op. 130 as a communication of the conditions, forces, tendencies of its period. Certainly it is possible to discover in a Cézanne still-life relations of its elements to what operated on Cézanne as he painted it—not only the work of other painters and their ideas about painting, but the general ideas and attitudes, the social and political conditions of his time. But it is possible also for a person with no notion of these relations to take the still-life for what it is and what it was intended to be—something exercising power on mind and emotions as an arrangement of pictorial elements. And so with one of Mozart's symphonies or Beethoven's last quartets.

Addressing a meeting of his fellows, Dr. Curt Sachs pointed out how they served music: "To music, elapsing in time and fading into oblivion, we give

memory, permanence, and the dignity that history alone can yield." I have myself commented from time to time on the fact that while certain important works are played over and over again others are left unperformed; I have made this point about concertos of Mozart, sonatas, symphonies, quartets of Haydn, Berlioz's "Romeo and Juliet," "Childhood of Christ," "Trojans." But it is not such music that the musicologists serve. True, we are indebted to Dr. Alfred Einstein for the experience of those superb Haydn symphonies which the New Friends of Music let us hear for the first time: it was he who reconstructed the scores from various manuscripts of the parts. But Dr. Einstein, after giving us those Haydn symphonies, gave us two utterly inconsequential entr'actes from Mozart's "Thamos, King of Egypt." And the unfamiliar music of Handel promised by a public concert of the International Congress of the American Musicological Society a few years ago turned out to be mere exercises in which the youthful Handel tried his hand in styles of his period.

So with the music of earlier centuries, which Dr. Sachs probably was referring to. Musicologists are concerned about the belief of some people that nothing written before Bach is worth attention. "Music," wrote Dr. Lang in his article, "was a vital part of the culture of all ages and was affected by the same intellectual tendencies that animated the other arts and letters of the time"—the point being that the intellectual tendencies in early centuries which produced great literature and painting and architecture must have produced music as great as these other arts, and as great as the Mozart symphonies and Beethoven quartets of later centuries. But this contention is refuted by our own century, which has produced the painting of Picasso, among others, but no music of comparable magnitude: it is possible, then, for early centuries which produced great architecture or painting to have produced less great music, or music which satisfied their emotional requirements but not ours. And the contention is made not on behalf of the music of Victoria, Lassus, Palestrina, Byrd, the other English madrigalists, Monteverdi, Purcell—which many music-lovers do know and find beautiful; but on behalf of things like the inconsequential little pieces which Dr. Sachs offered us recently with the comment that "the music in this album is not 'ancient music'; stale, dusty, and at best a curio for historically minded snobs. It is no more

'ancient' than Rembrandt's painting or Gothic cathedrals."

Almost inevitably the crying up of what is remote involves a crying down of what is immediate—which, as inevitably, lessens the guiding influence and authority that Dr. Lang explicitly demands for the musicologists and that Dr. Sachs apparently resents their not getting. The newspapers have opened their columns to communications from Dr. Lang which have elaborated some of the points in his *American Scholar* article, and which like that article have been curiously unscholarly in their intemperateness and confusion of thought and expression and in their misrepresentation of fact to make it fit into their conceptual patterns. Like Dr. Graf's concept of the musical theater with which he flogs everything after the Greek, and Dr. Sachs's concept of the dance with which he flogs modern "phenomena of a social degeneration from the primitive typus," is Dr. Lang's concept of the "fundamental approach to an understanding of music" with which he flogs the musical life of today as he creates it to fit into his argument. This approach is "the road of intimate choral music, chamber music, piano music, and songs" performed, as they were written to be performed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in the home. With it he attacks the transfer of this music to "a huge auditorium," where the chamber music "began to transgress its limits and assume certain orchestral characteristics ill-befitting its nature," where the songs were "bellowed . . . by an operatic prima donna intent on bringing down the house," and where music which had been something people "literally lived with" became instead something they "face . . . as exhibition." And with it he attacks also the music for large orchestra written expressly for the large concert hall. But a man who argues that because music once was written to be performed by small groups of instruments or voices in a home composers today must not write for a large orchestra and we must not listen to quartets in Town Hall; who for this purpose misrepresents the Budapest Quartet's concerts of chamber music or Elisabeth Schumann's recitals of *Lieder*; who contends that we who listen to this music performed in a concert hall are affected by it less than an Esterhazy or a Lobkowitz who listened to it performed in his ballroom—such a man must be prepared to have us decline his guidance.

B. H. HAGGIN



# Letters to the Editors

## Religion and Democracy

*Dear Sirs:* It is unfortunate that we constantly misquote the Gettysburg Address—in the sense that any passage taken out of its context and without essential qualifications is misquoted. We emphasize "government of the people, by the people, for the people" as if it were Lincoln's belief that such government is an absolute guaranty of freedom and that the "people" are immune to greed, nationalism, vindictiveness, lust for power, and the like. The passage is qualified by the hope "that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom," but this is overlooked by those who regard God as, at best, an unessential decoration, useful to beautify such things as are found to be worthy and deserving on other grounds. This was certainly not Lincoln's opinion. The two passages, read together, convey the message that government of the people is possible only under God.

While it has many implications, the principle is so easily explained that it took a highly sophisticated generation to ignore it. Since there must be established peace and order in society, man has the alternatives of submission to the power of other men and submission to objective standards which we revere as emanating from God. Either restraint by other men or restraint by the consciousness of a binding, although unverifiable, commandment—logic leaves no third possibility.

A reference to Jefferson will inevitably be opposed to the quotation from Lincoln. Jefferson believed in the saving force of human reason, as Lincoln did not do (see his Second Inaugural Address). But Jefferson, implicitly always and explicitly in several passages, believed in the reason in a man endowed with a Protestant conscience. Jefferson had little use for the living God of Christianity, but he depended on the man shaped by a belief in God, the sturdy, sober man educated by Puritanism.

It would be futile to deny that a genuine ethic can exist as an autonomous code, independent of the religion from which it was derived. But it can so exist only in individuals and for but a few generations. Such an ethic persists for a time because, though its representatives have forsworn religion, religion

is still vigorous in them and keeps their eyes bright and their souls clean. It is as if the roots of a tree were drying up but the sap continued, for a while, to circulate in the trunk and twigs. It would be an error to infer that the tree could live if its roots had no sustenance, and religion is the sustenance of moral life.

The human soul is so constructed that it needs religion, needs a doctrine about the meaning and the center of life. When genuine religion is destroyed, man fills the vacuum with some inferior substitute, something that satisfies the psychological need for worship but misguides him because it is wrong. Genuine religion speaks in terms of dogma. That the world is one and demands to be organized by justice for peace is implied in the dogma of monotheism. It must be accepted or rejected, but it cannot be proved or refuted in terms of science.

In a scientific age, which insists on the tangible and verifiable, religion is discarded for science. But being the religious animal, man gradually succumbs to a pseudo-religion—a dogmatic, unverifiable belief which now informs his life and is mistaken for a scientific truth because it refers to something tangible. Intellectual progress, technics, nationalism, proletarian dictatorship, racialism—such are the new absolutes which absorb people's minds and are expected to conquer evil.

Nothing has contributed more to discrediting religion than the terrible religious wars of former centuries. As man fled from religion to escape the wars over religious dogma, he ran into wars stemming from pseudo-religions, from nationalism, and now finally from the racial horror.

Religion itself cannot be conceived with absolute clarity by man, because his mind is obstructed by prejudices and temptations. To these the representatives of organized religion are not immune. They should be the guardians of the standards of judgment, but they have been discredited by their political aspirations, culminating in the religious wars. Today, many Catholic churchmen have let themselves be swept off their feet by greedy appeasement interests, and many Protestant churchmen by a self-loving, cynical political pacifism. Both groups have been guilty of collusion with Hitlerism.

But these failings do not constitute an argument against religion any more than the abuse of science for war purposes or the nationalist fervor of professors provides an objection to scientific truth. They only prove that human minds are not clean and receptive vessels—which is precisely the assertion of Christianity. It follows that Christian democracy is not clericalism. Yet we need the churches, where the gospel is preached and the standards of judgment are preserved as a constant warning to erring men.

Religion does not make democracy safe; it only makes it possible. Religion does not make man good; he always remains liable to error and temptation, even though he knows the divine commandment. But the important thing which makes him man is that he does know the divine commandment, although he may violate it.

Christianity is not a religion for good men but for sinners. It gives them the hope that repentance will help them rise above the injustices they have committed and give them a new start, "a new birth." Christianity is the doctrine of renascence through repentance.

To say that democracy is right and totalitarianism is wrong is not convincing, for everyone realizes from his own experience that democracy today is morally weak and has failed badly. It has been unjust and indifferent enough to tolerate unemployment at home and chaos in the small states of Southeastern Europe which it established. It left it to Hitler to abolish unemployment by building his huge military machine and to give those small states a function within the German economic orbit. It thus made Hitler great. And it did not oppose him when there was time to do it. Appeasers, pacifists, and Communists, although fighting one another, co-operated in preventing resistance to the monster.

In short, democracy, originating in the founding of the Swiss Confederacy, the great discussions in the Cromwellian army, and the emigration of Roger Williams from Massachusetts, has been sadly sagging of late in spirit and virtue. It used to know that it could exist only on a foundation of democratic virtue. Today we do not teach virtue because we pretend to believe that it is a by-product of knowledge. A morally



disintegrating democratic world disintegrates politically too and is visited by Hitlerism, its own product.

Now at last we come to realize, with a shock, the implications and consequences of our misdeeds, and this is our hope. If democracy is really shocked out of its moral laziness, it may become ripe for, and capable of, the repentance which will bring it, under God, a new birth of freedom.

EDUARD HEIMANN

New York, October 28

## Neither Hitler nor Hapsburg

*Dear Sirs:* The clear statement in Miss Kirchwey's article on Hapsburg Hopes, in *The Nation* of October 24, that support for the idea of a Hapsburg restoration "would be taken as an unfriendly act and would seriously injure our relations with our allies in exile" is undoubtedly right. Let me add that support of the Hapsburgs would be felt as an unfriendly act not only by the Czechs, Poles, and Yugoslavs, but also by the great majority of the Austrian people. This fact is easily proved. The dethronement of the Hapsburgs and the confiscation of their property were voted unanimously by the Austrian Parliament. Since 1918 the Monarchists have not been able to obtain a single seat in the Austrian Parliament of 165 members, in any election.

It is true that during the dark times of semi-fascism, from 1934 to 1938, Otto Hapsburg was made an honorary citizen of many communities, but this was done by the mayors, who were not elected by the people but appointed by the dictator. Not one of the freely elected municipal councils of Austria voted to make Otto an honorary citizen.

There is not the slightest indication that these anti-monarchist convictions of the Austrians have changed. It is clear rather that monarchism is but the plaything of a handful of refugees, not the serious concern of the people.

It is not true that Hapsburg propaganda interferes with Hitler's policy. On the contrary, Hapsburg propaganda splits the anti-fascist front in Austria and paralyzes its most active section, the workers. The Austrian people have been strongly impressed by the fact that one of the relatives of Otto, the Archduke Albrecht, is at present fighting shoulder to shoulder with the Nazis against the Yugoslavs.

It is now very important to convince the Austrian people, especially the workers, that the Atlantic Charter is

really the basis of the policy of the United Nations, that after the war every nation will have the right to decide its own destiny. If some "salons" in Washington and New York are playing at "Imperial Court" it is of course their private business; they probably do not realize that their play provides support for Goebbels's propaganda.

That is why I am taking the liberty of sending you these lines: to add my warning to yours, to point out clearly the danger in the Hapsburg aspirations. The only possible slogan for the whole of Central Europe is: "Neither Hitler nor Hapsburg." JULIUS DEUTSCH

Former Secretary of War in Austria  
New York, October 30

## The Broadcasters and the Cooperatives

*Dear Sirs:* I write to express my appreciation for the editorial in your issue of October 17 criticizing N. B. C. and C. B. S. for their ban on the proposed broadcasts of the Cooperative League of the United States. In my opinion, no clearer case has ever existed of the power of big business to control and decide what the public can listen to. Freedom of speech and expression is meaningless unless those of us working day in and out to establish economic democracy have the opportunity to state the facts and let the people of this country voluntarily choose for themselves the type of business enterprise they want to support or own. I urge all *Nation* readers to write N. B. C. and C. B. S. protesting against the ban.

BENJAMIN B. NAUMOFF,

President, Eastern Cooperative League  
Schenectady, N. Y., October 26

*Dear Sirs:* The reason given by the Columbia Broadcasting System for its refusal of time to the Cooperative League, namely, that the code of the National Association of Broadcasters prohibits the sale of time for programs devoted to "public controversial issues," is quibbling.

What about the Town Hall programs, those fine weekly events which show that the radio can give us something better than jazz, wisecracks, and soap dramas? Many of its discussions are about nothing but controversial issues. One has only to recall the argument on the poll tax on October 22 or the famous Ickes-Gannett fracas!

CHARLES HERBERT HUESTIS

Edmonton, Canada, October 23

## Training for Pacifists

*Dear Sirs:* A recent issue of *The Nation* referred to the fact that a number of conscientious objectors were taking courses to prepare to serve as administrative officials in relief and reconstruction agencies in occupied countries. You went on to say "the pacifists will be trained as civilian aides to the military men."

It is not correct that the pacifists are being trained as civilian aides to the military men. The pacifists, who were selected from Civilian Public Service Camps throughout the country, have no obligation whatever to the army or navy or any other government agency. They will work for such organizations as the American Friends Service Committee as opportunity opens after the war.

A. J. MUSTE, Executive Secretary,  
Fellowship of Reconciliation  
New York, October 21

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## *The Shape of Things*

IF JOSEF GOEBBELS KNOWS THE ART OF propaganda as well as he is supposed to, he must surely be longing to clamp a censor's hand over the mouth of his Führer. After all, this is no time for the victorious leader of a *Herrenvolk* to lose his nerve and dwell darkly on the fate of the late Kaiser. What can the master race think when, with the first strong gusts of adversity, their demigod tells them that "even in critical times" he won't "go abroad" like his royal predecessor? In the same speech there is the coy reference to Stalingrad, suddenly "not worth a second Verdun." And, finally, the whining complaint about the havoc wrought by the R. A. F.: "Do not think that my heart does not break when I hear of those air attacks. You know that I have not done anything like that. . . . I did not allow a single bomb on Paris. Before we attacked Warsaw I requested five times that the city surrender." Has Adolf forgotten Rotterdam—miles of streets leveled to the ground in a few flaming hours? And Belgrade, and Coventry, and London, and many lesser hells from Narvik to Athens? No, Adolf, you probably won't "go abroad." After all, where could you go? \*

THE VICTORY IN EGYPT APPEARS TO GROW in extent and significance with each passing day. At the beginning of General Montgomery's offensive the Axis had ten divisions in Egypt—six Italian and four German. The six Italian divisions were abandoned by the Germans as soon as the retreat began and have apparently fallen almost intact into British hands. The German panzer divisions have lost the greater part of their strength, and the German 164th infantry division appears to have been badly mauled. Perhaps the most striking aspect of the victory was the perfect coordination between Allied air, sea, and ground forces. For the first time in the war the United Nations forces moved with the clock-like efficiency which the Germans displayed in 1939 and 1940. For the first time our side had the better equipment and the sounder leadership. The campaign also provided striking confirmation of the general belief that the Italian end of the Axis has completely broken down. Rommel's abandonment of his Italian



allies is not likely to make the Germans any better liked in Italy. And the alacrity with which the Black Shirts surrendered indicates that they are fed up not only with the war but, perhaps to an even greater extent, with Hitler and the Nazis.

✱

NOBODY KNOWS HOW MANY REFUGEES were shipped to North Africa by the Vichy government. Estimates have run as high as a hundred thousand though the number is probably less. Some thousands are in concentration camps; other thousands were put to work, in miserable conditions and under military discipline, on various operations for which free labor could not be found—or paid. The greatest number have been employed on the new trans-Saharan railway under construction between Morocco and West Africa territories—a project supposed to have been directed and financed by the Nazis. Now that Morocco seems certain to fall into American hands, the trans-Saharan railway will happily serve other ends than those for which it was designed. By the same token the refugee laborers and those still in concentration camps can also be promptly released for a different fate. Many thousands of these men are good soldiers, Spanish Republican troops and former members of the French Foreign Legion. Those who are physically fit should, of course, be given a chance to join the American army of liberation. Civilians and persons who have lost their health during years of confinement or forced labor in the African desert should be freed and cared for. As soon as possible those who please should be permitted to emigrate. The arrival of the Americans must mean that people as well as territories are to be freed from Vichy-Nazi control.

✱

THE AMERICAN POSITION IN THE SOLOMONS has been somewhat improved by a series of small advances to the east and west of Henderson Field on Guadalcanal. None of the operations in the past week appear to have involved heavy fighting, but the navy's report that more than five thousand Japanese have been killed in the Solomons since August suggests that the fighting has been on a larger scale than had been supposed. The precise results of the numerous air and sea clashes in the Solomons area are far from clear, but the failure of the Japanese to press their attack on Guadalcanal indicates that their losses may have been even greater than the official communiqués have revealed. There remains, of course, a strong possibility, as Secretary Knox suggests, that the Japanese will return in greater strength than before. But this may depend on developments on other fronts, particularly in Burma. United Nations strength in the Pacific is fast reaching the point where we rather than the Japanese will determine where the coming battles will be fought.

THE CAMPAIGN IN NEW GUINEA, IN WHICH forces under General MacArthur's command have not only stopped a dangerous Japanese advance but taken the offensive to good purpose, has been somewhat overshadowed by the more spectacular battles in the Solomons. Actually developments in these two Pacific theaters have been closely connected. The retreat of the Japanese after they had crossed the Owen Stanley Range to come within thirty-two miles of Port Moresby may have been influenced by the necessity for reinforcing their army and air force in the Solomons. At the same time the United Nations' air base at Port Moresby, from which so many long-range raids have been made against the enemy's fleet and supply depots in the northern Solomons, has been a prime factor in enabling us to maintain our grip on Guadalcanal. In late September, after Japanese communications had been shattered by the American fliers, the Australian infantry, adapting themselves with great ability to jungle warfare, began to push the enemy back over the mountains. Now they are approaching the Japanese base at Buna, which is also threatened by an American force driving along the north coast from the east after being transported by air from Australia in mid-October. Coincident with the announcement of this new expedition comes the news of the occupation by American troops of Goodenough Island, north of the Papuan Peninsula. This position guards the sea approaches by which Buna will have to be supplied if the Allied forces succeed in capturing it. Buna itself offers a possible base for a flanking attack against Japanese positions in the northern Solomons. Thus the two campaigns in the southern Pacific are becoming increasingly complementary although they are still under separate commands.

✱

MARSHAL PETAIN'S PECULIAR CONCEPTION of French "honor" was further illustrated last week when the Bank of France admitted through its attorneys here that \$200,000,000 of Belgian gold intrusted to its custody for safekeeping had been turned over to Germany by order of the aged Marshal. Because of this "compulsion," the Bank of France contends that it has been relieved of any obligation to return the gold to the National Bank of Belgium. It appears that the gold was originally shipped to Dakar instead of to London as the Belgians had requested. From there it was transferred to the Reichsbank as a result of an order issued at Vichy three days before the end of Laval's first term in office. The Bank of France argues through its attorneys, Coudert Brothers, that because of the rule of *force majeure* the Belgian government-in-exile has no claim on the French bank's assets in this country. The logic behind this argument is so reminiscent of many pages of "Mein Kampf" that we cannot believe it originated with the Bank of France.



PHILIP MURRAY CHARGED THE OTHER DAY that employers are deliberately flooding the War Labor Board with minor disputes, thereby hampering effective operation of the board and undermining union contracts with workers who no longer have recourse to the strike. Organized workers throughout the country, Mr. Murray said, "feel a growing sense of frustration" over management's refusal to settle plant grievances on the spot—and a sense of frustration is no aid to the morale of production. The C. I. O. intends to ask the WLB to issue a directive ordering all companies and unions to insert in present or future agreements a clause providing for compulsory arbitration of all disputes arising out of the contracts. It is curious to have labor suggesting compulsory arbitration even on this limited scale; but certainly the Labor Board should find a way of countering this new attack on collective bargaining and of protecting itself from loud charges of inefficiency by the very groups who are quietly swamping it with cases that should never be referred to it.

★

MR. MURRAY ISSUED HIS STATEMENT AT Boston, where the C. I. O convention is now in session. Unity between the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. is scheduled to be one of the big issues, with Sidney Hillman heading the movement for reconciliation. One of his principal arguments is the dismal fact that division in the union forces has led, in two major cases, to the appointment to positions carrying vast authority over labor of men in whom labor, with reason, has little confidence. In Mr. Hillman's view, it was because the two great labor organizations could not agree on candidates that Paul V. McNutt and Wendell Lund were put in charge, respectively, of the War Manpower Commission and the Labor Division of the War Production Board. Whatever the difficulties involved in reconciliation—and they are admittedly great—division in the ranks has become a luxury which labor can no longer afford.

★

REACTIONARY DEMOCRATS IN CONGRESS ARE looking forward to joining hands with the newly enlarged Republican delegation in an all-out attack on New Deal labor legislation—an attack naturally camouflaged by the plea of war necessity. On page 513 of this issue Keith Hutchison discusses one phase of this campaign—the drive against the forty-hour week—and shows the misleading use which is being made of British figures. There are now signs that the whole offensive against labor may blow up under the pressure of its own extravagance. Senator O'Daniel's proposal to suspend the wages-and-hours law and legalize a seventy-two-hour week and Representative Rankin's demand for repeal of the Wagner Act have alarmed such newspapers as the *New York Times* and *Herald Tribune*, which realize

that their own more moderate program of "reform" will be endangered by the anti-labor fanatics. If the correction of the Administration's labor policy, says the *Herald Tribune*, "is not to do far more harm than good, it must be undertaken with restraint and patience." Following the same line, the *Times* asks for "amendment" of the Wagner Act and suspension of the Wage-Hour Act so that overtime rates becomes legally obligatory only after forty-eight hours. But neither paper seems to realize the damage that can be done to morale by legislation directed solely against labor.

★

THE MEDICAL SERVICE LEAGUE OF BERKELEY, California, a small but useful organization for distributing the costs of medical care, has been forced to disband because it was branded as "unethical" by the Alameda County Medical Association. Although the opposition of the A. M. A. to what it chooses to call "socialized medicine" is notorious, the local medical association seems to have gone far beyond the parent organization in attacking the Medical Service League. The league did not attempt to pool the costs of medical care or to provide sickness insurance. Each member paid for his own medical service, and the cooperating physicians were paid on a fee basis. Some reduction in fees was made possible, however, by the fact that the Medical Service League assumed responsibility for all administrative details, such as keeping records and making collections. Strangely enough, the attack on the league came after it had been in operation for four years. This suggests that war-time prosperity may be reversing the previous trend toward acceptance of cooperative plans that provide an assured if not large income for participating physicians.

## To the Shores of Tripoli

ADDED to the thrill which action brings, we have the satisfaction of knowing that our first offensive against Hitler has been launched with brilliant efficiency. The strategic conception underlying our descent on North Africa is a broad one, promising large rewards, and it has been implemented on a commensurate scale. Moreover, close cooperation between the British and American commands has made possible an almost miraculous accuracy in the timing of operations.

Military expeditions of the kind we have undertaken in North Africa cannot be improvised. Plans must have been laid months back, for the necessary preparations were tremendous. The British Eighth Army, which had barely held Rommel's drive on Alexandria in the summer, had to be reinforced, reorganized, and reequipped so that it was ready to take the counter-offensive. When General Montgomery began his devastating preliminary bombardment of the Axis positions on the Alamein line,



our expeditionary force must have been assembling at embarkation ports. By the time Rommel's army had been cracked, the Anglo-American fleet and transports were concentrated at Gibraltar and creating a wave of jittery speculation in every Axis center. And now as the broken Afrika Korps flees westward, closely pursued by British tanks and planes, our troops are pressing toward Tunisia and "the shores of Tripoli," where once before the United States cleaned out a nest of pirates.

With the unexpectedly rapid fall of Algiers and the successful establishment of beachheads at several strategic points, there is reason to hope that the whole of North Africa can be taken over at a comparatively low cost in American and French lives. As we write, there appears to have been little more than token resistance. The total forces under Vichy orders are not large, and they are widely scattered, with probably the heaviest concentration at Dakar, where they are now isolated. Moreover, these troops have no modern planes or mechanized equipment, and their fuel supplies are believed to be very limited. The biggest danger is the French navy, but that may prove to have more nuisance value than fighting power. Its chief elements are divided between Dakar and Toulon, and even united could hardly match the Anglo-American fleet now in the Mediterranean, especially as the French have no carriers.

Assuming that Rommel is forced to evacuate the remnants of his army and that the United Nations take control of the whole North African coast, how much nearer will the Allies be to establishing a second front and relieving the pressure on Russia? We believe the Soviets will not have long to wait before feeling the beneficial effects of the Mediterranean offensive. Hitler's chronic man-power crisis now threatens to become acute. The major part of his army is concentrated in the east; most of the remainder is occupied in guarding and fortifying the coast from the Arctic to the Spanish frontier. Watch over the equally long Mediterranean coast has been left to the Italians, assisted by a small stiffening of German panzer and Luftwaffe units. But now the United Nations are getting in position to strike at the weakest flank of Axis Europe in many spots. Sardinia and Sicily are less than one hundred miles from Tunisia, and from these large islands both the Italian mainland and unoccupied France could be attacked. Again, with the threat to Suez removed, the British army in the Near East will be free to turn its attention to the Balkans, giving the Yugoslavian guerrilla front greater importance.

Undoubtedly Hitler will be forced to divert many divisions to the shores of the Mediterranean. Probably he will be driven to occupy the whole of France; perhaps he will try to bring Spain into the conflict so as to be able to attack our base at Gibraltar and use the Spanish army in Morocco against us. But he will not dare to strip his northern coastal defenses, for a large army remains in

Britain, and the opening of the Mediterranean will tremendously increase the transatlantic flow of men and materials. Where, then, is Hitler going to find the divisions he must send south without weakening his almost stalled army in Russia?

Our North African venture, then, promises both quick relief to Russia and the bases for a second front this winter under ideal climatic conditions. But if we are to make the best of this opportunity, it will be necessary to link political strategy to military strategy, and we confess that the Administration's first moves on the diplomatic front fill us with misgivings. For while the President proclaims on the one hand our intention to liberate France from "the Axis yoke," on the other he addresses honeyed words of "sincere friendship" to Franco, installed by the Axis to be jailer of the Spanish people. Are we to end the appeasement of Vichy only to intensify the appeasement of fascist Spain?

Of course, Mr. Hull has just explained that his policy toward Vichy was not appeasement but was designed "to pave the way . . . for the planning and sending of the military expedition into the western Mediterranean." This assumption of the mantle of Machiavelli by our Secretary of State strikes us as a trifle disingenuous. Does he really mean he was anticipating the North African landing as long ago as 1940, when the appeasement of Vichy began? And is he really suggesting that the State Department has been stringing Pétain and Laval along, purposely lulling their fears of American action? If so, he ought to be grateful for the attacks on his policy, which helped him to maintain his appeasement disguise.

Mr. Hull also claims that American policy toward Vichy was designed to keep alive "the basic concepts of freedom of the French people." This purpose seems to have been successfully concealed from those it was intended to encourage. All the evidence we have received from inside France suggests that our snubbing of the De Gaullist movement and the fraternization of our representatives with Vichy officials, served merely to confuse the French people and hinder the organization of opposition. The rapid growth of the underground movement and the increasing extent to which it has rallied around De Gaulle owe little to the State Department.

We hope, now that relations with Vichy have ended, that the Administration will attempt to make amends by full recognition of the De Gaullist movement. We believe that the exclusion of the Fighting French from the North African expedition was a mistake. After all, we are, in effect, asking the French garrisons in Africa to repudiate their allegiance to Vichy, and the Fighting French offer the only organized focus for such disaffection. Why, then, should we thrust them into the background? We ought rather to bring them forward and seek their cooperation in the civil administration of the occupied territory. It would be a fatal mistake to rely for



this purpose on officials appointed by Vichy because of their willingness to collaborate with the Axis. In this connection, an unofficial London report to the effect that Admiral Darlan is being "entertained in Algiers with all the respect and dignity due to his rank and record" is definitely disturbing. We hope this report proves untrue, for there is no reason to think that Darlan is any less of a traitor than Laval, and his anti-British bias is notorious.

Against this must be set the recognition by General Eisenhower of General Henri Giraud as responsible for military and civil affairs in French North Africa. General Giraud is a first-class soldier, whose escape from a German prison camp thrilled all France. And he has since then steadily refused to bow the knee to Vichy. On the other hand, his appointment to leadership in North Africa, apparently without any consultation with the Fighting French organization, looks like another attempt to sidetrack the men who have kept the flag of Free France flying. It is not our business to pre-select the leadership of our allies.

More than ever in the new stage of the war that is opening we need to use our political weapons effectively. If we are to gather strength inside France and recruit support inside Italy and Spain, we must convince Frenchmen and Italians and Spaniards that we are coming to liberate them not merely from the yoke of Hitler but from the grip of those who, because of their hatred and fear of democracy, have prostituted themselves for Hitler's ends.

## *Dunderhead Election*

BY ROBERT BENDINER

GEORGE NORRIS, weary and bewildered, reflected on his first election defeat in nearly forty years. "The more I think of it," said the greatest Senator of our day, "the more bewildered I get. I can't understand it. . . . I went down to defeat for reasons that even my enemies cannot explain." Senator Norris might as well have been speaking of the election as a whole, for the myopia which without rhyme or reason had suddenly brought his magnificent political career to an end was not confined to the voters of Nebraska. Taken as a whole, the election showed the same shortsightedness throughout the country, the same preoccupation with the petty, the local, and the immediate, the same failure to rise to the greatness of the times. An election that might have proved much proved little, notwithstanding the effort to fit the results into preconceived patterns by experts who affect to see in them variously a rebuke to the New Deal and a demand for a stronger New Deal, an expression of concealed isolationism and a clarion for a more vigorous prosecution of the war.

In reality what emerged from the vote was hardly more than a long series of ballot totals reflecting dissatisfaction here, political ineptitude there—the revenge of farmers for the Administration's curb on food prices, the gratitude of villagers for the personal services of a Congressional appeaser, a general failure in all but a few key spots to concentrate on issues that go beyond the moment or the Congressional district. A resurgence of militant isolationism is hardly indicated by the victories of such interventionist Republicans as Governor Stassen and Senator Ball in Colonel Lindbergh's own Minnesota or of Clare Boothe in Connecticut; or by the defeats of Representatives Hill of Washington and Shanley of Connecticut, both former New Dealers who broke with the President specifically on foreign policy. On the other hand, it is straining things excessively to see a people's mandate for a more vigorous prosecution of the war in the reelection of such pernicious isolationists as Senator Brooks and Representatives Fish, Hoffman, and Day. It is tragic that so little attention was paid to pre-Pearl Harbor records and that as a result we shall be saddled with a Congress of little minds at the peace, should the war end before 1945. Despite exposures of the Dunderheads, it is plain that in most localities the voters simply refused to make foreign policy an issue.

It is important to recognize that fact because the only thing worse than the incoherence of the election results is the attempt to read into them meanings which are not there. What can be demonstrated, however, is that the vote followed the immemorial trend of mid-term elections to run against the party in power, whatever the issues of the day. This quadrennial ebbing of the tide is not necessarily prophetic with regard to the succeeding Presidential election, despite the war whoops of G. O. P. officials who profess to see Wilson's 1918 in Roosevelt's 1942. The fact is that, with the exception of 1934, every mid-term election for the past thirty-six years has witnessed a loss for the party in power, and the average loss, counting both houses, has been fifty-one seats. In five of those eight instances the losing party has gone on to win in the next Presidential election. The last example was in 1938, when the Democrats lost a total of seventy-seven seats, only to bring in a smashing victory for Roosevelt two years later. This time they have lost a total of fifty-two seats in both houses, with three Congressional contests still in doubt. Considering the military losses we have suffered, the bitter division of the country during and after the last election, the unprecedented fact of a third term, and the plunging of a relatively comfortable people into the sudden experiences of the military draft, battle casualties, loss of cars, quadrupled taxes, food rationing, and all the other necessary war-time interferences with private existence, it is astonishing that the Democratic Party was able to resist the normal mid-term tide as well as it did.



In so sprawling and formless an election it is natural that the good and the bad should be inextricably tangled. On the whole there was more bad than good. Aside from the peerless Norris, the Administration lost the support of such Senatorial stalwarts as Brown of Michigan, Lee of Oklahoma, Schwartz of Wyoming, and Herring of Iowa. Murray of Montana, knifed by Senator Wheeler, won by the narrowest margin. In addition to its serious numerical losses in the House—enough to give control to an inevitable coalition of Republicans and anti-New Deal Democrats—the Administration, not to mention the country, will have to endure the dreadful antics of its worst Representatives. The Michigan Republican delegation, one of the most intemperate reactionary cliques that ever disgraced Congress, has been returned intact. Hamilton Fish, notwithstanding his shady activities, has managed to squeak through, his victory already noted with pleasure in Berlin. Stephen A. Day, the Flanders Hall author who branded the Atlantic Charter "the most discouraging statement of principles since the birth of Christ," is back again. So are Barry and Taber of New York, Vorys of Ohio, Dewey Short of Missouri, and ninety-three other Dunderheads who did what they could to leave the country unprepared for the struggle that engulfed it on December 7. On the red side of the ledger must also be recorded the reelection of Senators Brooks and Lodge, to a lesser degree the victory of Clare Luce over a capable New Dealer with a good voting record, and the shameful defeat, at the hands of the Catholic church, of the proposed amendment whereby Massachusetts physicians would have been permitted to give married women contraceptive advice in cases warranted by the health of the patient.

A few scattered gains are recorded for liberalism in the Congressional elections, notably the victory of Lieutenant Will Rogers, Jr., over the labor-baiting Leland Ford of California, and the surprising comeback of the Progressive Party in Wisconsin, where Governor Julius P. Heil went down to defeat at the hands of the comparatively unknown Orland S. Loomis.

For such genuine encouragement as is to be had from this election, however, one must turn, paradoxically, to the New York State campaign, where the Republicans scored their greatest triumph. Here two events occurred which offer enough hope for 1944 to offset the dismal news elsewhere. First the Democratic Party has in all likelihood been saved for the New Deal. In any event it has not been lost. Had John J. Bennett defeated Thomas E. Dewey for governor, or even made a close race of the election, control of the party would have passed to James A. Farley. In that case the country would have faced a choice in 1944 between a Republican and an anti-New Deal Democrat; 1920 would be here again, with a new Harding to bury the people's peace for which

a people's war is being fought. The smashing defeat of the Democrats in New York, the worst in twenty years, would seem to eliminate the Farley threat and leave hope for a New Deal candidate to succeed Franklin D. Roosevelt.

For the preservation of this hope, the country has the American Labor Party to thank. Its leaders saw the problem clearly and had the courage to persist in the face of tremendous pressure, including the indorsement of Bennett which party regularity demanded of the President. Behind Dean Alfange, who conducted an extremely able and informative campaign, the A. L. P. operated for the first time completely on its own power. The party which Farley had suggested might hold its convention in a telephone booth polled 409,000 votes for Alfange and considerably more for Lieutenant Governor Poletti. In a year in which the reactionary tide is supposed to be running high it polled 10.1 per cent of the total vote, as compared with its previous high of 8.8 per cent in the Lehman victory four years ago. Mr. Farley's miscalculation should not only cost him his political head but demonstrate to future campaigners that the American Labor Party is a major independent force in New York, with a core of followers who place allegiance to the principles of the New Deal above loyalty to any individual or machine.

No one or two explanations can account for the diverse results of so complex a campaign, but several factors in the Republican gain, aside from those already touched on, are worth mentioning. The Democratic Party has always drawn heavily on industrial workers and on young voters, precisely the two classes which lost strength at the polls because of military service and the geographical shifting of labor forces in war industries. Labor leadership itself, particularly outside New York, was unusually inept, the head of the American Federation of Labor going to the length of indorsing such obstructors of the war effort as Engel of Michigan and even Day of Illinois, merely because they had voted right on certain test labor issues. Finally, the leadership of the Democratic Party itself was lackadaisical. The campaign in behalf of Congressional candidates who sought to unseat the most notorious isolationists was a disgrace. Practically no money was spent to aid them in presenting their case to the voters, and if it had not been for the Union for Democratic Action they would have been left without campaign literature of any kind. From above came none of the fighting spirit or social imagination that had fired the enthusiasm of the country in previous campaigns. Let 1942, particularly the showing of the American Labor Party, be a warning: unless the Democratic Party is prepared to proclaim the New Deal instead of apologizing for it, it will lose its appeal. When the voters of this country want reaction, they know where they can get it in a purer form.



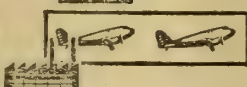
# MONTHLY PRODUCTION OF WARPLANES IN THE U.S.

1938



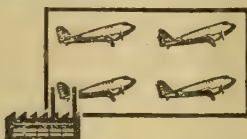
100 PLANES

1939



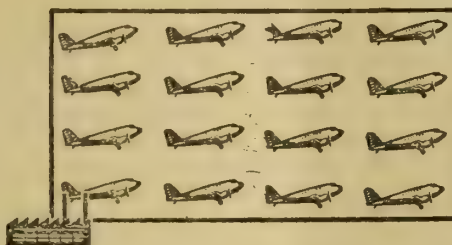
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1940



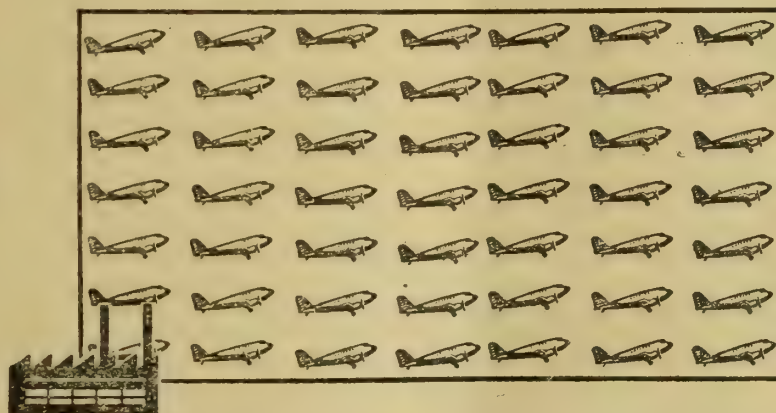
450 PLANES

1941

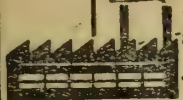


1600 PLANES

1942



5000 PLANES



1943 EST.

11,000 PLANES

GRAPHIC BY PICK-S



# Washington and the Offensive

BY I. F. STONE

*Washington, November 9*

WASHINGTON, official and unofficial, is as cheered as occupied Europe by the news that our troops are on the march in North Africa. There is a feeling of pleasure that this time we have taken the initiative, that it is the enemy's turn to be surprised, that we have gone into action in the west at last. Not the least of the advantages of the offensive is its tonic effect on morale, and there will be a good deal less bickering as long as we go forward. Other issues suddenly seem to fade into the background beside this new enterprise.

The landings and their propaganda accompaniment were staged with a sense of history. Who could fail to be moved by General Eisenhower's proclamation to the French of North Africa, "The war has entered the phase of liberation"? One imagines the feelings of a listener at a radio in some lonely attic in France who suddenly heard that voice say, "My friends . . ."

The advocates of a second front have been so accustomed to think in terms of a frontal attack upon the French coast that the direction of the new offensive has left some of them uncertain. But there seems to be general agreement among those in touch with the military that though this is not yet a second front it may soon become one, if only because Hitler must make a major reply. If Anglo-American forces succeed in obtaining control of the western Mediterranean, the way is opened for an attack on Italy or southern France, operations regarded as much easier than an attempt to establish a bridgehead on French Atlantic or Channel beaches bristling with German guns. With this threat at his rear, Hitler can no longer concentrate on the eastern front. It is expected here that the combination of the Anglo-American offensive in North Africa and unrest in France may force Hitler to occupy the rest of that country and that strategic necessities may soon compel him to send troops into Spain.

Provided we follow through with additional forces, North Africa should become a major front. Some eighteen months ago a proposal for a North African campaign, designed to clear the way for an offensive against Italy, was made by General José Asensio, last military attaché in Washington of the Spanish Republic. It was presented to our own government through unofficial channels, but there is no indication that it obtained much response. The General and several other exiled Loyalist officers felt that Spain itself would make a poor bridge-

head for a Continental invasion because of the ease with which small German forces could hold the few passes through and around the Pyrenees. But they did envisage action against Spanish territory to safeguard the supply lines of a North African advance, and their ideas are useful background against which to form an understanding of coming events.

They felt that the first step should be the occupation of the Canaries, from which German submarines and planes could attack shipping to North Africa, and the second, the envelopment and seizure of Spanish Morocco, which threatens not only water but land communications between the North African Atlantic coast and Algeria. The American forces, by landing on both sides of Spanish Morocco would seem to be in a good position to take it over before the Germans can strike south through Spain. The Spanish troops in Morocco, traditionally reactionary and traditionally pro-German, recruited from adventurers and native mercenaries, are believed to be the only Spanish troops on which Hitler can depend if he moves into Spain. Spanish Morocco is full of German "technicians" who have been preparing since 1936 to neutralize Gibraltar and close the Straits, and it is believed that they can do so easily unless we beat them to the punch. Less well known is the fact that troops from Spanish Morocco, striking south to the valley of the Tazza between the Moroccan border and the Atlas Mountains, could also cut the principal, if not the only practical, land highway between the Atlantic and Algeria. In dealing with this potential threat from the Canaries, Spanish Morocco, and Spain, it is hoped that the actions of our armed forces will be governed by strategic necessities rather than by the illusions which some officials in the British Foreign Office and the State Department still seem to cherish about Franco.

There are several possible explanations of why we have not already moved against any of these territories. It may have been thought best to land first in French North Africa, establishing an easy base from which to attack the Canaries and encircling Spanish Morocco. It may have been felt that, in order not to antagonize Catholic opinion at home and in Latin America, it was better to leave the initiative with Hitler and let him attack Spain first. There are also those in London and Washington who think Franco independent enough to be dickered with and to be trusted, people who think Franco can be won over to our side. These illusions may be useful to Hitler if he prefers to keep out of Spain



November 14, 1942

for the time being. Spain is thus the exposed flank of our political thinking, as it is of our military advance. Anti-Loyalist antipathies and pro-Franco leanings interfere with the full utilization of the knowledge and experience of Spanish military exiles familiar with the North African terrain and anxious to help. Officers and men are available here and in Mexico for two full divisions of Loyalists. Pro-Franco leanings account in part for maneuvers which leave the initiative in Spain with Hitler. There are forces in the State Department which would like somehow to defeat Hitler while leaving Franco to control Spain, and the twin forces of church and monarchy to rule Italy. They are trying to keep the war as little as possible a democratic crusade, to direct it and the post-war world as far as they can into Metternichian molds.

It is this background of anti-democratic tendencies which makes Secretary Hull's elaborate explanations of past pro-Vichy policy unconvincing. The test of the State Department's sincerity is a new attitude toward the Fighting French. But such an attitude has yet to appear. Fighting French headquarters here last night

were a gloomy place, when they should have been jubilant. The Fighting French felt left out of the picture and unwanted; their forces took no part in the landing, and their information from London was that De Gaulle was neither consulted nor informed in advance. While the State Department still looks back with pride on the period when it was collaborating with Weygand, the Fighting French blame the Murphy-Weygand negotiations for the lack of an organized underground in North Africa. De Gaullist work was discouraged by American friendship for Weygand, and the potential opposition was organized around Weygand in the open, where the Germans had no difficulty in smashing it as soon as he was recalled to France. Some State Department officials still put their hope in a "third France" which is neither De Gaullist nor collaborationist, but Frenchmen too milk-and-watery to choose sides in so critical an hour would hardly seem to be very energetic or trustworthy allies.

These unwholesome tendencies in our State Department were never more dangerous than now, when the war has entered a new stage.

## *A British Reply to Louis Fischer*

BY GRAHAM SPRY

*London, October 29*

THE thesis of Louis Fischer's two articles, *Why Cripps Failed*, is that Sir Stafford promised the Indian leaders a National Government functioning as a Cabinet, subject to no overriding powers by the Viceroy, and that on April 9 instructions from London compelled Sir Stafford to withdraw his promise. That is Fischer's thesis. It is a simple thesis, but it is a wholly false one.

Its falsity is established by published documents of the negotiations, by the course of the negotiations, and by admissions in Fischer's own articles. Fischer arrived in Delhi after the mission had returned to London, was not present during the negotiations, and had no access to the records of the mission. His evidence in support of his thesis is drawn solely from conversations with officials and party leaders, from newspaper editorials, and from hearsay.

I do not wish to establish the falsity of Fischer's thesis merely from my own knowledge. But it must be said that I was present with Sir Stafford and working in his house throughout the entire negotiations. I was in his intimate confidence and knew at any moment what instructions Sir Stafford received and what stage the negotiations had reached. With the full knowledge, then, of every docu-

ment, telegram, and discussion, I state with all definiteness that Cripps did not make, did not seek to make, to Indian political leaders any promise of National or Cabinet government with full powers in the war period, and received no instructions from London to withdraw such promise or concession. There was no such promise and no such instruction.

Documents published by both the British government and the National Congress Party support my own knowledge and wholly contradict Fischer. According to Fischer, Sir Stafford made this supposed promise of "National Government with full powers" at the "beginning" of the negotiations. He quotes only one document to support this assertion. It is a letter, dated April 11, in which the president of the Congress, Maulana Abdul Azad, alleges that in "our first talk," Sir Stafford said, "there would be a National Government which would function as a Cabinet." The "first talk" Sir Stafford had with any Congress Party leader was on the afternoon of March 25. That afternoon Maulana Azad was the only negotiator for Congress, and he brought his own interpreter, Mr. Asaf Ali. Azad was given a copy of the proposals of Sir Stafford, and through the interpreter he asked and received explanations.

There follows a series of conversations and letters.



These letters have all been published. In no letter written by a leader of the Congress Party is there a single reference to any promise of National Government with full powers; on the contrary, every reference is that it has not been made. Only after the negotiations ended did Maulana Azad, in letters of April 10 and 11, refer to any promise or suggestion of a National Government with full powers. If Sir Stafford, as Fischer alleges, made such a promise, why did the Congress leaders fail to refer to it in any letter until *after* they had broken off negotiations?

On March 27, at 2:15 p.m., Gandhi by invitation called at 3 Queen Victoria Road to meet Sir Stafford. He left at 4:25 p.m. He had stated at length the reasons why he considered Congress would reject the proposals. On March 29 Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru arrived in Delhi and for the first time entered the negotiations. On April 1 the Working Committee of the Congress Party drafted a resolution of the rejection, and on April 3 this reached us at 3 Queen Victoria Road.

As we knew in Delhi at the time, and as Fischer himself wrote in his first article, all parties had rejected the proposals by March 29. In fact, Gandhi, the decisive influence in the Congress Party, had rejected the proposals on March 27. Is Azad, then, the only person to whom Fischer alleges such a promise was made? If Fischer's thesis has any truth in it at all, then this resolution of the Congress Party, handed by Congress leaders to Cripps on April 3 (but not published until April 11), might be expected to quote Sir Stafford's promise.

In this long resolution of the Congress Party there is no reference to any such promise. This is itself conclusive that no promise was made at the beginning of negotiations: if a promise had been made, it is incredible that such skilful negotiators as the leaders of Congress would have left it out of the record. It is not in the record, and it is not in the record because no promise was made.

Only two paragraphs in this resolution discuss the war period, which alone is relevant to any promise of immediate National Government with full powers. In these two paragraphs there is no reference to any promise of such a form of government, no reference to Cabinet government, no reference to any removal of the overriding powers of the Viceroy; the statements of the Congress resolution quite specifically deny Fischer's thesis. They read: "British War Cabinet proposals are vague, altogether incomplete, and there would appear to be no vital changes in the present structure contemplated. It has been made clear that the defense of India will, in any event, remain under British control."

On the clear evidence of Congress's own statement that "no vital changes" were contemplated, the promise that Fischer alleges was made had not been made by April 3.

Perhaps, however, Fischer means it was made toward the end of the negotiations. Seven days remained between April 3 and April 9, when the second and final Congress rejection was received.

These days were devoted almost exclusively to the discussion of an interim government in India before the establishment of an Indian constitution-making body and the drafting of a new constitution. The purpose of the discussion was to find the form of words which, while preserving final British control of defense policy, would yet insure Indian party leaders in the Viceroy's Executive Council a sense of full participation, both in the government and in the organization of the Indian war effort. Sir Stafford offered the Indian leaders not merely "canteens" and "stationery," as Fischer inaccurately protests, but the control of the vital Departments of State, of Finance, of Labor and Man-Power, of Supply and Economic Warfare, of Commerce, Information, Legislation, and Police. With the exception of the control of the organization of the armed forces, these departments covered the whole sphere of all-Indian government. The single exception was specifically stated in Clause E of the Cripps proposals and was never altered one iota in principle in any letter or formula.

The problem at this state of the negotiations was, then, to find a formula within the terms of Clause E which would both insure that control of the defense of India remained with the British government and enable the Indian leaders to appeal to their followers on the ground that they, the leaders, were fully sharing in the direction of the war effort as a whole.

That was the endeavor in the numerous formulas drafted by Sir Stafford and staff, by the Viceroy and staff, and, as Fischer's article indicates, by Congress Party leaders. Some of these formulas were discussed with the Commander-in-chief and his senior officers. On April 7 Colonel Louis Johnson, personal representative of the President of the United States, on the invitation of Pandit Nehru and after consultation with the Viceroy, appeared in the discussions, and in his personal, not official, capacity performed his admirable service as intermediary between Sir Stafford and the Congress Party leaders.

The most important of the formulas have been published. They define in precise terms the exact content of the discussions. Neither in formulas nor correspondence about them is there any evidence that a promise of full Cabinet government had been made. Such evidence as there is points the other way. The very existence of the formulas is itself a denial of any promise, for if full powers had been promised, the Congress leaders would have had no need to discuss their division. The fact that the Congress leaders discussed the drafted formulas establishes fully that they recognized that complete war-time powers had not been promised.

There is other positive proof in these documents that



no such promise was made, and there is the proof Fischer's own articles supply that Sir Stafford was at some pains to make clear to Congress leaders that Cabinet or National Government with full powers was not under discussion.

On April 7 Sir Stafford wrote Maulana Azad that he had consulted the Viceroy and the War Cabinet and that a new formula had been approved. In this letter Sir Stafford uses the term "National Government." What does he mean by that term—Cabinet government with full powers, subject to no overriding power by the Viceroy? No; Sir Stafford made it abundantly plain that "it is impossible to make any change in the existing constitution," and that the commander-in-chief "retains full control over all war activities, subject to the control of His Majesty's Government." The statement could not be clearer.

Fischer's second article quotes the use of the word "Cabinet" in a single formula. This formula was drafted by the Congress Party amending a draft without any reference to the term "Cabinet" submitted to them by Sir Stafford. According to Fischer, the Congress Party changed Sir Stafford's draft and inserted the words "National Cabinet." What did Sir Stafford do to the Congress draft? He deleted the term "National Cabinet" and made his own position once again clear beyond any possible doubt by inserting the words "Executive Council," that is, the Executive Council of the Viceroy. These changes, according to Fischer's own admission, were made on April 8.

This formula was discussed by correspondence with Colonel Johnson as intermediary between Sir Stafford and Pandit Nehru. It underwent a number of small changes to meet the wishes of Pandit Nehru, but the term "National Cabinet" does not reappear. The fact that it does not reappear establishes once again that the Congress leaders recognized that it was not promised. Late that day the formula which it was believed the Congress Party would accept was left with Pandit Nehru by Colonel Louis Johnson. That formula has been published. It makes no mention of a Cabinet or National Government with full powers and scrupulously emphasizes that the commander-in-chief will retain "the control of the armed forces" and "the conduct of the war."

What Fischer does not mention is that the Congress Party Working Committee accepted this formula. Throughout April 8 the staff of the mission at 3 Queen Victoria Road grew more and more optimistic that a settlement would be reached. Reports from officials and from journalists who had called at Birla House, where the Congress Working Committee was meeting, stated that the proposals would be accepted. At 2:45 p.m. a senior Indian official called and said that a member of the Congress Working Committee, whom he named, had announced to the press at Birla House that the defense

formula had been agreed upon by the committee and "there would be no going back." Throughout the next day similar reports poured in. A leading Congress member who had been closely associated with negotiations in Delhi telephoned from Calcutta and congratulated Sir Stafford on the decision of Congress to accept the scheme.

From Congress Party sources the report had gone forth from Delhi to Calcutta, to Bombay, to Madras that a settlement had been reached and that the Cripps mission had been successful.

At 5:35 p.m., April 9, Maulana Azad and Pandit Nehru arrived; they remained until 8:05 p.m. They discussed with Sir Stafford the defense formula and raised no objections to it. This formula had been originally drafted by the Viceroy and approved by the War Cabinet. Congress



Maulana Azad

made no objection to what the Viceroy and Cabinet had approved, and the Viceroy and War Cabinet accepted the formula that Congress did not reject. How, then, could there arise any occasion for an intervention by cable, on April 9? On the only issue under discussion there was no disagreement. There was, then, no fateful cable sent from London by "reactionary imperialists" calling Sir Stafford to heel. There was no promise, as Fischer alleges, and there was no telegram.

But Azad and Nehru had more to convey than the acceptance of the defense formula. In this long interview they raised the whole issue of the powers of the Viceroy and insisted that the Viceroy should act as constitutional monarch only. Azad and Nehru called, in fact, to put an end to the negotiations.

On April 10 Azad wrote a long letter. For the first time he wrote that Sir Stafford had referred to a "National Government and a Cabinet consisting of Ministers," but that "they [Congress] were informed that nothing could be said at this stage about the conventions that should govern the new government and Viceroy."

Sir Stafford replied the same day, and in this letter explained why the Congress Party demand for "Cabinet government with full power" was quite impossible. He wrote, "Were such a system introduced by the convention under existing circumstances, the nominated Cabinet [nominated presumably by major political organizations], responsible to no one but itself, could not be



removed and would, in fact, constitute an absolute dictatorship of the majority," that is, a Congress or Hindu majority in the Cabinet.

It is essential, if any fair judgment of British policy at this juncture is to be formed, that the real nature of this Congress Party demand be understood. Congress demanded a Cabinet, not of elected members of a legislature, but of members of party organizations, a Cabinet composed of party members responsible neither to a legislature, and through a legislature to an electorate, nor to the Viceroy. In fact, it proposed a self-perpetuating autocracy which could be voted out of office by no legislature, dismissed from office by no overriding powers of the Viceroy. No other political or communal group in India would tolerate such a government for an instant; it would have subjected those other groups to a Congress or Hindu majority in that dictatorship.

That is what Sir Stafford's letter, in diplomatic terms, replied to Azad. But there was an even more crucial aspect which Sir Stafford, for sound reasons, avoided stating. It was this: the decisive influence upon the Congress Party is Gandhi; Gandhi is a sincere proponent of the philosophy of non-violence, or pacifism.

The Congress Party demanded an autocratic Cabinet with full powers. On any proportionate basis of representation the Congress Party, or that party plus Hindus from other parties, would form the majority in the Cabinet. Could Sir Stafford, could any government—British, American, Russian, Chinese—agree to set up an irremovable Cabinet responsible to and dismissible by no higher authority or no legislature, and in time of war face the risk that the defense of India would become subject to a philosophy of pacifism? Nehru, Azad, and many other important leaders of the Congress Party believe in active resistance, are vigorous anti-fascists. The greater part of the rest of the Congress Party supports resistance to the Japanese. But resistance by what means? They have usually defined resistance as non-violent resistance. On May 2 the All-India Congress Committee voted 176 to 4 in favor of non-violence (it rejected at the same time Rajagopalachari's proposal for cooperation with the Moslems). Let me be perfectly blunt—the risk of interference in the defense of India by believers in non-violence could not be taken with Japanese troops on the borders of India and the Japanese navy in the Bay of Bengal.

On April 11 Azad replied in stronger terms, asserting that Sir Stafford had promised Cabinet government in "our very first talk." This letter Fischer quotes at the beginning of his articles and goes on to say that Sir Stafford never denied the assertion. This point, which has already been answered, is, of course, the purpose of Sir Stafford's most important letter, of April 10, which Fischer himself quotes.

There is a denial in Fischer's own article, the denial

made clear by Sir Stafford's deletion of the term "National Cabinet" from the Congress formula. There is a denial in the broadcast which Sir Stafford made to India and the world on April 11.

Fischer's thesis, then, falls bleakly to the ground, unproved and disproved. His own statements prove nothing. Every statement of the Congress leaders throughout the negotiation up to the final rejection confirms that there is no basis for Fischer's suspicions, none at all.

On April 12 and April 13 the hounds of propaganda were unleashed. It was impossible to besmirch Sir Stafford's sincerity or to deny the long-term offer of full dominion status, as full as Britain's or Canada's. The story of the "sabotaging" of the Cripps mission took shape, and it has been barked around India, around the world. I personally heard the story in its first forms from Congress supporters before I left India; it was repeated to me in various guises from New York to San Francisco in my ten weeks' visit in America immediately after the mission. Fischer and *The Nation* have elaborated it into its classic mold.

"Why did Cripps fail?" asked Fischer, and proceeded to give only the answer of the Congress Party.

The answer of history is to be found not in telegrams from London nor in events presumed to have occurred in London or in the Viceroy's house or in Sir Stafford's headquarters, but inside the Congress Party itself. The success of the mission was possible; if the Congress Party had stood by its own acceptance of the final form of the proposals, the other parties in India would have readily accepted them. There would have come into being a government of the principal Indian political leaders controlling through the Executive Council the great Departments of State. This Executive Council would have ruled India by its own majority decisions, for that is the law of the existing constitution. It would have been subject to no use or exercise of the Viceroy's overriding powers so long as the Hindu majority did not impose its views on Moslem or other minorities and so long as the organization of the defense of India was not impeded. It would have represented the power and will of the great political parties of all India. In practice that Executive Council would have been the supreme government of India; so long as it resisted the pacifist wing of the Congress Party and cooperated fully in waging war in every sphere of its activities, there would not have been interference. The tragic disorders that inevitably followed when Gandhi and Congress attempted last August to stimulate a campaign of mass civil disobedience would not have occurred.

As M. N. Roy, former leader of the Congress Party and former member of the Third International, wrote in the *Statesman* of Delhi, April 12, "Britain's offer visualized the real transfer of the power to wage war for the defense of the country. Only the power to make peace with the invader, instead of resisting him, was withheld."



# Can Volstead Stage a Comeback?

BY WILL CHASAN

UNDISTURBED by scoffers and critics, prohibitionist leaders are calmly predicting that national prohibition is coming back, "this time for good." The growth of dry sentiment during the last war, which caused the *New York Times* in 1919 to announce that "prohibition seems to be the fashion, just as drinking once was," is one source of the prohibitionists' present optimism. A more immediate one is the Gallup poll's revelation that 55 per cent of the people want more stringent regulation of the liquor industry, and that 36 per cent want it abolished. The Gallup poll, say the prohibitionists, reveals "the rising tide that will soon sweep the liquor traffic off the map."

The war obviously has provided the prohibitionists with a superlative opportunity. There is a general notion that alcohol "menaces the fighting efficiency of a nation"; and parents whose sons are in the army are easily worked up by talk of drunkenness in the camps. Both of these facts were nicely exploited by the Anti-Saloon League and the Women's Christian Temperance Union during the last war, and the country is now being subjected to a repeat performance.

The propaganda for a war-time ban on drinking now descending on the country is cunningly simple. Its main theme is the unpleasant one that we are tipping our way to military disaster. By a rather ingenious interpretation of history the prohibitionists show that "of the seven great nations that passed across the face of history in Bible times, at least five—Israel, Assyria, Babylon, Greece, and Rome—owed their downfall largely to drink." In the more recent past they point to France, "whose collapse in 1940 was largely due to alcoholism." Their authority for this version of the French débâcle is Marshal Pétain, whom they quote as saying, "Our men were drunk and could not fight." Some other examples of the iniquitous effect of drink, according to the prohibitionists, are Hongkong, Singapore, and Pearl Harbor. The charge that the Japanese surprise attack at Pearl Harbor was made possible by widespread drunkenness has been circulated persistently by the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the Anti-Saloon League, and other prohibitionist groups, despite a formal refutation of it by the Roberts report. Though it isn't true, the charge is effective propaganda for the thesis that we must turn to teetotalism to vanquish totalitarianism.

The prohibitionist attack, as harassed spokesmen for the liquor industry will attest, is an awkward one to meet. Often it relies on such clever and irrefutable im-

provisations as the statement by a Shreveport, Louisiana, minister that "Hitler has forbidden his air force to destroy or bomb any distilleries on the British Isles because these distilleries are his greatest allies." It blandly attributes German military prowess to Hitler's drastic limitation of alcohol consumption, blames all industrial accidents on drunkenness, and routs opponents with the question, "Would you like your boy to ride across the Atlantic on a boat captained by a drunkard?"

*Repeal Review*, a publication of the liquor lobby at Washington, asserts that the current prohibition drive is inspired from Germany, and that it is a subtle effort to create disunity. The argument has a strongly partisan ring, but it has some merit. The evidence of Nazi inspiration boils down to three facts, which may or may not be highly significant. The first is that articles by one Dr. Robert Hercod, secretary of the International Temperance Union at Geneva, an organization which receives a yearly subsidy from Germany, have been appearing regularly in official publications of the Women's Christian Temperance Union and the Anti-Saloon League. Hercod's articles are not political but usually praise the National Socialist regime's "benevolent" attitude toward the temperance movement. The second fact, uncovered by the Boston Rumor Clinic, is that the German short-wave radio has broadcast lurid accounts of drunkenness in army camps and has urged mothers to demand prohibition for men in the services. The third fact is that many American fascists have become ardent prohibitionists. Captain Edward P. Gaston, who several years ago launched the Patriotic Guards of America for the announced purpose of establishing "a military dictatorship" in the United States, recently turned up as a director of the World Prohibition Foundation. Gerald B. Winrod's *Defender*, *America in Danger*, *Publicity*, and other pro-fascist publications, when last heard from, were on the prohibition bandwagon, and tugging the reins in their own peculiar direction. Early this year *Publicity*, which is published in Wichita, Kansas, asked its readers, "How complete is the control of Sedgewick County night life by foreign Jews and wops?"

Despite such evidence, the charge that the Nazis set off the present prohibition drive is essentially implausible. For one thing, the Anti-Saloon League and the ladies of the W. C. T. U. were quite capable of doing the job themselves, prompted by nothing more seditious than their familiar passion for regulating other people's habits. Moreover, there is no evidence to show that Nazi



influence has got beyond the periphery of the movement. The Nazis apparently have seized upon prohibition as a divisive issue, and they are trying to exploit it, but the dubious distinction of having revived the issue still belongs to the simon-pure prohibitionists.

In their strategy, as in their propaganda, the prohibitionists, who hardly believe in innovation for its own sake, are following the line which brought success in World War I. Their strategy now is the old one of the "entering wedge." Instead of urging immediate enactment of a national prohibition law, they are pressing only for a measure to ban the sale of spirits in areas surrounding army camps, and they are continuing to fight isolated local-option battles. With a growing number of male voters going into the army, their chances of swiftly extending the country's dry area through local-option elections are naturally enhanced.

Actually, our dry area now is much larger than most people suspect. The *Christian Science Monitor* recently estimated that some 23,000,000 Americans live in communities into which Demon Rum cannot legally enter. The states of Kansas, Oklahoma, and Mississippi are entirely dry, if one for a moment overlooks the bootleg industry which thrives in all three, and numerous towns and counties in other states have accepted prohibition laws of one sort or another. Of the 158 local-option elections which resulted in changes last year, 131 were won by the prohibitionists. In the first nine months of this year local-option elections turned twelve more counties dry, and the total will probably be higher when the year ends.

The present dry area, although its dimensions are imposing, is smaller than our dry area when we entered the last war. At that time twenty-three states had prohibition laws, in addition to many counties in other states. This would provide some solace to the liquor industry were it not for the fact that prohibition sentiment, as the Gallup poll shows, is rising swiftly.

The liquor industry, in addition to shaking its head ruefully over the progress of the prohibitionists, has naturally been doing everything possible to head them off. Directly or indirectly, it has backed the repeal forces in local-option elections, and it has labored heroically to impress the country with the vast benefits it confers upon the people as a whole. Most important of all, the various liquor associations and unions have been trying systematically to end those abuses which most easily incite the public against drinking. Early this month the New York Metropolitan Package Store Association called upon retailers and bar operators "to thwart the menace of prohibition" by encouraging temperance. On the same day an American Federation of Labor bartenders' union in New York pledged that its members would "not sell to persons who are intoxicated or to minors," and its president, a Jack Townsend, declared,

"It is nothing but sabotage for sailors, soldiers, and defense workers to be intoxicated." But representatives of the liquor industry doubt that this high moral tone will placate the prohibitionists, and the *Beverage Times* has told its readers, in a we-must-fight-to-the-last-ditch spirit, that "whatever contingency arises, the distilled-spirits industry must be prepared to meet it."

The contingencies may be expected to develop without much delay. Senator Josh Lee's proposed rider to the 'teen-age draft bill, which would have prohibited liquor sales in army-camp areas, was shunted to the Senate Military Committee by a vote of forty-nine to twenty-five only after what liquor lobbyists themselves described as a nip-and-tuck battle. But probably an effort now will be made to force it out. Should the Lee rider be buried, as the Senator himself was in the recent election, the prohibitionists probably will have a series of new bills ready for introduction in January, immediately after the Seventy-eighth Congress convenes. With a fairly large bloc of drys in Congress the prohibitionists will have no difficulty in getting their bills introduced.

The dry forces, led by a highly resourceful lobby, have been skilfully softening up Congress for their impending drive. Individual Congressmen have been deluged with letters and petitions from civic and church groups. Senator Bilbo said this summer that he had "received more letters of complaint on this particular subject than [letters] complaining about strikes and Congressional pensions." Obviously some sort of record. The large number of Prohibition Party candidates for Congress in the last election—twenty-six for the House and eight for the Senate—probably will inspire a sympathetic interest in prohibition among Congressmen in districts where dry sentiment is strong. Another factor that will undoubtedly influence Congress is the almost united front which church groups have now mustered for war-time liquor restrictions. In recent months more than a dozen religious bodies have either announced or reiterated their desire for war-time prohibition. The campaign by religious organizations was begun by Bishop Cushman, president of the Anti-Saloon League, and the publication of the Board of Temperance of the Methodist Church indicates that intensive action is planned both nationally and locally.

"Brethren," wrote the editor of a prohibitionist weekly this summer, "the time has come for the Christian forces of this nation to lay aside timidity, expediency, and fear of misunderstanding, and rise up in righteous wrath such as this country has never known before." Religious fervor has in the past carried to victory causes which had little to do with religion itself, and it may do equally well for prohibition. If it does, the American people will again be in a position where, as Clarence Darrow once put it, they will have "to drink their way to liberty."



# *The South American Trojan Horse*

BY MANUEL A. SEOANE

I THINK it a mistake to underestimate the importance of the role that South America's natural resources and geographic location play in this war. I consider it a danger to forget or ignore the fact that certain of the South American governments, in spite of their avowed alignment with the United Nations, have actually a fundamental affinity with totalitarianism, and that they therefore constitute "Trojan horses" inside the democratic lines. I deem it misguided policy to forgo action, adhering to a non-intervention which aids the dictators, rather than to create some sort of legal machinery which, without impairing national sovereignties, would serve to establish democracy as the common rule in both Americas. Finally, I maintain that only genuinely democratic regimes can in the long run efficiently cooperate in the defense of the hemisphere.

I shall try to prove these contentions.

According to recently published statistics, Japanese occupation of British and Dutch possessions has lost to the United Nations 65 per cent of their tin imports, 90 per cent of their rubber, 20 per cent of their tungsten, 16 per cent of their oil, and 100 per cent of their quinine. These figures of themselves point to the importance of Latin America in supplying the needs of war production. If we examine only actual production—potential development is almost limitless—we find that the combined oil production of Venezuela, Mexico, Colombia, and Peru reached, in 1940, 268,000,000 barrels. (Argentina consumes all its own oil.) In 1941 Chile produced 405,000 tons of copper bars and nearly one million tons of nitrates. Bolivia is today the chief source of tin for the United Nations. In the valley of the Amazon and in Mexico the cultivation of rubber had already in 1940 reached 20,000 tons, and can be much extended. If we add to this vanadium, tungsten, iron, manganese, molybdenum, cotton, sugar, cereals, and meats, we have a pretty fair picture of what Latin America can do for the United Nations.

But if Latin America is vital to the war economy, its geographic location makes it an object of major military strategy. In view of the heavy fortification of the North American coasts, and after the repulses at Midway and the Aleutians, it is safe to assume that the Axis will not attempt to approach by way of any of these zones. When it wishes to attack America it is likely to strike at the points most poorly defended. Latin America is the weak frontier of the United States—and the logi-

cal place to establish a bridgehead in the New World.

One of the most vulnerable spots is the South Pacific. Chile's copper and nitrates are exported to the United States. From the Peruvian coast oil is shipped to Australia. And when one looks at Ecuador one notes its proximity to the Panama Canal. Now Ecuador is a weak country with an annual budget of \$8,000,000. Peru and Chile together own one battleship, five cruisers, ten destroyers, and thirteen submarines; their joint navies number 40,000 men, and their armies 30,000.

These facts lead to two conclusions: first, the Latin American countries must be helped to strengthen their defenses; second, it is absolutely essential that the regimes receiving help be truly anti-totalitarian in order to avoid the risk of this new strength being used as an instrument of rivalry between the various states, or in any way contrary to the purpose for which it was provided.

The first point is not within my competence to discuss. But in any case it is the second which appears to me the most fundamental. All but two of the Latin American countries have formally aligned themselves with the cause of the United Nations. However, this alignment is in many cases the fruit of convenience rather than of deep-seated anti-totalitarian sentiment. The United States is now the country that buys most of their raw materials and sells them most of their manufactured goods; it is the only one that grants them loans. It is therefore quite logical that the governments of Latin America should proclaim their sympathy with their chief benefactor.

But does this solidarity with the United States really mean solidarity with democratic ideals? And more specifically, does it mean a determined rejection of Nazi fascism? The fact is that in Latin America there are only three or four truly democratic governments, and one of these is Chile, which has not yet defined its position. In some countries there are regimes which may be considered semi-democratic; others are real dictatorships whose rulers—like Hitler—suppress civil liberties, persecute and imprison the opposition, and function without any curb by public opinion. They represent minorities who remain in power only by force, and their fundamental political interest inclines them toward the Axis. The South American dictators are in fact precursors or imitators of Hitler and Mussolini. They are the flowering of a conservative reaction that does not forget that Germany and Japan are fighting the Soviet Union. Though for the time being they are glad to buy and sell and



negotiate loans where they can, they dread a Russian victory, they fear the penetration of the Labor Party in the government of Great Britain, and they do not care for the New Deal. In their heart of hearts they hope for the victory of a political system that would legitimize their own authoritarianism.

Is it foresighted and intelligent to accept the status quo? A benighted realism that looks no farther than tomorrow will answer yes. But who can state with any certainty that tomorrow will not produce in Latin America another Hungary and Rumania, which will deliver themselves to the Axis without a fight? And in any case, to bow before the status quo is to forget that there are real anti-totalitarian forces in Latin America, ready to take up the battle for democracy.

But how act without running counter to the principle of non-intervention, which is the cornerstone of the Good Neighbor policy? Let us speak frankly. To begin with, absolute non-intervention is more a theory than a fact. Once you have recognized an illegitimate government, have granted it loans and provided it with arms, have officially entertained its chief, then, whether you like it or not, there has been intervention. And this curious, concealed intervention aids and abets a dictator, who uses such backing to further his suppression of the democratic groups in his own country.

In the second place, this so-called non-intervention facilitates real intervention by the Axis, whose financing of the fascists in all countries places them in a privileged

position with respect to the real democratic elements. This is preeminently the case in Argentina, where 80 per cent of the people are pro-Ally but are without any means of making a stand against the wealthy Axis-supported pro-totalitarian organizations.

Finally, in time of war, when the very existence of nations is at stake, abstract principles are invoked only if they do not jeopardize victory. Nobody was surprised to see the United Nations "intervene" in France against Laval's policy of capitulation. Intervention is like a knife. It stabs when handled by an aggressor; it saves when it is a surgeon who wields it. The interventions of the past were repudiated by the peoples of both Americas because they were undertaken in favor of private interests. The non-intervention of the present, born of an honest intention to cooperate, runs the risk of frustrating the development of democracy. More immediately it exposes to the danger of widespread sabotage and possible attack the resources of Latin America, now so indispensable to the Allied war effort. The combination of great natural wealth, undefended coastlines, and unreliable governments is not one which offers much security to the anti-Axis coalition.

This does not mean that positive, active intervention is necessary. The democratic elements in Latin America know that they must fight their own battle. All that the liberals ask is that the democracies of the United Nations cease to help the enemies of democracy in Latin America, and that they begin to understand the Latin



Drawing by Arias Bernal

HISPANIDAD

ARIAS  
BERNAL



American liberals and regard them as their real allies.

A truly democratic program will also check the effectiveness of German propaganda, which now finds fertile soil in Latin America. The Nazis keep asking, "What kind of democracy are the United Nations fighting for? What is this democracy that accepts dictators as allies?" The psychological battle is complex and hazardous. It can never be won in Latin America without an intelligent and realistic program of political war.

## *Our Korean Allies*

BY SELDEN C. MENEFFEE

**A**FTER thirty-eight years of Japanese occupation millions of Koreans are still ready to take up arms against their oppressors. Whether they will be able to do so depends in large part on whether the United States gives them recognition, encouragement, and supplies.

At least 35,000 Koreans are already under arms in China. Several thousand of them are organized in the Korean Independent Army, which is fighting with the forces of Free China. This group includes the former Korean Volunteer Corps, which was organized by left-wing Koreans in 1938. Its size is severely limited by sheer lack of rice, guns, and ammunition. (These were presumably the Korean troops which inflicted damage upon the Japanese at Canton on September 27.) Other Koreans are fighting with the Eighth Route Army in northern China and with the guerrilla forces in Manchuria. Some 50,000 have also joined the Russian army in Siberia, according to Korean sources in Washington.

The Korean Peninsula is of immense strategic value to the Japanese, since a substantial part of Japan's war industry is located near Korea's rich mineral resources and great hydroelectric power installations. Geographically it is more of a "dagger pointing at the heart of Japan" than is eastern Siberia. It is separated from Japan's principal island—Honshu—by only a hundred miles of water. Its 23,000,000 people have long been kept in utter subjugation, but last June a force of 2,000 patriots showed enough fight to attack Japanese airports, oil depots, and dockyards in Korea. If United Nations forces land in Korea they will have the support of virtually the entire population.

In Japan itself are nearly a million Korean laborers—a sizable fifth column. More than a hundred thousand are working in war industries; many obtained their jobs by volunteering as "absentee wage-earners," workers who take the jobs of drafted men at half pay so that the remainder of the Japanese worker's wage can be given to his family in Japan. A few Koreans are in labor battalions of the Japanese army, but they are not armed—because of the high mortality rate among Japanese officers of Korean troops during the early years of the

war in China. Many Koreans in Japan have taken Japanese names and speak the Japanese language. This should make them doubly useful to us when the time comes for an invasion of Japan proper.

In spite of its strategic potentialities Korea is virtually a forgotten nation for this country. We have a long and dismal history of ignoring it. In 1882 Korea agreed to open its ports to American shipping, but only after we signed a treaty promising to give it a helping hand in case of trouble. Yet when Japanese troops occupied the country in 1904 we looked the other way; and we were still looking the other way when Japan annexed Korea in 1910. In 1919, inspired by Wilson's doctrine of self-determination for minority peoples, Korean patriots adopted a Declaration of Independence and staged nation-wide demonstrations, only to be mowed down by Japanese guns with the tacit consent of Japan's allies.

Nevertheless, the Korean provisional government, formed in 1919, has persisted in exile. Dr. Syngman Rhee, first President of the (provisional) Korean Republic, now represents that government in Washington.

Pearl Harbor brought the Koreans new hope of political support. But disillusionment soon followed. Our State Department continued to ignore Korea, and one of its officials actually voiced the belief that the country had lost its national identity. The department has steadfastly refused to recognize the Korean provisional government. It failed even to acknowledge a communication from Dr. Rhee asking whether the existence of the United States-Korean treaty of 1882 (which has never been denounced) might at least be noted, now that America has somewhat belatedly followed Korea in warring against the Japanese. The Korean provisional government was refused the privilege of signing the United Nations pact. When the Office of War Information wanted to put Dr. Rhee on the air early this year to speak to Koreans abroad in their own language, the State Department delayed the project for five months by withholding permission. The only signs of friendliness that have been given by our government were one sympathetic reference to Korea by President Roosevelt in a speech early this year and the fact that Koreans are not required to register as enemy aliens.

Chungking, in helping to finance the Korean Independent Army, has given the provisional government what amounts to de facto recognition. But when Chinese representatives in Washington proposed to initiate more formal relations with the provisional government, our State Department, presumably after consulting with Britain and Russia, advised them that we could not join in such a move. China has made no further overtures.

Recognition of Korea as a nation, which would imply its independence after Japan's defeat, would make a tremendous political and psychological impression not only on the Koreans but on all of Asia.



## Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

FEW Americans have ever heard of a prominent fellow-citizen named Kaufmann or know that he is one of President Roosevelt's most intimate friends and advisers. In Germany every child has known of him for a long time. Germans are so well informed about Mr. Kaufmann that the mere mention of his name recalls what he stands for. In one of his recent articles Dr. Goebbels wrote, "Thanks to the Jew Kaufmann, we Germans know only too well what to expect in case of defeat." He did not have to amplify this. He reminded his public of something that he was sure was engraved on their memories.

Three years ago an American named Kaufmann, an obscure business man, wrote a pamphlet called "Germany Must Perish." In it he described in great detail what should be done to Germans after the war. Through a little operation, not a very painful one, they must all be sterilized, made into eunuchs. Only by such action, he said, could the world make sure that Germany would perish and the other nations be left in peace.

Mr. Kaufmann's idea was still-born in America—but not in Germany. In 1940 Goebbels received a copy of his book, and welcomed it as a gift from heaven. Here at last was documentary proof of the fate in store for Germany if it should lose the war. The government had the book translated, printed an enormous edition of it, and pumped it into every German household. Everyone who applied for a food-rationing card received at the same time, pressed into his hand free, a copy of "Germany Must Perish."

All that is now an old story. But it has recently had a sequel which will revive and reinforce it.

The writer of this column confesses that he is not among those who favor easy peace terms for Germany. Moreover, he believes that an overwhelming proportion of Germans would regard a severe peace as normal and understandable, and that there is little prospect of arousing better expectations in them. The situation is bad enough as it is. Must it be made more difficult by fantastic proposals with no basis in reality?

The question is asked because Mr. Kaufmann has had a successor—and one of much greater weight. In the introduction to his anthology "Men at War" Ernest Hemingway again suggests that after the war all Germans should be sterilized. One can easily foresee what stimulation Goebbels will derive in coming weeks from this un hoped for bit of manna. For Hemingway happens to be extremely popular in Germany. Since the appearance of his "Farewell to Arms" he has been regarded as one of the most enlightened spirits in the United States. One can imagine how Goebbels will build that up:

### War Americana

*Notice in the bathroom of a Missouri hotel: "Remember Pearl Harbor and spare the towels."*

*I told a Missouri audience that after the war we would have to practice more internationalism and eliminate our high tariffs. A lady asked, "What will we do with our patriotism if we lower the tariff?"*

*I asked a superintendent of schools in a Pennsylvania county seat how people felt about the war. He said they want a second front. A workingman in Orrville, Ohio, told me, on his own initiative, that the Russians had saved us. I heard the same sentiment expressed by the taxi driver who took me from Orrville to Canton. He was an old fellow, a Mark Hanna Republican named Bricker. "No relation of the Governor," he assured me.*

*At every meeting I address, someone asks when this war will end. After a lecture at a state teachers' convention in Nebraska, forty-three written questions were sent up to the platform. Five asked when the war would end. My usual reply is, "The war will end on October 17, 1943, at 4:30 p. m., just in time for cocktails."*

*October 31, Chicago: My Irish taxi driver says he will vote for Senator Brooks. He is very vehement. "We shouldn't have gone to war, anyway," he says. "Pearl Harbor was our fault. Why did we send the scrap to Japan? They're murdering our boys in the Solomons, and we ship thousands of men to England just to sit around and drink beer."*

LOUIS FISCHER

"Now you see what plans for you are being cooked up by the most intelligent elements in America."

Probably Mr. Hemingway did not mean to have his proposal taken literally. He cannot possibly have believed that it could be carried out. If anything is certain, it is that the United Nations will never sterilize any people. Not to mention the many humanitarian and political considerations that would forbid it, there is the Catholic church, which is known to condemn sterilization, always and irrespective of motives, as a deadly sin. Five minutes' reflection is enough to show one that the idea is absolutely impracticable. It was quite unnecessary therefore to make Herr Goebbels a present that would prove so profitable to him. We have no means of preventing him from twisting to his own purposes the serious suggestions—good and bad—which are published here. But by loose talk about preposterous proposals we make it much too easy for him to whip up the spirit of his people.



## Spain and North Africa

ON NOVEMBER 8 President Roosevelt addressed a letter to General Franco, the Spanish dictator, announcing that American forces had landed in French possessions in North Africa "with the sole purpose of preventing occupation by Germany and Italy." The concluding sentences of the letter read:

I hope you will accept my full assurance that these moves are in no shape, manner, or form directed against the government or people of Spain or Spanish territory, metropolitan or overseas.

I believe that the Spanish government and the Spanish people wish to maintain neutrality and to remain outside the war. Spain has nothing to fear from the United Nations.

The President may well be right in believing that Spain would like to maintain its present shadowy neutrality. The more pertinent questions, however, are, first, whether Hitler can afford to permit it to do so; and, second, whether Franco can oblige the President by resisting if Hitler decides to take over strategic points in Spain, the Spanish islands, and Spanish Morocco.

Even before Franco came to power it was well understood that the outcome of the Spanish war would profoundly influence the future of the Mediterranean and of Europe as a whole. A cursory examination of the geography of Spain makes this easy to understand. Let us look first at the Balearic Islands, object of innumerable struggles from the days of the Phoenicians to those of the fascists. An able writer on the Mediterranean, Margaret Boveri, discussing the relations between the powers since 1918, says of these strategic bits of land:

One thing remains constant, and that is that facing the French island of Corsica and the Italian island of Sardinia is the neutral group of the Balearic Islands, just where the most important French and British sea routes and an important Italian sea route cross. Hence the struggle to tinge Spanish neutrality with one shade or another, and the tremendous anxiety with which the development of the civil war is being followed in London, Paris, and Rome.

Apparently, however, the anxiety in London and Paris was not great enough to induce those governments to end the intervention in Spain which had resulted in the early establishment of an Italian regime in Majorca.

Another interesting reference to the strategic value of these Spanish islands occurred in a lecture delivered by General Ettore Grasetti in 1938 in a military course given at Milan University. Said the Italian General:

The western coasts of Sardinia and Sicily constitute, with the Balearic Islands, a system that, once under our control, will neutralize the British artery of Gibraltar-

Malta. Thus with Italian influence in Palma de Majorca and German influence in Melilla and Ceuta, the Rome-Berlin Axis extends to the western Mediterranean (Majorca-Cagliari-Trapani), can sever the great British artery at its western source in Gibraltar, and can wield decisive influence in an easterly direction toward the island of Pantelleria. As far as France is concerned, the Italian Balearic-Sardinia line will cut the French lines between Marseilles, Casablanca, and Oran in the west, between Algiers and Philippeville in the center, and between Tunis and Suez in the east. In short, the whole French arterial system between the home country and French North Africa, the basis of French general mobilization, can be severed.

How directly these words bear upon the problem of an invasion of the Continent from North Africa is obvious.

The strategic importance of Spanish Morocco and Tangier is second only to that of the Balearics since these territories face—and threaten—Gibraltar. Could Gibraltar be defended if Spain should join, or be used by, the Axis powers? In the German "Naval Annual" of 1938 Admiral Gadow discussed this question.

The air arm gives a negative reply. Long-distance batteries would consign the fortress and its fleet to a terrible fate. On the other side of the strait, and facing Gibraltar, is the Spanish base of Ceuta, with powerful fortifications which can be made even more powerful. Would a Nationalist Spain, emancipated and conscious of her own destiny, decide to revive the old claim for a Spanish Gibraltar? Would she make use of the privileged position of those sentinels of the strait, Cartagena and Cadiz, and so jeopardize the two-hundred-year-old British policy built on the strategy of naval bases?

In the present situation the ports of Spain, particularly those of southern Spain and Spanish Morocco, also demand attention. Cadiz, Arzila, and Larache, all offer points from which offensive action could be taken against shipping and against French African ports on the Atlantic, now under American attack. It is also to be noted that the roads and the railway from Oran which join those Atlantic ports to Algiers and Tunis pass, for a distance of nearly 250 miles, close to the Spanish Moroccan border; so that in addition to the dangers threatening the Allied sea routes there is also a chance of attack by land.

If the American forces with the support of British naval units make good their advances into French Africa, they will surround the area controlled by Spain. But unless they are able to prevent the use of that territory, particularly the fortified port of Ceuta, by Germany, their situation will remain precarious. And if Hitler takes possession of Spain's southern Atlantic and Mediterranean ports, or establishes a base in the Balearics, the dangers facing an Allied invasion of the Continent will be multiplied.



## Ersatz Life in France

[The following extract is from a letter received by a reader of The Nation. For obvious reasons the name of the writer and his location cannot be revealed.]

IT WILL soon be three years since I have sent any news of myself. You must have thought me dead. The last letter I received from you was sent by Atlantic Clipper, on one of the first crossings. The speed of modern transportation—it reached me four or five months later, in the little Alsatian village where my regiment was billeted for the winter during the demoralizing idleness of that *guerre pourrie* which followed the *guerre blanche*! I wanted to write to you then, but all the intellectual activity I could muster in that stupefying period was used in recopying and polishing the manuscript of my history, which I had begun to prepare, with fine appropriateness, on the fifteenth of August, 1939. On the ninth of May, 1940, I put the final period to the third section. On the tenth, as you know, the real war began for us. It took me from Alsace to the Somme. We experienced the terrible shock of June 5. On June 10 we were the last soldiers to see, receding in the distance behind us, the Eiffel Tower, where for a few hours longer the tricolor still floated. In July I found myself demobilized, in an old blue linen suit, with two shirts and a toothbrush, without money or friends, but holding on to the manuscript of my history, which had filled the kit bag on which for two months I had been sleeping. I was free and in what we call the free zone. I had the luck to find here a small office job, and here I live, waiting.

Your friend Henri did not have my good luck. He was at Metz and was made prisoner in the Vosges with the troops that had evacuated the Maginot Line. He has been in Germany two years now. He has done everything, twenty-three jobs in all—hotel porter, workman, plowman, and so on. He escaped twice and was twice recaptured. At the moment he is crushing stone. He has shaved his head, and his comrades call him "Gandhi," which makes me think he must be very thin. In spite of everything he has gone through, he maintains a staggering morale.

Whether I shall ever be able to finish and perfect my history I have no idea, so great, in present circumstances, is the uncertainty of tomorrow. Every day I am astounded that the day before was at least for me relatively peaceful and relatively free. To go on, as I am doing, with a long historical work is a gamble. It is doubtful, moreover, whether I shall ever be able to publish the fruit of my labor, since the paper crisis is total.

What shall I tell you further of the life we all lead?

People outside are apt to picture it in a way that does not at all correspond to reality. Recall, for example, the restrictions which for several years before the war existed in Central Europe. The French, who then lived in liberty and plenty, imagined that such a life must be terrible, and not only for intellectuals but for the man in the street as well. That is not at all the way you must visualize it. Obviously it isn't at all amusing to spend two hours in a queue waiting to buy cherries and then not be able to buy cherries, especially on a day when there is nothing else for sale at the market. But life does not stop because of this; famine does not slay you and all those around you. In spite of everything, life goes on, with whatever it carries of passion and hope, and work goes on as well. And with some good humor you can even find amusing things in this *Ersatz* life. It is funny, you must admit, to see in a showcase a roll of straw braid, the sort of braid which modistes used to make hats of, and underneath it the notice, "Make your shoes yourself." Again, you have to laugh when you hear that a Horsemen's Association in Limousin has sent this appeal to the Vichy government: "In view of the fact that the future belongs to the horse, and that the horse suffers from asphalted roads, we demand the immediate de-asphalting of the roads." However, it may be foolish to laugh, for the automobile, even with gazogene, becomes each day more legendary.



Drawing by Boardman Robinson



The life we lead, you see, has in certain aspects a distinct resemblance to "Duck Soup," which we still see in the movie theaters, together with—which is not less astounding—"Mr. Smith Goes to Washington." It is very much a day-to-day life. Shoes with holes in them, patched shirts hold an important place in it. And so do dried beans. Often I say to myself, if I can get, with ticket DZ, 250 grams of dried beans I shall be able next Sunday to write the next chapter. For it is a fact, which I had not before experimentally proved, that intellectual work requires a certain amount of dried vegetables—we won't speak of fats or meat; without them it is accomplished with great difficulty and small success. Nevertheless, don't feel sorry for us, and don't, above all, feel sorry for me, since I for one have a very bearable, even comfortable life. I saw two years ago that you can be relatively comfortable during a barrage if you are flat on your belly in a field or under the illusory shelter of a tree while your neighbor in his haste has lain down with his face in a clump of nettles or in a ditch full of water. Moreover, after your first friend has been killed, you are less shocked by the death of the second, and, with more reason, still less shocked by the death of the tenth, whatever anyone may say. How many will be left when the rolling fire of the barrage has stopped? The spirit of the harsh weeks of 1940 is still with us in 1942.

## *Everybody's Business*

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

### A Threat to Labor Morale

IN CERTAIN restricted but influential circles abolition of the forty-hour week is being heavily plugged as a panacea for the man-power problem. The first loud voice in its favor was that of Senator Reynolds of North Carolina, who said that the standard work week should be boosted to fifty-seven hours with elimination of extra pay for overtime. "I say fifty-seven hours," he added, because Great Britain is working fifty-seven, Germany is working sixty, and Japan seventy."

Anyone reading this statement might be forgiven for the deduction that the British standard work week is fifty-seven hours. And, indeed, Senator Reynolds, who is an ignorant fellow, may well believe this to be a fact. But the same excuse can hardly be offered for the *New York Times*, which, after editorially advocating a standard forty-eight-hour week, continued: "The average work week in England is now fifty-six hours. Our own average work week in factories is still less than forty-three hours. Before we resort to compulsory labor we should remove the present artificial scarcity of labor

brought about by legal or union restriction of hours."

There is nothing absolutely inaccurate about this passage, but it is misleading since there is no hint to the reader that the average English work week actually includes from eight to nine hours of overtime.

The facts are that while the hours of labor of adult men are not limited by law in Britain, they are restricted in practically all industries by agreements between trade unions and employers' associations. The normal work week is forty-seven to forty-eight hours, with overtime paid at one and one-quarter to one and one-half times the standard rate and double time on Sundays. Moreover, under the war-time Essential Work Order which freezes men in war factories to their jobs, workers in essential undertakings are guaranteed as a minimum the "normal" weekly wage in that industry. This affords them protection, not enjoyed by American workers, against being forced to go on short time owing to non-arrival of materials, machinery breakdowns, or other causes beyond their control.

Before the war most British trade unions placed some restrictions on the amount of overtime that might be worked, but during the Dunkirk crisis they agreed to suspend these provisions. A report on the consequences made by the Parliamentary Select Committee on National Expenditure, a body with a conservative majority, is worth quoting at some length:

Where the normal working week had been fifty or fifty-five hours it was commonly increased to sixty-five or in some cases to seventy-two hours a week. The immediate effect of this and of the national appeal for the greatest effort was a remarkable increase in output. Quite obviously, however, such an effort could not be maintained for any length of time. Output began to decline rapidly at the end of a few weeks and at the end of about two months fell to a little above and sometimes lower than that which was obtained before the increase of the length of the working week. Some establishments realized the situation and reduced hours at once; others were slower in doing so. At the present time [August, 1941] although hours have been generally reduced, there are establishments where a normal working week above sixty hours is still in force.

What a contrast between this cool and informed appraisal of the hours question and Senator O'Daniel's demand for a standard seventy-two-hour week!

In July, 1940, the British Ministry of Labor recommended an immediate reduction in hours to sixty a week, with the ultimate aim of bringing them down to fifty-five or fifty-six. At the present time the average is probably around the last figure. A great many plants in Britain while working all round the clock for six days a week have found that the most satisfactory results are obtained by not attempting to operate on Sundays except in the case of special rush jobs and for purposes of main-



tenance and repair. Both the health and the productivity of the workers have, in most cases, been improved by the provision of a regular day of rest. Moreover, vacations are regarded as essential to health. It was not possible to arrange for them during the stresses of 1940, but in 1941 and 1942 the government urged workers to take the week's vacation with pay which was general in Britain before the war.

Once again it must be emphasized that in Britain all hours worked above the standard week are paid for at the additional rate; so that the average worker is receiving extra pay every week for eight or nine hours overtime. The average American worker, on the other hand, is working less than three hours overtime, which suggests that the American employer is much less willing to pay a premium rate than his British counterpart. Primarily, hours of labor are being restricted by profit considerations.

For there is no reason to suppose that American workers in war plants would not put in longer hours if they got the chance. The November issue of *Fortune*, in an article entitled What's Itching Labor, quotes an Illinois-Carnegie steel worker as exploding: "Hell, I'd like nothing better than more production. So what am I doing? I work five days a week. They won't let me work more." Other men in the steel mills interviewed by *Fortune* expressed similar views, but they all said "no" when asked if they were willing to work extra hours without overtime rates of pay. Some of them, however, qualified this by stating they would agree if the additional profits that resulted were extracted and if executive salaries were restricted. While Mr. Grace enjoys a bonus that expands in proportion to Bethlehem's profits, they do not see why they should forgo incentive pay for extra efforts.

If the reactionary press gets its way and the new Congress, feeling its Republican oats after the election, carries out proposals to repeal the forty-hour law and abrogate union contracts providing for overtime pay, we can expect a sharp decline in labor morale, unless at the same time commensurate restrictions are placed on profits. For men who have been earning regular overtime pay, action of this sort would mean an actual slimming of the pay envelope, and for their employers it would mean so much gravy.

Nevertheless, if it can be proved that the wage-and-hour law is a hindrance to production, its suspension for the duration can be justified. But in this case other private rights protected by legislation, which are proving an obstacle to the war effort, should be treated in the same manner. If workers are to suffer pay cuts by acts of Congress, why should not holders of tax-exempt bonds forfeit their privileged position? If contracts between unions and employers are to be canceled by Congress, why should not this set a precedent for the legal abolition of patent-license agreements, which certainly add to

the cost of production? Class legislation, hitting only at labor's privileges, must intensify to a dangerous degree the workers' suspicion that the war is being used as a battering ram against their hard-won standards—a suspicion already aroused by the constant nagging to which they are being subjected in so much of the press.

## In the Wind

AMERICAN LEGION leaders in Massachusetts have taken it upon themselves to investigate alleged violations of the Selective Service laws in that state. Commander William F. Campbell, chairman of the investigating committee, asserts that "draft-dodging has become so flagrant that large numbers of a certain racial group are coming from New York to this section, where they are getting defense jobs and keeping out of the draft." A group of Boston liberals is urging an investigation of the Legion.

NO LONGER able to pursue its normal business, the Singer Sewing Machine Company has developed and is now manufacturing a machine for suturing wounds.

WORLD GOVERNMENT ASSOCIATION, an organization with an ambitious program for international amity, recently invited its followers and friends to a meeting which featured "Contract Bridge, a Concert of Yugoslavian Music, and a Conference on World Government led by Clark M. Eichelberger." Chief Rising Sun of the Cherokee Nation will call the meeting to order.

THE BROOKLYN TABLET, unofficial heir to *Social Justice*, predicts that children from fourteen to sixteen years old will soon be drafted for war work and that their mothers will then be sent into the front-line trenches.

A REPORT of a speech by an S. S. leader in the *Hamburger Fremdenblatt* shows one way in which Nazi leaders are explaining Hitler's difficulties to the German people. "The effects," the speaker is reported to have said, "of the many centuries during which German blood has been absorbed by foreign peoples became particularly noticeable in the fight against Germanism, for the German blood has given the foreign races a belligerent spirit of resistance."

THE BOOTLEGGING INDUSTRY, which has flourished despite repeal, now faces a new crisis. Sugar rationing has cut down production and forced many stills out of business.

FROM THE ROME RADIO: "Chiang Kai-shek has been received into the Jewish faith. The chief rabbi of Shanghai made a special trip by monoplane to officiate at the ceremony."

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of \$5 will be awarded each month for the best item.—EDITORS THE NATION.]



# BOOKS and the ARTS

## Notes by the Way

THERE has never been anyone quite like James Thurber: yet I suspect the reason his particular kind of madness, at its best, is so acceptable and satisfying is that it is an authentic species of the genus of humor Americans have always demanded and created.

Here is the essential and ingratiating innocence; the tall tale and the knack of leading the reader into the domain of fantasy and the fabulous by "a bright trail of fact [which] fixes the attention . . . and seems natural"; the overturning of old values; the poetic sense of life; the monologue and the constant use of "I," which is a mask, "simply and blankly worn," for expression that rises out of submerged emotion and self-scrutiny but seldom if ever "brims over into self-revelation."

The mask was a portable heirloom handed down by the pioneer. In a primitive world crowded with pitfalls the unchanging, unaverted countenance had been a safeguard, preventing revelations of surprise, anger, or dismay. The mask had otherwise become habitual among the older Puritans as their more expressive or risible feelings were sunk beneath the surface. . . . No doubt the mask would prove useful in a country where the Puritan was still a power and the risks of pioneering by no means over. The Yankee retained it.

The American humorist has retained "the unchanging, unaverted countenance." So has the hard-boiled "deadpan" novelist, almost *ad nauseam*.

I pause for identification of the source of the quotations and, indeed, of the whole paragraph. It is "American Humor" by Constance Rourke.

Mr. Thurber's present collection, "My World—and Welcome to It" (Harcourt, Brace, \$2.50), is uneven in quality. What Do You Mean It Was Brillig?, The Macbeth Murder Mystery, and the Secret Life of Walter Mitty seem to me the best items, and they are excellent. I also like The Letters of James Thurber and A Good Man. You Could Look It Up is interesting for what it attempts to do; but here the balloon of fantasy does not quite get off the ground.

Part Two of the book is mainly made up of six "straight" pieces—well, more or less straight—about pre-Vichy France. They are amusing; they have a touch of the innocent abroad; they are also moving, but largely, I think, because the reader's affection for France and the fact of France's fall make them so.

Thurber's drawings, of subjects human and inhuman, provide a happy ending to almost every piece. They too are innocent, ingratiating, and fabulous—though I recently had a Thurberesque experience which suggests that his drawings may after all have some connection with reality. A few Sundays ago when I opened the door to pick up the *Times* a large Dalmatian hound walked in. I had never seen him before; I haven't seen him since. Perhaps there really was a seal in Thurber's bedroom.

THE FALL NUMBER of the *Antioch Review* contains an article on the North American Negro by Luis Alberto Sanchez y Sanchez, the exiled Peruvian writer who was one of the contributors to *The Nation's* series on Hispano-American literature. Mr. Sanchez does not give us new facts about our treatment of Negroes. What he does do, and what makes the piece so fresh, is to show us, in a South American mirror unclouded by the associations that even the unprejudiced among us cannot escape, how cruel and stupid that treatment is. The article is part of a book Mr. Sanchez is writing about the United States for publication and distribution in South America. I hope it will be published here.

I HAVE BEEN meaning for some time to protest against a statement which appeared on the editorial page of the *New York Times* at the time of the death of Alice Duer Miller, who wrote "The White Cliffs of Dover." The *Times* labeled that work "doubtfully imperishable"—which reminds one of that equally recessive line, "Scarce dare we hope oak galls, I doubt." The editorial went on to say that "Mrs. Miller's other works . . . have added to the enjoyment of countless men and women of all ages even if, as literature, they were too light and gay to become what we ponderously call classic."

THE TALE which follows is said to be true. Not long ago a new house officer at one of the hospitals of the Medical Center was making the rounds. When he called on one elderly gentleman he made conversation by asking what the patient thought of the Center. The elderly gentleman expressed his admiration and then added, "I organized it." The house officer was startled but went calmly on.

"Do you know any of the people here? Dr. —?" He named several eminent physicians. Each time the patient answered that he did, and wound up by saying casually, "I appointed them."

The house officer took his leave, shaking his head over the things old gentlemen can imagine. It was only when he began telling the funny story to his colleagues that he learned that the patient was Nicholas Murray Butler.

THE WORD "progressive" is one of the hardest-worked in the language. So it is no wonder, I suppose, that a progressive publisher is about to issue a book by a progressive author entitled "The Complete Book of Progressive Knitting." Its primary object is to "raise knitting from a grandmother's pastime to an accomplished art."

FOR PUNSTERS ONLY: According to a dispatch from Ottawa, the general secretary of the Communist Party of Canada has revealed that during the two years he was being sought by police he was hiding out in northern Ontario. The heading read "Tim Buck Reveals Hideout." I'll print the four-line verse that makes the best punning use of that provocative line.

MARGARET MARSHALL



## Three Views of Russia

*THE TRUTH ABOUT SOVIET RUSSIA.* By Sidney and Beatrice Webb. Longmans, Green and Company. \$1.50.

*DUEL FOR EUROPE.* By John Scott. Houghton Mifflin Company. \$3.50.

*WE'RE IN THIS WITH RUSSIA.* By Wallace Carroll. Houghton Mifflin Company. \$2.

**S**KIPPING an unfortunate preface by G. B. Shaw and going straight to the grain: the Webbs seek to improve relations with the Soviets by declaring that Stalin is not a dictator and that, except for transitional blemishes, the U. S. S. R. is already a full-fledged and multiform industrial democracy. To make their points they just quote extensively from the 1936 constitution. The result is necessarily a purely abstract treatment, of which the following is quite typical.

So far as Stalin is related to the constitution of the U. S. S. R. . . . he is the duly elected representative of one of the Moscow constituencies to the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R. By this assembly he has been selected as one of the thirty members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R., accountable to the representative assembly for all its activities. It is this Presidium which selects the Council of Commissars (*Sovnarkom*) and, during the intervals between the meetings of the Supreme Soviet, controls the policy of the *Sovnarkom*. . . . In May, 1941, Stalin, hitherto content to be a member of the Presidium . . . took over, with the consent of the Presidium, the office of Prime Minister . . . in exactly the same way . . . that Winston Churchill, with the consent of the House of Commons, became Prime Minister. . . .

Of the Soviet Prime Minister's relations with the Communist Party the Webbs offer this explanation:

[Stalin] has persistently asserted in his writings and speeches that . . . so far as the Communist Party is concerned he acts as general secretary under the orders of the executive. He has, in fact, frequently pointed out that he does no more than carry out the decisions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

But the Webbs have a second and more realistic line of argument. Recognizing that one feature of the Soviet democracy is "the idolization of one individual as an infallible leader who must be revered and obeyed and not criticized," they explain Stalin's accession thus: After Lenin's death it was agreed "that some new personality had to be produced. Among the leaders of the Communist Party there ensued a tacit understanding that Stalin should be boosted as the supreme leader." The Pickwickian sense given to the words "ensued" and "tacit" may cause some discomfort, which is not lessened when one reads that the supreme-leader idea is after all inconsistent with Marxism, but that the facts "suggest" that in Russia's backward condition there was "no alternative to the one-party system with its refusal to permit organized political opposition to the new political and economic order." The latter suggestion may be true, but it hardly jibes with previous arguments. It is a pity, for the original abstraction and the consequent contradictions obscure the fact that the Soviet economy, which this reviewer believes to be the most important single thing a socialist has to defend in this war, is socialist in its basic structure.

Two very different books remain. In his former volume,

"Behind the Urals," Mr. Scott established himself as an authority. In it he movingly described his experiences as a worker at Magnitogorsk. Unlike the Webbs, Mr. Scott was a tiny but living cell in the vast organism of Soviet life. His book, poorly written as it was, was one of the most powerful influences this writer has experienced this year. Mr. Scott, admitting his pain and horror at certain features of Russian life, shrinking at what, for a Westerner, proved to be an intolerable burden, nevertheless declared his profound belief that the Soviet Union was filled with a great sense of good purpose and that its achievements were real and substantial. In short, Mr. Scott confirmed one's belief that if in the post-war period there is a desperately necessary influx of the blood of socialist democracy into the Soviet system, then in the U. S. S. R. we shall see something that will be worth all the cost of war and revolution.

Mr. Scott, then, respects the Soviet Union and has no need of special pleading. In the present book, the central thesis of which is indicated by the title, he examines Soviet relations with the Third Reich and describes Stalin's efforts to postpone and prepare for the inevitable shock. Upon matters of Russian foreign policy he has little to add that is new, though the simplicity of his formulation, "a duel for Europe," enables him to ignore distracting unessentials. But Mr. Scott has several great advantages. He is no mere correspondent. He knew the language and had many well-informed and confiding friends, and he was present in the U. S. S. R. until the outbreak of the Russo-German campaign. He can therefore credibly report the temper of the people. There are some surprises in his book. The first Russo-Finnish war, he says, was extremely unpopular in Russia and was the cause of a serious lowering of industrial morale, which led to a decline in production. But while the Red Army was unwelcome in Finland, the contrary was the case in Poland. The whole bearing and mental tone of Soviet soldiers returning on leave from Poland was proof that they had passed through an exciting experience of welcome.

But it is in his account of the U. S. S. R.'s preparation for war that Mr. Scott excels. Stalin did not for one moment place any trust in the pact. When the Finnish war had usefully disclosed certain weaknesses, a tremendous industrial and military drive was begun—involving, Mr. Scott says, hundreds of thousands of "casualties." Production in the spring of 1940 was low, but the measures taken sufficed to correct that state of affairs. The laws regarding lateness and absence were enforced with the drastic penalties of imprisonment and confiscation of wages. Much was accomplished by a virtual draft of labor, as in Britain, combined with the lengthening of the working day from seven to eight hours, plus overtime. (British and Russian workers now put in about equal hours of work.) Factory discipline was sternly enforced, and disobedience and slovenliness in work became crimes. A million youths were conscripted into semi-militarized industrial schools. Prices of certain goods were raised to lower consumption, while free higher education was abolished. In the army the promulgation of a new disciplinary code was accompanied by drastic reorganization. Special and successful efforts were made to improve equipment supplies, which had been insufficient to fit out a vast mass of reserves. In this account, I believe, Mr. Scott has



been a little too content to recite the external facts. A greater emphasis should have been placed on the advantages of the Soviet type of economy. It is a question of degree, of course, for Mr. Scott does attribute some of the success of that preparedness campaign to facilities which Mr. Carroll, in "We're in This with Russia," describes as follows:

In the Soviet Union, where private property has been abolished, the government was not hindered by private rights. . . . It did not have to plead with the motor industry to stop the manufacture of automobiles and start the production of tanks. It did not have to waste public funds on "cost plus 10 per cent" contracts which encouraged manufacturers to slow down production, keep labor idle, and increase costs in order to increase profits. And it did not have to plead with labor unions to waive the forty-hour week and extra pay for overtime.

Upon one important point Mr. Carroll here misinforms us. The Soviet government did not have to plead with the Russian unions, but Russian workers do receive time and a half pay for overtime above a forty-eight-hour week. And I think he might have remembered that if the American automobile workers' union had had its way, production would be much farther along than it is.

"We're in This with Russia" is a typical correspondent's book, well and warmly written, sympathetic and liberal in attitude. If it adds nothing to what Messrs. Caldwell, Ingersoll, and Werth have told us, that is perhaps not Mr. Carroll's fault. He reports with sobriety, except for an occasional excess: in distributing arms to the people the Soviet government certainly showed that it was confident the people would make good use of them, and Sevastopol proved that trust was justified; Mr. Carroll, who has seen the British Home Guard, comments thus, "No other government, even in this total war, had dared to put such confidence in its people." But there are few such blemishes, and if, despite the good liberal sense of its final chapters, I do not urgently recommend this book it is solely because it contains little fresh information. Skip the Webbs, buy the Scott, and reserve the Carroll at the library.

RALPH BATES

## Anti-Nazi Thriller

**HOSTAGES.** By Stefan Heym. G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$2.50.

**STEFAN HEYM'S** novel about the Nazis in Czechoslovakia will set your hair on end. No doubt a faithful record of what it is like to live under the Nazi terror, it piles horror upon horror in nearly unbearable quantity and photographic detail—torture, rape, all the excruciating paraphernalia of Nazi sadism. You get the impression that Mr. Heym hates violence almost too much, he is so fascinated by it. But neither his sincere passion against Nazism nor the emotions which his readers will bring to his subject can raise his book to the place claimed for it in the ranks of serious anti-fascist literature. It takes more than a serious audience to make a serious novel. For the most part "Hostages" is only a grand-scale thriller. This is not to ignore the difference between the fear we feel as we contemplate a whole nation of murderers and the fear we feel as we contemplate the individual acts of terror of an ordinary thriller; but it is also not to confuse the emotions an



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author plays on in his readers with the emotions he himself creates. When you have finished "Hostages" and your equanimity is restored, you have the cheated sense of having yourself written the best part of the book. What Mr. Heym has contributed is shabby, sterile, sentimental.

A group of people are in a Prague cafe on an afternoon when a Nazi officer disappears from the cellar. The Gestapo knows the officer is a suicide but prefers to act as if he were murdered; all the people in the cafe are held as hostages for the non-existent murderer, among them a group of five men who are placed in one cell—an industrialist, an actor, a journalist, a psychoanalyst, and a janitor. It is with these five, their lives before their arrest and their conduct as they await death, that the novel chiefly deals; the janitor, a member of the underground, has comrades outside of jail who provide the free-moving action of the story. Here, obviously, is material for any kind of novel. Using the microcosmic device, Thomas Mann wrote "The Magic Mountain," and Vicki Baum wrote "Grand Hotel." Mr. Heym's novel, when it is not a thriller, is an anti-Nazi "Grand Hotel." His psychoanalyst woos immortality by taking notes on the reactions of his cell-mates; the actor gives himself a big scene by trying to confess to the uncommitted murder; the pitiless industrialist is unapologetically shown up in all his cowardice. Mr. Heym's characters, compounded of all the elements other novelists have taught him to look for, may simulate reality but they are only contrivances.

Perhaps it is always the fault of meretricious fiction that it likes to deal with the biggest subjects: *kitsch* walks in where fine intelligences may fear to tread. In common with so many modern novelists, Mr. Heym is much concerned with death and with the problem of how we must live in order to know how to die; and like so many modern novelists, he solves his problems politically. Only Janoshik, Mr. Heym's philosophizing janitor, can meet death courageously, for of the five victims he alone has lived with a sense of his continuity in freedom; in so far as his companions learn his "truth" in their few days of association with him, they too are able to face death bravely. Well, it is Mr. Heym's novel to do with as he likes; he had only to demonstrate his thesis instead of stacking the cards for it. But it seems that death, like other important subjects, defies the novelist with a political ax to grind, no matter how great the cause in which he sharpens his weapons.

DIANA TRILLING

## Business in American Life

*THE AGE OF ENTERPRISE.* By Thomas C. Cochran and William Miller. The Macmillan Company. \$3.50.

**E**ARLY in this "social history of industrial America" Professors Cochran and Miller assert that "[we] have not been a people essentially political, literary, metaphysical, or religious. Our habits and folkways have not been formed only by voting, reading, logic-chopping, or prayer. Our manners are not simply those of conventions, lyceums, schools, or churches. We have been primarily a business people, and business has been most important in our lives." There cannot be the shadow of doubt that business has been

something very special in our national life. Emerson noticed it as far back as 1834. Henry Demarest Lloyd, in "Wealth Against Commonwealth" (1894), complained that we were averse to examining what was the greatest force in our personal and social lives. Professors Cochran and Miller are anything but shy in their examination: they relate exceedingly well what forces combined to make this a business country, and what business did to the people in it.

There is little essentially new in "The Age of Enterprise," and the authors emphasize that their purpose has been "simply to make the non-professional reader acquainted with what we believe to be at once the most useful and most easily available books and magazines which bear upon our subject." Considering our general unwillingness to talk business when discussing our civilization, this is something in the nature of a public service. The reader does get the story, and he is bound to realize from it that industry has not been merely a fact in American life but one of its major factors.

At the same time the authors' enthusiasm for their subject has, I think, made them a little extreme in their view. How "primarily" have we been a business people? There is Gilbert Seldes's "Stammering Century"—a similar case could be made out for religion. There is Louis Adamic's Common Council for American Unity—American history could certainly be interpreted in terms of Plymouth Rock to Ellis Island. The persistent problem—and this Professors Cochran and Miller have not fully resolved—is precisely how much of a factor business has been or can be at any given time. Business may be the heart of the nation, as Charles Edward Russell once wrote, but it isn't its blood, bones, and brains. Suppose one has read "The Age of Enterprise." Suppose one has seen the effect of transportation and the frontier on industrial America, and studied the rampant individualism which it encouraged; watched the political triumph of industrialists, the "Gilded Age," the rise of the labor movement and farm bloc, the Progressive era. Suppose one has sampled the art, ethics, philosophy, and social standards which accompanied these changes. One comes to the era of world finance, super-efficiency, high-pressure salesmanship—and what then? Professors Cochran and Miller see hope in the fact that the New Deal finally took our individualist bull by the horns and made it walk with something approximating social consciousness. But war has now taken over, and the future of American business, if it is to be seen aright, will have to be read with particular care out of the past.

Professors Cochran and Miller grant willingly that there is plenty of work yet to be done in their subject. Here is one suggestion. The Progressive movement, they say, was composed of "fringes" of the urban middle class—united with the Western yeomen—which, "truly conservative," opposed all collectivism, that of trusts as well as of trade unions. "[The Progressives] insisted . . . upon the supremacy of laws over men or institutions, and they had a naive belief in the efficacy of legislation to achieve their ends."

That is the accepted version. But it is a question whether the fact that super-businesses succeeded the old trusts discredits the attempts of the Progressives to prevent the evils of the trust system. Is it certain that without their efforts to restrain the trusts, those same trusts might not have become uncontrollable forces in American society? Were the Pro-



gressives really "naive" in fighting for salutary legislation? Let us grant that the Progressives failed to bring the millennium—who did?

What one can learn from "The Age of Enterprise," it seems to me, is that no book which does not take business into account can help us to understand ourselves today. An outlook—cultural, political, social—which ignores the business strain in our civilization will stumble somewhere. Sinclair Lewis in "Babbitt" and Matthew Josephson in "The Robber Barons" told only parts of the story. The rest of it includes such figures as Henry Villard, "Golden Rule" Jones of Toledo, Joseph Fels—yes, and Sherwood Anderson.

LOUIS FILLER

## A Selected List of Children's Books

BY LENA BARKSDALE

### PICTURE BOOKS

*The Telephone Book.* By Dorothy Kunhardt. Simon and Schuster. \$1. Simple and amusingly ingenious, this book is a worthy successor to the author's "Pat the Bunny."

*Watch the Pony Grow.* By William Hall. Illustrations by Charlotte Steiner. Crowell. \$1. The pages increase in size as the pony grows and learns to do new things.

*The Indoor Noisy Book.* By Margaret Wise Brown. Illustrations by Leonard Weisgard. W. R. Scott. \$1. This story of the little dog, Muffin, which brings in familiar household sounds, will delight small children.

*Dorcas Porcus.* By Tasha Tudor. Oxford. 75 cents. A pet pig runs true to form. Delicate pictures in water color.

*Marshmallow.* By Clare Turlay Newberry. Harper. \$1.75. A true story of a cat and a rabbit who became friends. Excellent pictures.

*Hi-Ho the Hippo.* By Dorothy Thomas. Illustrations by Ruth Gannett. Random House. \$3. Handsome lithographs, many in full color, illustrate this fantastic hippopotamus story.

*Cecily G. and the Nine Monkeys.* By H. A. Rey. Houghton Mifflin. \$1.75. Merry nonsense about an obliging giraffe and her energetic monkey friends.

*Flip and the Cows.* By Wesley Dennis. Viking. \$1.50. Tells of an incident in the pasture between Flip, the colt, and the cows. Pictures full of action.

*Dash and Dart.* By Mary and Conrad Buff. Viking. \$2. Simply told story about the life of two fawns in the forest, with many lovely pictures.

*The Little Red Lighthouse and the Great Gray Bridge.* By Hildegard H. Swift and Lynn Ward. Harcourt, Brace. \$1.75. Good pictures and an appealing story about a tiny Hudson River lighthouse.

### TALES OF FACT AND FANCY

*Nikkernik, Nakkernak, and Nökkernok.* By Dola de Jong. Illustrations by Jan H. Hoowij. Scribner. \$1.50. Three funny old men inadvertently capture a lion.

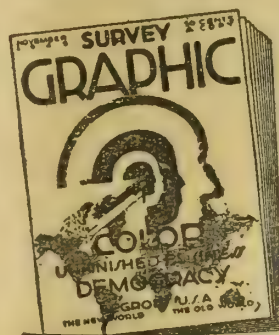
*Poo-Poo and the Dragons.* By C. S. Forester. Illustrations by Robert Lawson. Little, Brown. \$1.75. Absurd and lively tale of a little boy who kept pet dragons. Good for reading aloud.

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- Young Tom Jefferson's Adventure Chest.* By Betty Elsie Davis. Mill. \$2. Stimulating introduction to the life of a great man, with good background and many lively incidents.
- Snow Treasure.* By Marie McSwigan. Illustrations by Mary Reardon. Dutton. \$2. This graphic story of Norwegian children serving their country in time of danger is based on fact.
- Gulliver Joins the Army.* By Alice Dalgliesh. Illustrations by Ellen Segner. Scribner. \$1.75. Entertaining story about a family who loved animals, and particularly about Gulliver, who enlisted in Dogs for Defense.
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- The Raccoon Twins.* By Jane Tompkins. Illustrations by Kurt Wiese. Stokes. \$1.60. Tells how young raccoons learn to take care of themselves in their natural surroundings.
- Who Goes to the Wood.* By Fay Inchfawn. Illustrations by Diana Thorne. Winston. \$2. No nature study here, but much imagination and quiet humor.
- Time to Laugh.* Selected by Phyllis Fenner. Illustrations by Henry C. Pitz. Knopf. \$2. Twenty really funny stories from old and new sources.
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- Jesus' Story: A Little New Testament.* Illustrated by Maud and Miska Petersham. Macmillan. \$1.50. Text from the King James Version, with appropriate pictures, six in four colors.
- Gift of the Forest.* By R. Lal Singh and Eloise Lownsbey. Illustrations by Anne Vaughan. Longmans, Green. \$2.50. Full of jungle lore and native wisdom. Tells how a Hindu boy raised a Royal Bengal tiger cub.
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- They Came from Sweden.* By Clara Ingram Judson. Houghton Mifflin. \$2. A Minnesota pioneering story, told with insight and interesting detail.
- The Middle Moffat.* By Eleanor Estes. Illustrations by Louis Slobodkin. Harcourt, Brace. \$2. Fresh colorful story of a little girl and her many friends.

- Four-Story Mistake.* By Elizabeth Enright. Farrar and Rinehart. \$1.75. The Melendy family move to the country, where, among other pleasant activities, they uncover a mystery.
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- Jamba the Elephant.* By Theodore Waldeck. Illustrated by Kurt Wiese. Viking. \$2. The patient training of an elephant for work in the ebony swamps of Africa. Interesting and exciting.
- Shadow in the Pines.* By Stephen W. Meader. Harcourt, Brace. \$2. Exciting story of a boy in the pine barrens of New Jersey who aided a U. S. Intelligence officer on a dangerous mission.

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- All-American.* By John R. Tunis. Harcourt, Brace. \$2. A story of sports in a boys' high school which shows convincingly what democracy can mean to the adolescent. An excellent book.
- Happy Times in Norway.* By Sigrid Undset. Knopf. \$2. A beautiful and distinguished story telling of a year in the author's home when her children were growing up.
- When the Typhoon Blows.* By Elizabeth Foreman Lewis. Winston. \$2. This interesting story proves what the war in China means to China's youth.
- Sir Wilfred Grenfell.* By Genevieve Fox. Crowell. \$2.50. Biography of a great and good man who had zest for adventure and a sense of humor.
- Juarez, Hero of Mexico.* By Nina Brown Baker. Vanguard. \$2.50. A revealing picture of Mexico's struggle for free government.
- These Happy Golden Years.* By Laura Ingalls Wilder. Harper. \$2. Delightful story of family life and a romance on a prairie farm some sixty years ago.
- Old Wolf.* By Leon W. Dean. Farrar and Rinehart. \$2. A salty and colorful narrative of General Israel Putnam's long and adventurous life.
- Fighting Dan of the Long Rifles.* By Sidney W. Dean. Macrae Smith. \$2.50. This very interesting book tells of the daring exploits of General Daniel Morgan and his Virginia riflemen in the American Revolution.
- Last Semester.* By Phyllis Crawford. Holt. \$2. Realistic story of a girl's achievement of a difficult goal at college, seasoned with fun and college pranks.
- The Welcome.* By Babette Deutsch. Harper. \$2. A boys'-school story which has timely significance and character development as well as good fun.
- Inside Out.* By Gertrude Mallette. Doubleday, Doran. \$2. Sympathy and insight characterize this good story of a young girl beginning a career in art in New York.
- Away in a Manger.* Selected and illustrated by Jean Thoburn. Oxford. \$1. This dainty book contains a well-chosen collection of Christmas verse.
- We Live to Be Free.* By Emma Gilder Sterne. Farrar and Rinehart. \$2. A brief and well-considered history of the democratic idea from the days of Greece to the present. An intelligent and provocative book.



## IN BRIEF

**THE BURNING WHEEL.** By Slater Brown. Bobbs-Merrill Company. \$2.50.

Mr. Brown has written a serious and intelligent novel about a group of poor Connecticut farmers and the frenetic city people who buy farms and become their neighbors. When one of the city men seduces the daughter of a farmer, all the tensions latent between the two groups flare up into melodrama and violence. Using the device of a narrator who is welcome in both camps, the author can tell his story without restricting his point of view to one side or the other; in fact, Mr. Brown's ability to look at all his characters with equal honesty and understanding is an outstanding achievement among present-day novelists. But it was not necessary for him to put a "curse" upon his valley: all such communities are cursed, and for the same reasons. The malignancy that Mr. Brown attributes to his particular part of the countryside, symbolized by the scrambling poison ivy, deprives his novel of its full significance and indicates an unwarranted lack of faith in his ability to tell a general truth about people.

**MY HEART FOR HOSTAGE.** By Robert Hillyer. Random House. \$2.50.

Writing simply, and dully, Mr. Hillyer tells the love story of an American soldier in Paris at the end of the last war. The American boy, who is very New England, has an affair with a French girl, who is very French. The girl lies, the boy judges too quickly, and although the two love each other dearly, they fail to make a go of things. With a little bounce and humor here would be material for a nice light novel, but instead, unfortunately, Mr. Hillyer has written a thin and nostalgic reminiscence.

**JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.** By Richmond Croom Beatty. Vanderbilt University Press. \$3.

In a highly finished work urbanely and effortlessly combining biography, literary criticism, social history, and scholarship Professor Beatty has performed the difficult feat of revealing James Russell Lowell in "the essential shallowness of his mind" while doing full justice to his abilities and his charm both as a man and as a writer and to his significance in American life. Without debunking

Lowell he shows him up and yet leaves him worth reading and worth reading about. If his culture was derivative it was real, and as for the core of the man, he himself asked: "If I am not an American, who ever was?" To read about him in these pages is a pleasure.

### INDIANS OF SOUTH AMERICA.

By Paul Radin. American Museum of Natural History Science Series. Doubleday, Doran and Company. \$4.

While the hazards of armchair anthropology are different, they are not less than those of direct investigation; but Dr. Radin skirts the usual difficulties more skilfully than usual, producing a lively book whose main ingredients are quotations and condensations liberally gathered from a variety of good sources. Failing to satisfy the interest it stimulates, "Indians of South America" derives its merit largely from the fact that the author has indicated the richness of the field as well as the paucity of information concerning it. He has charted the subject in its broad outlines, described in interesting detail the specific culture traits of a number of aboriginal tribes, and raised provocative questions, to some of which he offers tentative

solutions. Native cultures are described as they existed in the past or as they persist, virtually unchanged, in the present. The sole chapter dealing with fairly recent times describes the life of "a modern Aymara," and relies chiefly for its material on a late nineteenth-century account by Adolph Bandelier. The failure to include any discussion of Indian-white acculturation is most unfortunate, for it throws the whole picture out of focus so that the book, though vivid and true in detail, is vague and inaccurate as a whole.

### BOHDAN: HETMAN OF UKRAINE.

By George Vernadsky. Yale University Press. \$2.50.

This is a somewhat romanticized biography of Bohdan Khmel'nitsky, who in 1648 led the famous Ukrainian rebellion against Poland and presided over an impartial massacre of Polish landlords, Catholic clergy, and Jewish tradesmen and land agents. The story has its picturesque side, which is highlighted by the author, and also its obscurantist and brutal side, which is not. The social aspects of the Cossack movement, and its larger European significance, are noticed but not developed.

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was beloved by Samuel Johnson who hated all Americans; was helped by Thomas Jefferson who hated all Englishmen.



**SHE ...**

ruled two Paradise houses; helped her daughter elope; loved and asked to live with Jefferson at "Monticello."



## ART

**PAVEL TCHELITCHEW.** Paintings and drawings. The Museum of Modern Art, until November 29. Tchelitchew is one of those whose function it is to supply up-to-date art for the forward-looking masses on Fifty-seventh Street. Also, like his fellow neo-romantics and most of the orthodox surrealists, he reverses the anti-pictorial trend of cubist and abstract art to assert again the fictive nature of what the picture frame incloses. The painting becomes once more a window into another world—which in this case is generally supposed to be the artist's most private mind—and the frame is the unambiguous line of demarcation. Tchelitchew is accomplished enough. But in essence his work is a vulgarized documentation of most of the fashions in advanced painting since 1920, and his pictures, taken even on their own terms, are deadened by their trite and static organization. Everything stays too obediently in its place, the value of one color is too close to the value of every other color in the given picture, tonality is too even, design too balanced. There are, however, three or four likable pictures: two comparatively early harlequin subjects, a gaudy autumnal double-image landscape in gouache, painted recently, and a pretty painting called "In the Madhouse." In his present phase the artist should stick to gouache or water color; his latest oils with their shrill saccharine color and gelatinous symbolism set a new high in vulgarity.

**JOHN B. FLANNAGAN.** Sculpture and drawings. The Museum of Modern Art. It is more difficult in these times to be a good sculptor than a good painter. Flannagan was a good sculptor. Yet there can be discerned in his work most of the hesitations that afflict the contemporary artist. His respect for his material, his reluctance to interfere with it, and his greater success in small format reflect among other things his lack of a conviction or certainty definite and strong enough to justify the complete transformation of a large brute block of stone into a man-made monument. Less assurance is required, it seems, to create in two than in three dimensions. In three dimensions one works closer to one's subject; and without the control of some fixed point of view which has an authority more than personal, there is a danger of succumbing to subject matter and verging, as

Flannagan threatens to in more than one animal or figure piece, on the sentimental and even the cute. Flannagan is saved only by his sensitivity to the abstract forms dictated by recalcitrant matter; in the nick of time they step in to rescue the work of art. But there were also certain advantages in Flannagan's plight. Very little sculpture in stone has ever permitted the intimacy and the directness yet delicacy of feeling which are to be perceived in his. This is really lyric sculpture. It is quite likely that Flannagan was the best native sculptor we have had in this country.

**PEGGY BACON:** "Pens and Needles." Retrospective exhibition of pastels, prints, and drawings. Associated American Artists Galleries, until November 21. Miss Bacon is a crisp draftsman and, within the limitations of our culture and age, an amusing if rather distracted satirist. Her dry points, beside which her pastels are unimportant, are more effective in their details than as whole pictures. As wholes they are conceived in an offhand, unimaginative way, right in the tradition of the best Anglo-Saxon comic and caricatural art. Miss Bacon is not thoughtful enough to put real sting into her humor. This shows not only in the kind of anecdote she records but also in the very quality of her feathery line.

CLEMENT GREENBERG

## RECORDS

**G**ROPING for words to explain the compulsion that had led him, after a couple of Beethoven sonatas, to play a few small pieces by Schubert, a pianist I know said: "They are so much less important—but so much more beautiful." Some of Schubert's works, however, have great import as well as their heart-stabbing beauty; and one of these is the Piano Trio Op. 99, of which Victor offers a new recording made by Rubinstein, Heifetz, and Feuermann (Set 923, \$4.73) to replace the Cortot-Thibaud-Casals version that has been withdrawn. One must regret the loss of the older version, with Casals's marvelously inflected performance of the cello part; but one must be glad that the new one is so good. Feuermann lacks the fire that produces the dynamic force, the powerful tensions of Casals's phrasing, but he plays with the beauty of tone, the impeccable plastic sense in phrasing that were to be heard in all his performances; Rubinstein and Heifetz play

much better than Cortot and Thibaud—Heifetz, for once, with uncharacteristic simplicity; and without achieving the degree of ensemble integration that was the result of all the playing which Casals, Cortot, and Thibaud did together, Feuermann, Heifetz, and Rubinstein do achieve a good group performance. Except for a pace in the second movement that is a little too fast for the proper effect of the music, and a nervousness of style in Rubinstein's playing in this movement that also is disadvantageous, the performance is an excellent statement of the work. And except for an occasional blanketing of the piano by the strings the performance is excellently recorded.

Also on Victor's November list are Rimsky-Korsakov's "Scheherazade" (Set 920, \$5.78) and Barber's Adagio for Strings (11-8287, \$1.05); and I can think of a large number of things for which Victor might better have used precious machinery, labor, and materials. Monteux's performance of "Scheherazade" with the San Francisco Symphony is more relaxed than Rodzinski's with the Cleveland Orchestra on Columbia, and is recorded with more richness of sound. Barber's piece is realized in the beautiful sonorities of the N. B. C. Symphony strings conducted by Toscanini.

On Columbia's November list is a set of all twenty-four of Chopin's Preludes played by Egon Petri (Set 523, \$4.73), which does not satisfy our need of a good recording of these pieces. As far as I can tell from what comes off the records, Petri's conceptions—if not the best I have heard or can imagine, and if not without details I would question—are competent and acceptable. But the execution of these conceptions, as it comes off the records, is extremely defective; and it is difficult to tell whether the cause is wholly or only partly the faulty recording. The unbalanced recording of the sound of the piano—with the middle and lower range heavily outweighing the upper range—causes the melody in the right hand to be too weak and at times completely inaudible; but when only one or two sounds of an ornamental turn are not heard it may be because Petri has not played the turn clearly. And so with the many rapid passages that are blurred and confused.

On a Columbia single disc (71399-D, \$1.05) are Elizabeth's Prayer from "Tannhäuser" and Elsa's Dream from "Lohengrin," well sung by Astrid Varnay.

B. H. HAGGIN



# Letters to the Editors

## Constance Rourke: Reply from the Critics' Den

*Dear Sirs:* I don't know whether to laugh at Margaret Marshall's curious delusion that she, and she alone, fully appreciated and understood Constance Rourke's beautiful work or to protest against her surly misrepresentation (in *The Nation* of October 24) of my *New Republic* review of "The Roots of American Culture." Perhaps I may do both.

No one would possibly guess from Miss Marshall's heavily scornful remarks that my review was essentially a tribute to one whom I considered one of the great philosophic folklorists of our time and a writer whom I described as an artist and an extraordinarily sensitive and scholarly student of the full range of our American culture. No one would possibly guess that I did not "dismiss" Constance Rourke but carefully distinguished her from the shallow folksy nationalists and professional antiquaries who are forcing so synthetic a patriotism on us today. No one would possibly guess that I praised Constance Rourke as having a vision of people's culture equal to D. H. Lawrence's; that I spoke of her as "an observer, a seeker of [American] essence"; that the very title of the piece, *The Irreducible Element*, pointed to her deep understanding of the estrangement from their native society, the ignorance of their native resources, that so many writers suffer from in America.

Nor would anyone possibly guess from Miss Marshall how warmly I wrote of Constance Rourke's exquisite taste, her joy in America, the "quiet exhilaration" in it that she described in Audubon and that I found in her. For obviously Miss Marshall did not mean anyone to guess. Because I dared to point out that Constance Rourke's recovery of so many native folk materials was not quite enough for us today, it appears that I "dismissed" her. Because I dared to suggest that Constance Rourke was an artist in those materials rather than a critic bringing past and present together, it appears that I did not take in the full meaning of her classic, "American Humor." But I did take it in, and I took Constance Rourke so seriously, wished so deeply to learn from her, that I examined her

work where others merely praise her glibly because she proved America not quite the artistic desert they once thought it to be. But let Miss Marshall go back to the last chapters of "American Humor" and ask herself why Constance Rourke could write of Henry James only in terms of "The American," of Lardner only in terms of his dialogue, of Lewis only in terms of his cracker-barrel talk. My point was simply that for all her skill in analysis of the materials she recovered, Constance Rourke could only examine fragments of those materials in modern and contemporary writers. I said that she did not approach criticism on its contemporary ground; she thought she did, and Miss Marshall takes the will for the deed. But there is an essential vagueness in the last chapters of "American Humor," as in the last chapter of "The Roots of American Culture," that is inevitable in view of her concentration on our pre-industrial culture, her joy in the recovery of it, and her great desire—so abundantly fulfilled—to prove that Americans did have a distinct and often beautiful native culture of their own.

Nothing in Miss Marshall's piece, I must add, is so revealing as her notion that "American Humor" is "scandalously neglected." Of course it is neglected—among the avant-garde critics and those who believe anything is chauvinistic which speaks of our American nativity, our "irreducible element." If Miss Marshall knew anything of the studies of American literature that go on in our universities and scholarly magazines, if her own literary culture were not so limited to the avant-garde critics themselves, she would know that "American Humor" is studied and admired everywhere among those who have read something more than Partridge and Brooks. And she would know of the many who have declared it to be—as I consider it—one of the prime works on the American imagination.

But Miss Marshall *must* seize upon Constance Rourke; and use her as a banner. When one's reading of Emerson is limited to one's childhood, Constance Rourke's studies in Emerson's world can seem larger than life.

ALFRED KAZIN

New York, October 28

## Miss Marshall's Rebuttal

Mr. Kazin's review was a tribute to Miss Rourke's "beautiful work" in the sense that a funeral service in a cemetery is a tribute. In his first four paragraphs he made many pleasant remarks: he even made statements which pointed to a quite different conclusion from the one he came to. His last two paragraphs, which I cited specifically as the basis for my comment, would certainly cause a reader not already familiar with her work to assume that it was charming but perishable and quite irrelevant for all practical or contemporary purposes. His final sentence, "Commemoration, somehow, is not enough," was the last sad shovelful thrown on the grave. That was his final verdict, and though it was delivered more in sorrow than in anger, it constitutes a dismissal.

In his letter Mr. Kazin says that the title of his review pointed to Miss Rourke's "deep understanding of the estrangement from their native society, the ignorance of their native resources, that so many writers suffer in America." (Isn't it asking a good deal of a reader to expect him to deduce so much from a title?) But surely such deep understanding, which is as rare as Rourkes, points not to static commemoration but to a living critical perception highly relevant to the present. It hardly squares either with Mr. Kazin's faintly patronizing description of Miss Rourke in the last paragraph of his review as living "in that recovered morning world [of early America]."

I still don't see how anyone who has taken in "American Humor" can say that Miss Rourke was an "artist in those materials" but not a critic bringing past and present together. To take only one example: he complains that she "could" write of Henry James only in terms of "The American." She *could* have written volumes about him; in "American Humor" she did write twenty pages of general and illuminating comment on James aside from the ten she gave to "The American." The design of the book hardly allowed for the detailed analysis of more than one novel. And I shouldn't be surprised if she assumed that the reader, having read it, might be capable of applying her insights and conclusions to other novels by the same author.



As for the charge of vagueness, Miss Rourke, it is true, did not provide charts showing our traditions in neat parallel columns; nor did she set down a recipe for writing the great American novel. She did give us a fresh discovering view of the sources that James and Dickinson and Whitman and Poe drew upon, consciously and unconsciously: by so doing she made the reader aware of the sources of his own thought and feeling. Is that criticism or commemoration?

Mr. Kazin's last paragraph is irrelevant, though I enjoy his rousing angry portrait of myself. Even I knew that Miss Rourke's work is valued by scholars. (I only hope it will be made compulsory for students, and for the right reasons.) The quite uncryptic title of my article indicated that it was concerned with the critics and the reviewers of books. They, rather than the scholars, must be depended upon to communicate Miss Rourke's ideas to the general public. I happen to think that is desirable.

MARGARET MARSHALL

## Books on Trial

*Dear Sirs:* Your readers may be interested to learn that the defendants convicted in the Oklahoma criminal-syndicalism prosecutions, nationally known as the Oklahoma book trials, have been ordered to return to the state by December 1 to receive the verdict of Oklahoma's highest tribunal of justice, the Criminal Court of Appeals.

It will be recalled that in August, 1940, simultaneous raids with liquor search warrants were made on the Progressive Bookstore, the Communist Party headquarters, and six private homes in Oklahoma City. Nine men and three women were finally indicted under the Oklahoma criminal-syndicalism law on charges of possessing "Communist" books and of membership in the Communist Party. The evidence against them consisted entirely of books from the bookstore and from their private libraries. Three men and one woman were convicted on that evidence and sentenced to ten years in the penitentiary and a fine of \$5,000 each. The court refused to allow the introduction of evidence to show that the books to which the prosecution objected were also on the shelves of the library of the University of Oklahoma.

Eight men and women still face trial. Their books are still locked up in the Oklahoma County jail—among them "The Communist Manifesto," the novels of Jack London, the speeches of

Abraham Lincoln, and the Constitution of the United States.

Arguments on these cases were held before the Criminal Court of Appeals on September 9. Judge Thomas Doyle, eldest member of the three-man court, refused to listen to the attorneys for the defense and absented himself from the court during the entire proceedings, although he announced that he would take part in making the decision.

Two weeks later 176 prominent clergymen, including Dr. Guy Emery Shipley, Bishop James C. Baker of Los Angeles, the Reverend John D. Day of Topeka, Dean E. N. Comfort of Oklahoma, Dr. John Van Schaick, Jr. of the *Christian Leader*, and the Reverend John C. Cranberry of the *Emancipator*, addressed a letter to the Governor of Oklahoma assailing these prosecutions as a violation of the hard-won American right to freedom of conscience.

Those of your readers who see these prosecutions as part of the struggle of Southern diehards to preserve the economic and political status quo—as a threat to a free America—are urged to write to Mac Q. Williamson, attorney general of Oklahoma, Oklahoma City, asking that the state confess error in these cases and drop its attempt to sustain the convictions of the District Court.

ELIZABETH Z. GREEN

New York, November 2

## Undaunted Refugees

*Dear Sirs:* We who are associated with the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee are very proud to point to Konstantin Najd, thirty-year-old veteran of the Spanish War whose remarkable deeds as a leader in the Yugoslav guerrilla forces were especially cited in the press dispatches some weeks ago. For Konstantin Nadj, as a member of the International Brigade, was helped by our organization, and it was by such means that he was enabled to return to his homeland, where he now continues so magnificently the fight which was actually begun in 1936 in Spain.

This valiant young man is only one of the hundreds of anti-fascist fighters who have been aided by this committee to resume a life of activity and usefulness in our common cause. This was the opportunity they sought; it was the hope that sustained them in their starved and persecuted lives after they crossed the frontier into France. In Mexico and elsewhere they are making an incalculably high contribution; they are serving on every front as active

fighters, as laborers, as writers and professionals.

A considerable number of less fortunate anti-fascist refugees, though they possess visas, are unable to obtain transportation because of lack of funds. The rates on the small Portuguese boats which bring them to Vera Cruz are indeed high, but it seems to us that no price is too great to bring to safety these men and women who, after unbelievable suffering, are still undaunted and ready to make any effort to defeat the Axis.

EDWARD K. BARSKY, Chairman,

Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee  
New York, October 14

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## *The Shape of Things*

THAT THE GERMANS ARE SENDING FRESH forces into Tunis is significant. Since they cannot hope for victory in that region unless the disposition of forces in Europe is very much changed, it would seem that Berlin intends to fight a holding action in North Africa while preparing a blow elsewhere. Against whom will that blow be aimed? Turkey or Spain? Ankara has reported that German garrisons in the Balkans have been greatly strengthened, but it would be unwise to keep one's eyes too steadily fixed on that quarter. It is at least reasonable to believe that the German High Command would be much relieved if they could prevent consolidation of Anglo-American bases in North Africa. Hitler must surely wish to strike a speedy blow at the United States in order to show the German people and conquered Europe that the Americans are powerless to invade Europe. If that should be his decision, then Spain offers the only battlefield upon which he has any chance to counter our North African move. The closing of the Straits of Gibraltar would so endanger the entire supply system of the Anglo-American forces west of Libya that we might be compelled to make a "premature" counter-invasion and so risk confronting strong, well-prepared German forces. In other words, Hitler may decide to repeat his Norwegian maneuver.

★

BESIDES THE ENORMOUS GAINS REPRESENTED by control of the Straits of Gibraltar, a Spanish venture may seem to offer many other advantages to Hitler. Even should Franco decide to resist, his army is in no condition for serious fighting. By giving opportunity for a campaign of rapid movement Spain conforms to German tactical preferences, and the German leader, remembering the Napoleonic campaign, may reason that, after all, an invasion of Spain now would merely be forestalling a United Nations move later. Hitler will have learned by this time that the old paralysis is gone. No longer is there a reluctance among the democracies to invade so-called neutral territory. That the occupation of Spain would not be all advantage is true. Previous to our seizure of North Africa many experts held that Hitler preferred not to burden himself with fresh terri-



tories to police and new coastlines to defend. That can no longer be his main consideration. A far greater hazard is immanent in our own North African plans. Neither London nor Washington may wish to open the ball in Spain; yet the Allies cannot have sent so many men into the Mediterranean without taking into account the chance that Hitler might strike back through the Peninsula. It would be unwise to put exclusive trust in Franco's word or in Hitler's readiness to oblige the Spanish dictator. Once again there has been no change of heart in official Spain; the recent Cabinet shifts were only a change of guard. America must stand watch, therefore, against the Spanish troops in North Africa as well as Hitler's forces. The Straits are too precious to lose.

✱

WE HAVE WON THE SECOND ROUND OF THE Battle for the Solomons in dashing style against a numerically superior enemy fleet. Warm congratulations for the navy, which has received some well-deserved brickbats in the past year, are now in order. Admiral Nimitz, in particular, merits commendation for ignoring the adage and changing the command in the Solomons area. His choice of Vice-Admiral W. F. Halsey, who is brilliantly living up to his reputation as an aggressive in-fighter, has been thoroughly justified. The Navy Department deserves our thanks, too, for releasing quickly a comprehensive account of the battle, including an apparently complete admission of losses which, while painful, represent a comparatively low price for the damage inflicted on the enemy. The Japanese fleet, dispatched to the waters around Guadalcanal for the purpose of landing heavy reinforcements and supplies on that island, was a powerful one, but significantly it appears not to have included any carriers. It approached at night and was caught off guard by a bold maneuver which sent our lighter ships racing between its lines. The smashing success thus scored was followed up the next day by aerial attacks on enemy transport and supply ships which accounted for ten vessels and thousands of troops. The withdrawal of the crippled Japanese task force provides us with an opportunity to clean up the enemy on Guadalcanal, and it should also facilitate MacArthur's operations against Buna. But as Secretary Knox warns us, the Japanese navy is not knocked out and we must be ready for the next round.

✱

MUCH OF THE STING IN REPRESENTATIVE Maas's strictures on our Pacific war policy has been removed by the new victory in the Solomons. The Navy Department does seem to be mending its news policy gradually, and Admiral Nimitz and General MacArthur have recently cooperated to such good effect that the admitted dangers of divided command in the southern

Pacific appear less glaring than before. Mr. Maas, of course, spoke with some authority as a member of the House Naval Affairs Committee and as a colonel in the Marines recently on active service in New Guinea, but he had little new to say about specific shortcomings. When, however, he turned in his radio address to matters of global strategy he gave voice to more original and more questionable ideas. His theme was the absolute necessity of defeating Japan no matter what happens in Europe, and he insinuated that our High Command was frittering away our strength on expeditions in too many different directions and neglecting the Pacific theater. In weighing the force of his arguments we have to remember that prior to Pearl Harbor Mr. Maas was an isolationist and as such must bear his share of responsibility for helping to delay the preparedness which would have enabled us to carry on war against Japan more effectively. Like other isolationists Mr. Maas sticks to the idea that the war against Japan is peculiarly "our war" and that the battle for Europe is of secondary importance. Nobody who can think in such compartmental terms has any business talking about global strategy. What is the sense of saying, "It makes little difference who wins in Europe . . . if the Japs win the Pacific"? Is it not equally true that if Hitler wins in Europe our chance of victory in the Pacific will be shattered?

✱

WITH THE TOTAL OCCUPATION OF FRANCE by Hitler the situation of the leaders of the French democracy has become extremely precarious. Though the principal figures of the Riom trial could not expect any real justice from the magistrates of the Pétain regime, their lives were not in danger. They were protected by the growing feeling of sympathy and respect that the dignified behavior of Léon Blum and the awakening of Edouard Daladier had aroused all over France. As for Georges Mandel and Paul Reynaud, they were never even brought to trial. Reynaud's weakness at the end disposed the capitulators in his favor. Mandel, on the contrary, terrified the men of Vichy. He knew too much about them, and the prospect of having him address the tribunal with his usual courage appalled officials who might easily be transformed from accusers into accused. Herriot and Jeanneney were from time to time subjected to certain restrictive police measures but never to a real prosecution. Even Laval realized that the French people stood with these men. But Himmler will not be so sensitive to past records or present prestige. In Czecho-Slovakia, in Poland, in Norway, he has liquidated the men who have taken a similar stand. It is not likely that he will show more restraint in France. And the fate of these leaders, exposed by their prominence, will be shared by thousands of anonymous fighters for democracy, who have fallen, together with all France, into Hitler's hands.



AS FOR THE THOUSANDS OF ANTI-FASCISTS—Jews and non-Jews—who in the last fifteen years had come from all over Europe to find refuge in France, their fate is symbolized by the terrible news that Francisco Largo Caballero has been delivered to Franco by the Gestapo. The seventy-five-year-old Loyalist Premier, one of the most venerated figures of the whole international labor movement, now faces a firing squad as the end of his heroic career. It is to be hoped that all the American and Latin American labor organizations, together with every other decent human being in this hemisphere, will ask President Roosevelt to use his influence, by means of the radio, to prevent Caballero's execution.

✱

THE ONLY REFUGEES FROM THE DICTATORS who may benefit from developments in the Mediterranean are the anti-fascists in North Africa—provided, that is, that the American command will take them under its protection. Messages directing attention to them have come from many parts of the world. Among the most interesting is one signed by General Vicente Rojo, the Loyalist commander whose offensive on the Ebro won him universal respect. With other Spanish generals now in Buenos Aires he offers his services to President Roosevelt, suggesting that he organize in two divisions the 30,000 men of the former Spanish Loyalist army who were sent to North Africa by Vichy and Hitler. Though such action is hardly feasible as long as we continue to recognize Franco, their liberation, as well as that of thousands of Italians, Jews, and others, should not be delayed.

✱

LEND-LEASE SHIPMENTS IN OCTOBER CAME close to the billion-dollar mark for the first time since the outset of the war. President Roosevelt has announced that despite the preparations for the North African campaign we provided more than \$915 billion worth of supplies to our allies, two-thirds of which were military items. This is welcome news indeed after the many months in which lend-lease shipments fell far short of expectation and need. Eighteen months ago it was estimated that we should have to provide a minimum of one billion dollars' worth a month in order to offset the advantages gained by Germany through its European conquests. That the United Nations have been unable until within the past few weeks to assume the offensive may be attributed largely to our failure even to approximate this goal. But recent events tell a different story. The importance of our growing lend-lease shipments is particularly evident in the African campaign. President Roosevelt declared recently that our total shipments of military equipment, food, and industrial supplies to the British army in Egypt totaled \$636,952,000 in the nineteen months ending October 1. This included more than

1,000 planes, more than 500 medium tanks, and 20,000 trucks. A group of American-made Sherman tanks and self-propelled 105-millimeter guns which were sent after the fall of Tobruk proved of incalculable value in the final decision, according to Prime Minister Churchill. We trust that a similar story may be told before many months about Russia and China.

✱

NOT SO LONG AGO A STRIKING PROPOSAL was made by the Chinese Foreign Minister, Dr. T. V. Soong. He urged that the United Nations begin now to create the new order that must follow the war, that they organize "a realistic machinery for collective security" and set it to work "before this war ends and while the pressures of war make it possible for such cooperation to catch hold." He spoke as one of the leaders of the nation that suffered first and has suffered most grievously from the failure of the League of Nations. But he spoke not out of discouragement but out of hope. Now his appeal has been echoed and expanded in a remarkable message from Chiang Kai-shek to the *Herald Tribune* Forum, meeting last Tuesday in New York. After discussing the essentially democratic texture of Chinese society and the firm determination of the Chinese people to move forward into complete political democracy, the Chinese President strongly repudiated the idea that after the war China might emerge as "the leader of Asia." China, he said had no desire to replace Western imperialism in Asia with an Oriental imperialism or isolationism of its own. And he called upon the United Nations to "start at once to organize an international order and embracing all peoples to enforce peace and justice among them." These words contrast pleasantly with the recent pronouncement in behalf of empire made by Britain's unreconstructible Prime Minister.

✱

NO WRITER OR RADIO NEWS ANALYST HAS discussed the effects of the appointment of Admiral Darlan as head of the French administration in North Africa with more open distrust than Edward Murrow, speaking for the Columbia Broadcasting System from London. In the course of his report Mr. Murrow summed up Darlan's Vichy career in these lines:

Let's look at this man's record. On February 10, 1941, he became Vice-President of the Council, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the Interior, and the Navy. One of his first acts was to turn over political refugees to the Germans. He began at once to adopt Gestapo methods. His government was responsible for the sending of foreigners, mostly Spanish Republicans, from internment camps in France to slave-gang labor on the Trans-Sahara railway. He intensified the anti-Semitic measures. His police force helped the Germans round up Alsatian refugees in unoccupied France by the Germans. In July his government practically turned over



Indo-China to the Japanese, thereby opening the back door to Singapore. In October a certain Carl Holtz, a German officer, was assassinated in Nantes. Six days later Admiral Darlan's government handed over thirty hostages to the Germans—Frenchmen. They were shot.

When the British went into Madagascar, Darlan gave the order to resist, saying, "Make the British pay as heavy a price as possible for their act of highway banditry." He asserted that the British had betrayed France in Flanders, tried to starve women and children in Djibouti, and that the day would come when England would pay. And now this man is given political dominion over North Africa—with American support.

The British press and radio, acting under guidance, take the line that for the time being military considerations dominate. . . . One wonders whether we may not stand dishonored in the eyes of the conquered people on the Continent who have been led to believe through Anglo-American propaganda that Darlan is one of the greatest living traitors.

## Poll-Tax Filibuster

CAPITOL HILL agrees that if the bill abolishing the poll tax could be brought to a vote in the Senate, it would be approved by a majority comparable to that which it secured in the House. Nevertheless, the bill is in grave danger, for its passage is being fought by a gang of Southern Senators with every weapon in the arsenal of obstruction. Their tactics can be defeated, but only by determined majority leadership backed by the strong support of public opinion, which must be brought to bear not on the opponents of the bill—they are a hopeless case—but on those Senators who, while prepared to vote the right way, may contribute to its defeat by their slackness.

Last week Senator Barkley of Kentucky, who has accepted responsibility for pushing the measure through, sought in vain to bring it formally before the Senate. Friday's session was wasted by parliamentary maneuvers and prolonged debate over the question of whether the Judiciary Committee's favorable report had been properly adopted. On Saturday, while Senator Bilbo of Mississippi continued what appeared to be a promising filibuster, other members of the Southern bloc absented themselves in the hope of preventing a quorum. This move was countered by an order to the sergeant-at-arms to arrest Senators present in the city. But the session ended without any progress being achieved.

It is to be hoped that better attendance by Senators known to favor the bill will prevent any repetition of this time-consuming stunt, but it will inevitably be succeeded by new tricks. Senator Bilbo, while denouncing suggestions that he is planning a filibuster, has promised to talk from now to January 3, when the present

Congress expires. And his lead is being followed by supposedly responsible men such as Connally of Texas and George of Georgia. The last-named, for instance, is proposing to attempt to tack on to the bill an amendment calling for a forty-eight-hour week, and some forty other equally irrelevant and controversial amendments are promised.

There can be only one answer to this attempt by a reckless and bigoted minority to obstruct democratic processes. As Senator Norris, who is fighting to kill the poll tax in the last great battle of his noble career, has said: "We can break this filibuster if we fight fire with fire. We'll have to invoke every parliamentary rule in the book to do it, but the Senate ought to have the right to vote on a question that is as fundamental as the abolition of the vicious poll tax." We hope Senator Barkley will be courageous enough to follow this example and that the majority favoring the bill will not submit to the dictation of a minority. Should they allow this to happen, they would be acquiescing in the disruption of orderly government and exposing the Senate to the raucous laughter of the anti-democratic forces throughout the world. Goebbels could not ask for more.

## Man-Power Planning

THE report of a subcommittee of the Truman committee provides us with the nearest thing to a man-power program that has yet been offered—eleven and a half months after Pearl Harbor. On the whole, the subcommittee's program is a remarkably sensible one. It stresses the necessity for balancing our military and industrial man-power needs before establishing the details of our man-power policy. To this end it suggests the appointment of a single head with powers comparable to those of Byrnes in the economic field, who would have a voice in determining basic military and war-production requirements. This view has wide support in Congress, and reports indicate that the appointment of a man-power director may shortly be effected. In the absence of any over-all policy or the machinery for carrying out such a policy, the Truman subcommittee believes that it would be "a mistake for Congress even to consider passage of any drastic compulsory legislation." On this point the findings of the subcommittee concur fully with the recommendations of the Tolan committee, the Management-Labor Policy Committee of the War Manpower Commission, and the recent conference of the C. I. O. leaders.

And for the immediate present the judgment is scarcely open to dispute. Under present conditions no government agency—the Selective Service System, the United States Employment Service, or the Manpower Commission itself—is equipped to handle a program of



compulsory labor placement. To attempt compulsion without a plan or machinery to carry it out would only arouse antagonism and imperil the management-labor truce which has prevailed for the past year.

This fact does not, however, justify the faith in voluntary measures shown by the Tolan and Truman groups. The Truman report declares, for instance, that "once a definite, clear-cut man-power policy which makes sense is announced . . . voluntary cooperation will be forthcoming in full measure." The experience of cities like Baltimore and Buffalo, where voluntary measures have been given a fair and extended trial, fails to bear out this conclusion. Under any system most placements would be made voluntarily, but experience indicates that reliance on voluntary methods—without a big stick in reserve—leads to muddling and procrastination. The contrast between the level of war production in the United States with its voluntary measures and that of Great Britain or Russia provides an unanswerable argument in favor of some form of compulsion.

On other matters the Truman group is on firmer ground. It is far more specific than any other such group has been in urging the expansion of nursery schools and supervision for the children of working mothers after school hours. It urges an aggressive campaign "to eliminate hiring prejudices of all kinds, whether because of age, sex, or race." In suggesting that the work week be lengthened to forty-eight hours whenever practicable, it avoids the danger that this will merely be a means of contributing to employers' profits by retaining the bonus for overtime and providing that additional overtime wages be paid in war bonds. Unfortunately, the recommendation left a loophole at this point by suggesting that employers be *permitted* rather than *required* to pay time and a half for all work over forty hours a week. While existing union contracts would presumably be honored under this proposal, unorganized workers would apparently lose the protection now afforded by the Fair Labor Standards Act. This would be in sharp contrast with wartime labor policies in Great Britain and Russia.

The discussions of man-power policy at the C. I. O. conference focused attention on the chief weakness in all discussions of man-power to date, a weakness that pervades all aspects of the war program—failure to take account of and provide representation for men who really do the work. No man-power policy, voluntary or compulsory, can possibly succeed without the confidence and active cooperation of the men on the job. British experience suggests that the surest way to obtain labor's cooperation is to give it an adequate place in the key war agencies. And this is not merely a device for salving labor's pride. When it comes to the formulation of man-power policy, the chief points of issue will not be large questions such as compulsion versus voluntary methods. The sore points are much more likely to be such ques-

tions as seniority, overtime pay, the payment of transportation and moving expenses, housing, and a hundred and one minor matters of direct concern to the workers. Such matters will not be adequately taken care of unless labor is given a direct and influential voice in the shaping of an over-all man-power program.

## *America's First Quisling*

BY FRED KIRCHWEY

**P**ROSTITUTES are used; they are seldom loved. Even less frequently are they honored. But Darlan has been put at the head of the military and civil administration of French Africa by the American command.

There was reason to use Darlan. No other French official knows as much as he about the military and naval installations in Africa from Dakar to Bizerte, and his services were worth a good sum. But office and power were too high a price to pay, as we are rapidly finding out. What doubtless appeared a reasonable military expedient is proving a costly political blunder, and various government spokesmen in Washington are trying to mitigate the effect of the transaction by explaining that it is only a temporary deal at worst, due to be abandoned as soon as its immediate purposes have been secured. Unfortunately—or perhaps fortunately—this confession of sharp practice is not very disarming. Democratic statesmen who announce their intention to double-cross a double-crosser cut a rather sorry figure in the eyes of friends and enemies alike.

Darlan had motives of his own for wanting to be bought. Certainly he was looking out for his own interests, as he has always done. He may also have been serving Vichy as an anchor to windward just in case the Allies should defeat Hitler after all. Whatever his reasons, his knowledge and collaboration were ours for the buying. And it is difficult to believe that they could not have been had at a reasonable price. But if his favors could really be won only by setting him up as our Quisling in North Africa, we should have done without them—even if lives were to be lost and military advantage forfeited as a consequence. For the United States has only one claim on the allegiance of the peoples of the world: an honest and courageous democratic policy. To the extent that we have strayed from that policy—in our dealings with Spain, with Vichy; in our past dealings with the major fascist powers—we have already compromised our position of democratic leadership. We can't afford new ventures in double-dealing or in reactionary diplomacy even in the interest of military gains. The price is too high.

Small incidents often illuminate the effect of important measures. On the day the elevation of Darlan was



first rumored, a *Nation* editor telephoned a friend in the office of the Fighting French to ask him what it all meant. He refused to discuss it and seemed distressed to think that a responsible journalist could take such obvious nonsense seriously. He dismissed the story as just another of the countless rumors that had been flying out of Vichy, designed to confuse and mislead the unwary. "It absolutely could not be true," he said. What must have been the feeling of our friend when the unbelievable turned out to be the fact?

Multiply this Frenchman by his millions of compatriots in and out of France itself who look to our army to free their country not merely from alien rule but from the rule of men who are traitors and tyrants in their own right. What are their emotions as they see Darlan established as civil and military chief of the new Free French Empire? And what will be the answer of the men and women of France when we ask them to rise in revolt against Axis slavery under the leadership of one of the gang that sold them into slavery in the first place? The French people want to destroy their traitors, not follow them.

The first political mistake was made when the American forces carried through the North African operations without inviting the cooperation of the Fighting French or even consulting their leaders. De Gaulle should have been associated with the venture from the start; he should have marched into Africa side by side with Eisenhower. The second mistake was made when Giraud was chosen to lead the forces in North Africa, also without consultation with the Fighting French. Giraud, a brave man and a distinguished general, should have placed himself under the leadership of De Gaulle, who for two and a half hard years has directed the entire French military resistance to the Axis and has rallied the hopes and support of the vast majority of the French people. The third mistake was Darlan—and this last mistake will prove a political disaster no military success can offset.

After an interval of rejoicing over the American move into Africa, the Fighting French, especially in London, began to ask, though with commendable restraint, why their services and advice had been so pointedly ignored. The sudden emergence of Darlan overwhelmed their reticence. In a powerful statement, following immediately on a conference with Churchill, De Gaulle said flatly that the Fighting French had had no hand in and assumed no responsibility for "negotiations in progress in North Africa with the representatives of Vichy," and that any arrangements "which would in effect establish a Vichy regime" there could not be accepted. This was a clear-cut political act—an announcement to his followers in all countries and particularly to the illegal fighters in France that they had not been deserted and betrayed by their leaders.

The bitterness and resentment now expressed openly

in French circles here and abroad are echoed all over the world—in Latin America, in the occupied lands of Europe, among our other fighting allies, and not least in the hearts of democratic Americans. And they arise from a deep-seated suspicion that the appointment of Darlan was not merely an ill-advised bit of strategy. It fits too well in the tight, complex pattern of appeasement to be so easily extricated.

Darlan is not an isolated case. He is in direct descent from Hitler, from Mussolini, from Franco, from Vichy itself. The men who preferred to sell oil to Mussolini for his Ethiopian invasion rather than risk his downfall by applying effective sanctions; who sacrificed Republican Spain to Hitler and Mussolini and then supported the fascist dictator they had brought to power; who have steadily upheld Pétain and frozen out the Fighting French—these are the men who find satisfaction today in the subversion of Darlan, the sudden acquisition of Flandin and Pucheu. The appeasers have never been in a majority even in the State Department, but from 1935 until this hour they have been able to force the long series of concessions and bargains which bit by bit weakened the force of democratic resistance and helped to bring on the war they opposed. They have at all times feared democracy more than fascism, and revolution more than anything else on earth. Today their fear of democracy and revolution poisons their hope of victory. So they maneuver to keep in power those groups which may, they hope, rob victory of its terrors and insure a European order safely secured behind the bars of social and political reaction.

To win Darlan to the "Allied cause" was for them not merely a temporary strategic necessity but a political triumph—appeasement's first real success. If they can add Laval and Pétain they will be even better pleased.

I wrote a final paragraph for this article, and it concerned a dream. It was a dream of American invading forces on the borders of Germany, and of a deal with Göring. He offered us the Luftwaffe and a part of the Nazi army. We accepted his services and raised him to power. It was a nice idea but a little too fantastic to set down as a realistic possibility. Today, as we go to press, I read the column of Arthur Krock in the *New York Times*, quoting official Washington opinion on the Darlan appointment. In it I find these lines:

One of those [officials] questioned said today: "War has forced us idealists and democrats to quantitative, rather than qualitative, morality as the test. If, for example, Göring should offer to come over with a few planes, we don't want him. He will cost more than he will contribute. But if he can bring the Luftwaffe with him we'll receive him."

And so I have thrown away my former conclusion. I find it wasn't a dream after all.



# A Bill for Total War

BY I. F. STONE

*Washington, November 16*

EVERY American anxious to back our fighting men with the maximum of arms and supplies should do what he can to support the Kilgore-Pepper-Tolan bill for an Office of War Mobilization. This may be the last chance for many months to weld scattered war agencies into one effective organization, and the difference between taking some such step now or taking it later will be measured in lives. The President has it in his power to effect the purposes of this bill by executive order, or he can use his influence to prevent its passage. The armed services and the big-business crowd generally will oppose it.

In the welter of conflicting advice on the subject which will no doubt be offered, Mr. Roosevelt may find it useful to focus attention on one point. There are seven Senate and House committees investigating the conduct of the war on the home front. All but two of them, the Senate and House Military Affairs Committees, are headed by New Dealers. And all the New Deal chairmen are supporting this bill.

These five committee or subcommittee chairmen—Senators Truman, Murray, Pepper, and Kilgore and Representative Tolan—have united behind this measure because it embodies the constructive conclusions of months of investigation. It is a bill for total war. It has three main purposes. One is to bring order and greater capacity for effective action to a branch of emergency government badly crippled by the rivalries of overlapping agencies. The second is to impose clear and necessary policy directives on the men in charge of mobilizing the home front. The third is to end the domination of the war-production machine by monopolistic and business-as-usual forces which make it impossible to attain an all-out effort.

The easiest of these to understand is the organizational problem. Section 7-a of the Kilgore-Pepper-Tolan bill reflects the dangerously muddled situation it is intended to correct. Under the Office of War Mobilization there would be an Office of Production and Supply. The latter would bring together all agencies having to do with the procurement, production, and financing of war supplies. To this Office of Production and Supply, Section 7-a would transfer the functions and personnel of (1) the War Production Board and the Smaller War Plants Corporation; (2) those subdivisions of the War, Navy, and Treasury departments, of the Maritime Commission, and of the Office of Lend-Lease which have to

do with the procurement and production of war supplies; (3) those subdivisions of the Federal Loan Agency and the Department of Commerce which finance plant expansion and purchase of materials in the war-production program; and (4) the Office of the Petroleum Coordinator, with its diverse duties in connection with the purchase and production of aviation gas and synthetic products.

By taking over the personnel of these various bodies, the new organization could function while changes were being made. The advantage would be in having all production and supply matters under a single authority, thus ending many of the delays from which we suffer. While WPB may initiate a project, the contracts have to be signed by army procurement and the financing has to be obtained from Jesse Jones, and any one of the three may balk at the plans of the others, with no real court of final appeal short of the overburdened White House itself.

The bill would bring all man-power, production, and supply agencies under unified civilian control and impose certain necessary duties on the new agency and its sub-agencies. These duties have been but imperfectly understood, and they cannot be fulfilled without "unity of command" on the home supply front. Section 6-a of the bill, for example, provides for a current inventory of industrial capacity. It provides for a detailed time schedule of end and intermediate military and civilian products, plant by plant. It provides for the allocation of productive resources as well as materials to meet the production program worked out by a top requirements committee on which the Secretaries of War and the Navy, the Chief of Staff of the army, and the Chief of Naval Operations would be represented. It provides for plant inspection to make certain that labor is being used at maximum effectiveness. Today we have no one over-all agency with power to formulate or to carry out a concerted program of this kind, and the lack of one is slowing up our war effort.

Perhaps the most important aspect of the bill is its purpose to make the war-mobilization program more democratic in character and to provide greater freedom within it for men with enterprise and ideas. This is by far the most difficult task of all and the one point at which the bill is incomplete. The bill would end the use of dollar-a-year men. It would give labor and agriculture, as well as business, representation on a top Board of War Mobilization. One of the duties of this board would



be to stimulate the activity of labor-management committees.

But these measures are not enough. The bill ought to provide for a change in the make-up of the materials branches and the industry branches, which necessarily do much of the detail work of the production program. It ought to provide for the representation of labor and small business in these branches. The most interesting and fruitful provisions of the bill in this respect are those which embody Senator Kilgore's proposals for an Office of Technological Mobilization. This agency would have power to force the licensing of patents and secret processes, would promote research on new production methods, and would be able to mobilize our scientific capacity in the war program. Today our scientific agencies are as scattered and overlapping, and as dominated by big business, as are our production agencies. This is serious in a war as dependent as this one on technological efficiency and ingenuity.

In the perspectives of the Tolan bill current shifts at

the WPB seem either trivial or misdirected. The principal effect of the reorganization of the industry branches is to enhance the growing power of Vice-Chairman Ferdinand Eberstadt and to give the armed services new influence within the industry branches. The principal effect of the new "controlled-materials plan," the umpteenth WPB effort of its kind, is to increase the power of the army, which is now the dominant influence at the WPB and has thoroughly demonstrated its incapacity for the tasks of industrial mobilization. The current effort is to cut production quotas to fit scarcities of materials. A harder task is to increase the output of materials, particularly of the three "controlled materials"—steel, aluminum, and copper. This requires readiness to recognize the value of labor's suggestions in these fields and to fight monopoly obstructions to maximum output. Neither Eberstadt—a corporation lawyer, formerly a partner in the brokerage firm of Dillon, Read—nor his chief subordinate in the new setup, Ernest Kanzler, has shown any such capacity.

## *Was Hull Right About Vichy?*

BY ROBERT BENDINER

GENERAL EISENHOWER'S forces have rescued North Africa from the Axis and the State Department from some of its severest critics. The chances are excellent that North Africa will stay rescued, but I am not sure about the State Department. The joy over our first major military success has sent many erstwhile opponents of our Vichy policy scurrying to Canossa, but I have a feeling that when the jubilation dies down they will begin to wonder whether our diplomats had as much to do with it as Cordell Hull would have us believe.

As one who never felt that anything good could come of concessions to fascism, I remain incorrigibly unconvinced by Secretary Hull's contention that our occupation of Morocco and Algiers is the fruit of his two-year courtship of Vichy. It is perhaps early in the day to assess the claim in all its aspects, but even now I believe certain observations are in order.

To begin with, I am rather taken aback by some of the motives which Mr. Hull now ascribes to our Vichy policy. Relations were maintained and food distributed, it seems, only in order that consular and relief agents might have an opportunity to obtain information and to conduct propaganda; the long-range objective was always "to pave the way and prepare the background in the most effective manner possible for the planning and sending of the military expedition into the western

Mediterranean area. . . ." It would be remarkable enough if, in view of the record, our policy toward Vichy actually did rest on a foundation of disingenuousness rather than blindness, but it is even more remarkable for Mr. Hull to be bragging about so sly an approach to diplomacy—particularly in the same week in which new overtures are being made to General Franco. The Secretary's profession of foxiness has a fanciful quality about it, exulting as it does in an amorality which we have condemned in other nations and of which I find it hard to believe we have actually been guilty.

My impression that the State Department has hastily improvised its claim to a lion's share of glory for the North African campaign is reinforced by the conflict between President Roosevelt's several explanations of the move and that of Mr. Hull. The President told the French people that the occupation was designed to head off an immediate threat of an attack by the Axis on this strategic area and that it was decided upon only in June of 1942. Mr. Hull, on the other hand, would have us view it as the secret objective of a policy that was launched with the fall of Paris. I beg leave to doubt that the State Department could have foreseen the military decision of last June a year and a half before we had even entered the war.

On close inspection the five purposes which Secretary Hull claims for the Vichy policy boil down to three:



(1) "opportunity for the government of the United States to get from week to week highly important information virtually from the inside of German-controlled territory and from North Africa"; (2) "maintenance of close relations with the French people and encouragement of leadership in opposition to Hitler"; (3) "constant effort to prevent delivery of the French fleet" to Germany, or any other violation of the terms of the armistice. These points are perhaps worth reviewing in some detail, because they constitute the basis of the department's claim to vindication.

It is undoubtedly true that the handful of diplomatic agents and the twenty men who supervised the distribution of food in North Africa were able to report useful information, but their contribution was small indeed compared with the volume of data which hundreds of Free French sympathizers from Calais to Tunis were ready and willing to impart. Had we broken with Vichy, much of this information would still have been available through any normally functioning espionage system, particularly in view of the prevailing anti-Vichy sentiment in North Africa and the presence of hundreds of disaffected French officers. As a matter of fact, we learn now that it was the daring secret mission of General Mark W. Clark which three weeks before the invasion obtained the vital information as to installations and troop dispositions. It was this Commando-escorted band, and not Mr. Hull's food-distributing observers, who made possible the clock-like precision of the military operation. Honeyed relations with Vichy may have had some deception value, but they also cost us heavily in successful liaison with the Fighting French, who had no part whatever in the first great move to free their homeland. Indeed, General de Gaulle himself knew nothing of the campaign until it was launched, and certainly he had no hand in the selection of General Giraud, much less of Admiral Darlan, to take charge of French affairs in North Africa.

Nor should it be forgotten that while we enjoyed the services of Mr. Hull's observers in France and North Africa, Vichy was able to make similar use of its agents in our own country. Its officials here enjoyed the rights of diplomatic immunity and were in a position to send Laval (read Hitler) any information they thought of value.

Concerning the second major purpose of the Vichy policy, Mr. Hull is not explicit, and I don't see how he could be. Far from encouraging opposition to Hitler, our friendliness toward Vichy, as any Fighting Frenchman will tell you, was in fact one of the greatest obstacles to a crystallization of French resistance to the Axis. It was our decision to support Vichy in the days following the collapse of the French army which discouraged the organization of a Free French government in North Africa. Several high French officers were willing to carry on in

the colonies and were dissuaded from doing so only by the revelation that the great power of the United States was being placed at the disposition of the Vichy government. Late in June, 1940, General Mittelheuser, commander of the French forces in Syria, sent a message to General Noguès in Morocco communicating his willingness to carry on the fight. He was about to send a similar message to the British command at Cairo, offering the support of the French Army of the Near East, when word came through of Washington's determination to deal with the Pétain regime. The General tore up his letter.

Events, I believe, have already exposed the fallacy that it was our Vichy policy that kept the French fleet out of Hitler's hands. If the fleet is not delivered to Germany now, when we not only have broken relations with Vichy but have seized a great part of the French Empire, would a firmer stand with Pétain have induced its surrender before? If a completely occupied and powerless France fails to yield the fleet now, would a France that still had a semblance of a government have handed over this last remnant of its power? It would appear that the French navy has not now, and did not ever have, any intention of abandoning its ships either to Germany or to England. To a considerable extent the rank and file of the fleet has for years had marked political inclinations to the left. Much of it, moreover, was recruited among the traditionally seafaring Bretons, and Brittany has been more solidly anti-Vichy than any other section of France. Many officers, on the other hand, are anti-British and collaborationist, but these professionals have a vested interest in the integrity of the fleet which transcends political considerations. Neither Admiral Leahy, Marshal Pétain, nor Secretary Hull is to be thanked for this fortunate combination of circumstances. Any courting of the Vichy politicians for the purpose of saving the fleet was wasted affection on our side and successful blackmail on theirs.

It is possible to argue that maintaining purely formal relations with Vichy was not incompatible with encouraging resistance to the Axis, but if that was Mr. Hull's intention, it is almost impossible to understand the hostility and resentment that were constantly displayed toward De Gaulle and his movement. If, as Mr. Hull asserts, our policy was aimed at "keeping alive the basic concepts of freedom of the French people," why the undisguised fury over the seizure of St. Pierre and Miquelon by the Free French? It can hardly be argued that this was merely a show put on to prevent a break with Vichy. We could easily have rejected responsibility for Admiral Muselier's move and let it go at that. Events have proved that nothing we could have done short of attacking French territory would have induced Vichy to break off relations with us. But instead of shrugging its shoulders, the State Department did everything possible to restore



the islands to Vichy control. We appeared to be bent on more than merely preserving formal relations so as to have the services of observers. Our Ambassador and his aides went out of their way again and again to demonstrate affection and regard for Pétain and his government—at a time when democratic Frenchmen were fighting in the ranks of the United Nations or dying in concentration camps. How did this "help keep alive the basic concepts of freedom of the French people"?

In the last three months our policy toward Vichy has in truth been more realistic. We suffered relations to continue but at the same time dealt more and more openly with the forces of General de Gaulle and displayed greater contempt for the Marshal's government. Had we followed this policy from the start, I could feel more sympathy with the present contentions of Mr. Hull. The fact is that the cavalier attitude toward Vichy dates from the Roosevelt-Churchill decision to occupy North Africa. The State Department merely followed suit and would now appear to be cashing in on a very good thing.

I know that it will seem ungracious in the midst of this first great victory to begrudge any part of the gov-

ernment its share of credit, and I write this with no pleasure. If this war were a great sporting event it might perhaps be better to forget the past and give the diplomats the benefit of the doubt. But this is not the Rose Bowl game, and the department's present position contains implications for the future. If the appeasement of Vichy is to be put down as a success, there will be more appeasement to come. Opposition to such a policy is not a principle which can be lightly relinquished. If foxy diplomacy justifies the support of a Pétain as against a De Gaulle, I fear we shall shore up other Pétains. We are in fact doing that very thing in Madrid at this moment. I shudder to think of this kind of "cleverness" at the peace table.

Our Vichy policy is merely one chapter in a long history of appeasement. It must be judged in that context and not merely as a piece of diplomacy which did in fact precede a successful invasion of North Africa. Some day the forces of the United Nations will invade Germany, and in that happy hour I hope we shall not be asked to believe that the triumphal entry was planned at the Munich conference.

## *New Deal for Stockholders*

BY MAURICE H. GREENBERGER

THE Securities and Exchange Commission has trained its guns on the greatest citadel of oligarchy in this democratic nation—the management and control of corporations. Since the action of the commission can hardly be called spectacular in these days of world-shaking military events, it will probably not receive the public attention and support that it deserves, though we can be sure that it will meet all the opposition of which corporation officers and their spokesmen are capable.

The problem is not a new one. It has been the subject of discussion and study for many years. Everyone knows that the control of our corporations, and particularly of the giant companies that dominate the country's economic activity, is not actually in the hands of the majority of the stockholders. At one time "trust busting" was popularly thought to be the remedy for corporate evils. It is now understood that the principal problem created by the giant corporations arises not from bigness, which it is often in the public interest to preserve, but from the separation of control from ownership. This was clearly demonstrated by A. A. Berle and Gardiner C. Means in "The Modern Corporation and Private Property."

In the days of the small entrepreneur, employing a handful of workmen, the owner of the establishment was

also the active controlling and managing force. With the expansion of enterprise, the corporation was found to be the most suitable form for industrial and financial activity. As long as corporations were relatively small, the law that dealt with them—John Marshall spoke of their "artificial being, invisible and intangible, and existing only in contemplation of law"—was comparatively satisfactory. But today, when they are larger and richer than some states, that body of law is greatly in need of re-examination and revision. The impact of corporations on our lives and even on the very safety of the nation—witness, for example, the Standard Oil—I. G. Farben affair and the rubber situation—is too substantial for us to be content with a body of corporation law made for phantoms and conceptual creatures.

Theoretically, the stockholders exercise the right of control through their rights to attend stockholders' meetings, to vote on certain vital matters, and to elect directors. However, these rights are more formal than real. In many instances the stockholder is deprived of the corporate franchise through such oligarchic devices as the issuance of non-voting stock, voting trusts, denial of the right to maintain fractional interests, and the holding company. But the commonest method of keeping control out of the hands of the majority—and it is a method



whereby the board room pays lip service to democracy—is to be found in the perversion of the proxy system.

A survey made recently by the Temporary National Economic Committee showed that of 14,000,000 record shareholdings, about 7,500,000, or 54 per cent, had a value of \$500 or less; about 2,000,000, a value of between \$501 and \$1,000; and about 3,000,000, a value of between \$1,001 and \$5,000. In other words, approximately 90 per cent of the record shareholdings were of a value of \$5,000 or less. These are scattered throughout the country, and it is obvious that a stockholder whose interest is comparatively so small cannot make an annual trip to the stockholders' meeting, which is often at a great distance from his home.

To these stockholders the controlling group sends a proxy form, which is usually returned executed. This act of "control" on the part of the stockholder is facilitated even to the extent of the prepayment of postage. No more cerebation is required of the stockholder than he would need to mark a *ja* ballot. If the corporation is listed on a national exchange, the management must mail proxies at the request of any stockholder of record who wishes to set up an opposition. But while the corporation pays for the printing, postage, and other incidental expenses incurred in its solicitation of *approving* proxy certificates, a group of stockholders in opposition must bear these expenses themselves. As a result, the task of forming a corporate opposition—except in cases of flagrant mismanagement which might excite the support of a great number of stockholders—rests upon a few individuals who are willing to be economic crusaders and able to expend time, money, and effort for the corporate good, in most cases with slight assurance of success. The changes in the rules concerning the solicitation of proxies which the SEC proposes are designed to enable the stockholders to exercise a more effective control of management.

Much has been written about the corporate entity. In the eyes of the law this artificial creature is the owner of the corporate property and assets as against even the stockholders themselves, who constitute the corporation. For some purposes in the law it is a person, and for others it is not a person. However, if the matter is viewed in the light of our prevailing philosophy of private property, the assets and property of the corporation *do* belong to the stockholders. A great number of these stockholders at one time in our economic development would have been individual owners of small productive enterprises. Today they are part owners of our corporate giants by virtue of having purchased shares of stock or insurance policies or through deposits in savings banks. By such participation, *theirs* are the railroads, the steel mills, the meat-packing houses, the insurance companies, and a host of other enterprises.

The SEC says that in the corporations subject to its jurisdiction a stockholder will hereafter have the right to submit proposals to his fellow-stockholders together with a one-hundred-word explanation of the action he wishes to sponsor. The security holder is also to be given the opportunity to nominate candidates for directorships, and these nominees are to be placed in ballot form on the proxy. In its summary of the proposed revision of the rules the commission states that "some managements have adopted procedures which encourage signature in blank rather than execution of the ballot" for each proposal submitted to the stockholders. The rules are to be amended to permit the counting of only those proxies which indicate specifically the action to be taken, thus preventing the arrogation of authority through default. These are the more important changes. Other provisions require the disclosure of compensation in excess of \$25,000, of directors' and officers' dealings with the corporation, and of the company's activities during the preceding year.

The action of the SEC is an attempt to reform the proxy system, which in the words of Chairman Purcell "has been sadly prostituted." The commission is undoubtedly wise to devote its attention to the proxy device as a means of stimulating more intelligent stockholder expression. But the jurisdiction of the SEC is limited. Add the fact that companies may incorporate in any of the forty-eight states even though their activities are nation-wide and they are indispensable units of interstate commerce, and the conclusion is inescapable that a federal code of corporate morality is necessary to cope with the problem. Many states are only too eager to attract enterprises which seek legal sanction for undemocratic structures and practices.

Since in an economy of bigness the stockholder cannot be brought to his corporation, his corporation must be brought to him. It is suggested that federal legislation be passed which would facilitate the expression of stockholders' views by dividing them into regional groups. This idea might contain the answer to the problem of minority and management control. The country would be divided into corporate districts, like the Federal Reserve districts. In each of these districts would be located a district office of the company, and at this office a list of the record stockholders should be available, to encourage communication among them. Also there should be periodic district meetings at which directors representing the district would be elected; these directors ought to have a voting power equal to the value of the securities they represent. At district meetings the representative-director should be required to explain to his constituents the activities of the corporation, and orderly discussion and debate should be encouraged. This or a similar plan would be more effective in arousing and maintaining stockholder interest than



formidable proxy forms containing necessarily technical data.

It is doubtful whether democratic capitalism can survive if the power of industrial and financial property is abdicated to economic despots, however benevolent or paternalistic they may be. Some democratic technique for

corporate control must be discovered. Preventive control in corporate council halls is more desirable than punitive disapproval in the courtroom. Unless we can establish industrial and financial democracy, freedom of enterprise for the few will prove to be destructive of all the freedoms for the rest of us.

## *"The End of the Beginning"*

BY DONALD W. MITCHELL

THE best news in several months of war is now coming out of North Africa as the British and American armies, driving west and east, threaten to destroy the German hold on Libya, together with the entire Afrika Korps. For the first time in the Western theater of the war we have seized the initiative and are forcing the enemy to meet our battle plans rather than attempting with slight success to meet his.

Today's news flashes must be seen in perspective if their importance is to be appreciated. Rommel's victory in Libya in early summer and the fall of Tobruk were shocking blows to the United Nations cause, especially since they were achieved against defenders markedly superior in man-power, armor, artillery, and airplanes—everything, in fact, but tactics and leadership. The failure of Hitler quickly to reinforce his able lieutenant may have been the result of his inability to spare the necessary men and supplies from Russia, but it has proved extremely expensive for him. The Germans became mired in the desert, with their long transportation lines pounded by the greatly superior Allied air force and their overseas communications under attack from British submarines. Meanwhile the British curbed the individualism of the R. A. F., found a better commander, and rebuilt their superiority in all arms.

With complete air dominance, naval cooperation, and both bigger and better-equipped armored forces, there was no sound military reason why the British should not have won. Yet they have lost battles in the present war when the advantage was almost as definitely theirs. Victory in Egypt is therefore a cause for satisfaction. It is even more gratifying to note the immense improvement in British tactics over earlier campaigns. Profiting from past disasters, the Army of the Nile used infantry well supported by artillery to prepare paths through the German and Italian mine fields and then sent in its tanks to exploit developed weaknesses on both flanks. Axis mistakes in anticipating the striking point proved costly. The outflanked troops were compelled to fall back along a narrow front under heavy artillery fire and merciless strafing from American and British planes,

and several divisions, mainly advanced Italian units which had been acting as shock absorbers, were entirely cut off by the swiftly moving steel tentacles. Rightly refusing to pause to deal with these nearly helpless units, General Montgomery pursued the main German armored divisions, exploiting to the utmost the advantage afforded him by his superior tanks and aviation.

Notable as Montgomery's successes have been, the African campaign would still be a secondary one but for other recent events. Because Rommel threatened vital British positions, any marked advance of his army was serious, but British drives into Libya menaced nothing of equal importance to Hitler. Even if they had conquered the whole province, the Allies would not have found it much easier to send supplies through the Mediterranean as long as the enemy's air bases in Sicily blocked the road and no counter-bases were available.

It is the American invasion of Morocco and Algeria and its synchronization with British moves which give North Africa great strategic importance at present. The success of either the British or the American drive alone offers no tremendous threat to Hitler, but success in both will not only eliminate Rommel but affect immeasurably the whole course of the war.

The American campaign makes use of one Allied asset which has not previously played a decisive role, namely, British naval command of the extreme western Mediterranean. The base at Gibraltar and the western Mediterranean fleet have discouraged any Italian desire to send raiders out of the Mediterranean and have aided convoys to get through to Malta but have otherwise been of slight value. These ships, completely dominant in their area, covered American landings.

Though the army's press releases have been a great improvement over those of the navy, too little information is available to permit any adequate commentary on our work in this area so far. With sea and air superiority it was not surprising that we could establish bridgeheads, apparently with little loss. The use of American rather than British troops and the vigorous propaganda campaign which accompanied American landings doubtless



helped to weaken French resistance, which was not as vigorous as might have been expected from the large number of troops in the country, though of course their morale and equipment were poor. Early conquest of airfields greatly aided our cause. Later news may dictate a different view of the campaign, but present evidence shows careful planning, skilful coordination of sea, air, and ground forces, and aggressive leadership.

Several counter-moves are open to Hitler. He may be able to force Franco to change from an inactive to a belligerent ally, in which case the more than 100,000 soldiers in Spanish Morocco would offer a definite threat to the American rear and Gibraltar could be attacked by land. He can strive, despite inevitable heavy losses, to send strong reinforcements to Rommel. Or he can complicate our supply problems by a concentrated U-boat attack on Allied shipping lanes to Africa. Or, finally, he can write off Africa as a bad bet and redouble efforts against Russia, hoping for the unlikely decisive victory which would permit him to withdraw troops from the east in time to meet any really damaging attack launched from the south and west.

There are few indications that the last course is even being considered. Concern for his prestige, if nothing else, is apt to make Hitler determined to redress his fortunes in Africa. The occupation of all France and the dispatch of air units to Tunis are signs of this. Hitler cannot afford to treat the African campaign in its present stage as secondary. Allied success here will (1) eliminate the use of French bases by German and Italian submarines; (2) plug the largest of the few remaining leaks in the British blockade of Continental Europe; (3) effectively isolate Dakar and pave the way for an assault there by land should it become expedient; (4) provide badly needed combat experience for American troops; (5) bolster American civilian morale; (6) enable the Allies to set up a string of naval and air bases along the Mediterranean from which southern France, Italy, and Greece can be steadily harassed by naval, air, and commando raids. Axis defenses in this region, unlike those of northern France, will require a great deal of strengthening to become even relatively secure.

Conquest of North Africa will also free the British of the necessity of keeping large naval squadrons at both ends of the Mediterranean. In narrow waters airplanes can to a certain degree serve as cheaper substitutes for ships, especially in warding off attack on transportation. More Allied sea power will therefore be made available either for convoy duty or for use against Japan in the Pacific, in both of which spheres it is badly needed. With a protecting umbrella of air power it should be possible to reestablish the Mediterranean "life line" close to the African coast. This route cannot be made perfectly safe—especially south of Sicily it will remain hazardous—but since the shortening of the route to the Near East will

save both time and shipping, some losses can be borne with equanimity. Even the Soviet Union can receive supplies by rail across Syria and Mesopotamia much more quickly than by the enormously long Persian Gulf route and more safely than via Murmansk.

Of course these are possibilities which cannot be fully realized before several months at least, or even a year. Despite Axis knowledge that an attack was impending we gained some of the advantages of surprise, for with many objectives to guard, Hitler had to await our attack before committing himself to defensive measures. The speed with which we continue to exploit this advantage in the weeks ahead is therefore of vital importance.

Exhilarated by our seizure of the initiative, many commentators have overlooked certain negative aspects of the task before us. Whatever answer Hitler makes—and an attack through Spain would offer a first-class threat—an African front will, for a time, make enormous requirements on merchant shipping and naval escorts. And it has been off the West and Northwest African coast that submarines have scored most of their recent successes. For several months to come this drain on an already insufficient pool of merchant tonnage is almost certain to end German worries over the launching of a front elsewhere. To some extent the African offensive may also be robbing Peter to pay Paul, since its demands on Allied air power have caused a lessening of raids over Germany in the past few weeks.

Our methods in Africa can best be described as cautious, but the word is not used in a critical sense. The invasion of Algeria and Morocco comes under the heading of what the author has described in earlier issues of *The Nation* as "small-scale offensives," aimed at definite but limited objectives and made feasible by their distance from the centers of German military power. In no correct sense of the term is it a full-scale "second front." In the September 5 *Nation* I offered the view that a large-scale invasion of Western Europe was impracticable at the time because of lack of men and ships. This view was recently confirmed by the President. The present operations probably represent the maximum land effort that the United States can make under present transport limitations. They have a splendid chance of complete success. But the campaign's very distance from Germany is also its greatest drawback. For it does not offer a grave *immediate* threat to Hitler. Even should it be entirely successful, a shift of the garrison division in Western Europe, without the recall of any large number of units from the Russian front, should be adequate to meet the menace it offers.

The best analysis yet made of the current African situation came from Winston Churchill, and it is one which over-optimistic Americans should take to heart. "This is not the end or the beginning of the end," he said, "but the end of the beginning."



# Talking of India

BY KINGSLEY MARTIN

I HAVE heard of Englishmen who think India none of America's business and who object to the constant stream of criticism and suggestion now made about India in the United States. Now that the United States is in the war, I can see no justification for such complaints; all problems that affect the conduct of the war and the application of the Atlantic Charter are legitimately the affair of all the members of the United Nations. But if that goes for the Indian question, it also goes for the Negro question, and for all the other problems of race and color and religion that are involved in a global war and a global peace.

Of course there are difficulties and responsibilities involved in this joint discussion of problems that used to be regarded as the internal affairs of particular nations. Americans are legitimately cross when challenged about the Negro question on the basis of ignorance, and I must confess to an impatience with American critics of British policy in India who imagine that the Indian Congress is an elected body similar to the elected body of the same name in Washington, who argue about a solution for India without having even heard of Pakistan, and who completely forget, in demanding freedom for Indians, to inquire into the interests of the depressed classes or of other minorities. I really believe that many who are vehement about India have in their minds an analogy with eighteenth-century America. They ask why Britain does not "quit India," oblivious of the fact that at the present time all the Indian parties, including Congress, agree in wanting Britain to defend India. Some knowledge, I suggest, is a necessary basis for the discussion of any subject, even of British imperialism.

As an anti-imperialist myself, I have a certain nose for the hypocrisies of imperialists, and I am not deceived by the excuses put forward by people whose real desire is simply to hold on to power. Similarly I recognize among the various types of Britain's critics some who are not inspired by genuine liberalism. I can take anything from informed critics who care about the liberty they demand. But sometimes I detect not so much an interest in India or in winning the war for the United Nations as a groping toward an alternative imperialism that might easily prove no more decent and liberal than Britain's.

Having got these warnings and complaints off my chest, I add that they do not, to my mind, apply to Mr. Wendell Willkie's broadcast, which was carefully and usefully phrased, or to the article by Louis Fischer in *The Nation*. On some points I disagree with Fischer, but

I know that he formed his views after the most elaborate inquiries in India and that it is a sincere and informed opinion. Louis Fischer has been a good friend of mine for many years, and I was not at all surprised to find that he had been captivated by Gandhi. He is an enthusiast by nature and instinctively a libertarian. It was on grounds of liberty that he finally abandoned his long championship of Stalin's policy in the Soviet Union. He was certain to take a Hindu against a British view. I have seen some of his voluminous notes; he took the trouble in the extreme heat of the Indian plains to type out as far as possible verbatim everything that passed in his numerous conversations with high British officials and soldiers as well as with Indian leaders of many shades of opinion. If he made, as I think, a serious mistake in interpretation, that was not due to lack of pains in acquiring information. But if he had tried more strenuously to find a constructive solution in the terribly difficult setting of the war, I believe that his conclusions would have been less clear-cut and possibly more useful.

Let me explain. The sting of Fischer's articles was the charge that the offer which Sir Stafford Cripps carried to India was not sincerely intended. That there were some in official positions who never believed in the Cripps mission is, of course, clear, and that Mr. Churchill has never changed his youthful mind about India is an inescapable deduction from his recent speeches. But if Fischer had been able to seek evidence in England as well as in India and had talked with Sir Stafford Cripps and those who accompanied him on his mission, he would not, I think, have explained the breakdown of the Cripps negotiations by a simple charge of Whitehall sabotage.

I wish the British government had been willing to go farther in the offer made to India for the immediate war period. With the war close to their own doors, it was natural that the Indian leaders should pay less attention to post-war promises than to the question of an immediate increase in power. Sir Stafford went to India at his own instance; he was the spokesman of the British Cabinet and an old friend of India, in particular of Jawaharlal Nehru. He seemed more likely than anyone else to persuade the leaders of the chief parties in India to make up their minds to work together and with Great Britain in the defense of India. He offered an Indianized and representative Viceroy's Council instead of an official and hand-picked Council. He had no authority to offer a National Government during the war. But he could legiti-

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# POLITICAL WAR

EDITED BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

## "Compulsory Democracy"

**A** MOST interesting report that came out of France just before it was entirely taken over by Hitler described the work of some fifteen Study Groups, representing a cross-section of French life, which have been meeting for the purpose of formulating a program for the future government of their country. We have heard a great deal about the courageous acts of sabotage and political warfare directed against the Nazi invaders, but very little is known of the discussions going on in occupied countries concerning plans for a future free Europe. The report of the fifteen Study Groups sheds light on the sort of political and social structure which the Europe of today is looking forward to for the morrow.

These fifteen groups came out of the very soil of France. Among their members were conservatives and radicals, Socialists and Communists, factory workers and university professors, farmers, former municipal employees, and often the pastor of the village, sometimes a Catholic, sometimes a Protestant. The groups met "underground" in spite of all the difficulties of the occupation and the watchfulness of the Gestapo. They took up for discussion concrete subjects, political and economic. And the plans that emerged from these deliberations

were sent to London and submitted to General de Gaulle's National Committee, which in turn sent back to France suggestions to be considered by the Study Groups. At the same time the groups, by employing considerable ingenuity, managed to send outlines of their conclusions to anti-fascist cells in Belgium, Holland, and other occupied countries with a view to creating a common program for a future free united Europe.

The plans stipulate, it is interesting to note, that prior to any work of reconstruction there must be promulgated a new Declaration of the Rights of Man, to be based on a single fundamental concept: that the people shall have every liberty except the right to deny liberty. This applies both to the international and the national sphere. For example, no nation may carry its right to independence and sovereignty to the extreme of constituting itself a fascist state which by its mere existence would threaten the peace and liberty of Europe. In the internal sphere, no party with dictatorial tendencies will be tolerated. Not only will a party be outlawed which advocates a corporative system such as Doriot tried to organize with the cooperation of the Nazi rulers, but every party must choose its directing body and arrive at its decisions by strictly democratic methods. Never again

### HITLER IS STILL THERE

*Delivered at the moment when the American army was accomplishing one of the most remarkable exploits of the war, Hitler's speech of November 8 fell on ears which were predisposed to take it as his swan song. Two phrases combined to give it the tone of a confession of defeat: his ill-timed declaration that he wouldn't "go abroad" like his royal predecessor and his outcry, "there is only one thing left and that is battle." Those words were seized upon by nearly every radio analyst and every editorial writer as proof that Hitler now felt himself beaten.*

*A reading of the whole speech in a less emotional atmosphere would have led to a more restrained interpretation. Apart from those two phrases Hitler did not talk like a defeated dictator. On the contrary, his words breathed defiance and determination. He pointed to the unchallenged fact of his vast conquests and said, "Whatever we possess, we hold actually and firmly, and nobody gets a place where we already are" (forgetting*

*Libya for the moment). He said his last peace offer had been made. He described the vast gains made in the Russian campaign—and Russia's losses in sources of vital supplies. He said he would "anticipate every move of the enemy."*

*His acts support this interpretation of his words. Only two days were needed to prove that the brutal initiative which has characterized him in the past has not been abandoned. On Saturday the American troops landed in North Africa. On Tuesday Vichy's incapacity to resist the American invasion had become fully evident. On Wednesday Hitler occupied Vichy, marched through the rest of France, and attacked in Tunisia. His acts, like his words, showed neither the uncertainty nor the slowness of defeat. They showed an enemy who still is there, full of strength and will; an enemy who can be defeated only by effort and planning, by tanks and men, and not least by peoples and ideas; an enemy who can be defeated only by combined military and political war.*



will France permit such a degrading spectacle as was presented by the Radical Socialist Party in 1938, when, on the eve of the opening of the party convention, all the undesirables of the neighborhood were rounded up and seated as members and then permitted to vote on vital questions of French policy. The new France will permit all the rights that a free man can desire, but not the right to practice fascism, under any guise. This concept has been referred to as "compulsory democracy."

This new idea of compulsory democracy is pushing its way into the thinking of the occupied countries of Europe, which have learned by bitter experience the futility of any attempt to conciliate fascism. Of the same order of ideas are the tentative plans drawn up by the Study Groups for a government that will be both representative and strong. They recognize the need, especially during the transition period, of a government which can take a firmer stand against all the elements threatening liberty and order. They realize that the alternative to a dictatorship on the one hand or chaos and civil war on the other is a government, popularly elected,

in which the executive can act swiftly and decisively.

In view of recent developments in North Africa, it is of great interest to examine the position of the Study Groups in regard to the so-called transition period. Many people talk as though all Europe, the conquered countries as well as the aggressors, would have to undergo a period of military occupation. This suggestion is strongly repudiated. Far from believing that France must live under the control of an Allied army of occupation, these groups assume that independent governing bodies will be set up while the struggle for liberation goes on. As soon as a single department of France is free from Nazi control, the French authorities will take over and the French people will begin to rule themselves. It would be a mistake for the Allied armies to interfere in any way with the internal forces of the liberated country. It is highly encouraging that the Americans in their occupation of North Africa promise to act in a way that corresponds to the thinking of the French Study Groups in regard to this last important point.

## *A Gallup Poll of Blood*

BY PAUL HAGEN

**O**UT of the night of Germany comes a Gallup poll of blood. Incontrovertibly, it reveals the specific difficulties the Nazis are encountering at home on the eve of their fourth winter of war.

This Gallup poll is provided by the list of people executed in Germany. Another longer list continues to grow in the occupied territories. But recently the roster of those officially beheaded in Germany proper has been expanding. Not that the Nazis had not murdered at home before. There has always been quiet liquidation of individuals; there have been celebrated purges. Last year the spotlight of home propaganda was turned on several model executions—humble radio listeners, black marketeers, and defeatists. That was in the days when the myth of Hitler's invincibility was to break down for the first time, before Moscow. But the consequent purge of the High Command and the reorganization in high places were not followed by increased terror against the people. On the contrary, Nazi propagandists uttered words of understanding for the strains they had to endure. This year, however, while the second offensive on the Russian front was being frustrated at Stalingrad, the executioner at home took up his work. And we have the first reports of local mutinies and of firing squads against soldiers. But let us analyze such evidence as is available.

For the month of September we have a list of persons

officially executed, in some cases with ages as well as names and with court charges and sentences. This list of fifty is of course not complete, nor is it, as we shall see, reliable in every detail. Here is a rough outline of it, as put together from B. B. C. broadcasts, from the press, and from clandestine stations like "Weimar," which quote, in some instances, from local German newspapers and radio reports: *Frankfort*, five persons executed—charge, high treason, attempts to organize "Communist cells," dissemination of foreign radio news; *Mannheim*, fourteen persons—charge, organization of a new party nucleus to undermine the German home front and the army, dissemination of enemy radio news; *Oldenburg*, one man—espionage for a foreign power; *Breslau*, two armament workers—acts of sabotage; *Berlin*, two persons, one a twenty-one-year-old girl—espionage; *Munich*, one man—high treason and attempted aid to the enemy; *Bochum* and *Schwerte*, ten workers—charge unknown; *Kassel*, a middle-aged couple—after serving prison terms for treasonable acts, they again upon release listened to foreign broadcasts and spread enemy news; *Berlin*, an artist and a clergyman—listening to foreign broadcasts; *Esslingen*, a young worker—high treason; *Nürnberg*, a man who had been in a concentration camp for Communist activities—charged with resumption of these activities; *Austria: Vienna*, three persons, one a woman—high treason, undermining the German



armed forces; *Krems*, two workers—Communist activities; *Graz*, a number of persons—formation of a Communist organization.

There has been some confusion in recording this list, owing to discrepancies in Nazi official announcements. It is a preliminary and only approximate record, but several facts about it are worth noting. First, it is the longest list of official executions in any one month since the Nazis came to power. Second, it is predominantly a list of men and women active in the former labor movement. Third, a large part of the group comes from bombed areas around Mannheim, Frankfurt, and Ludwigshafen. The number of executions reported for this western industrial area is striking; that discontent is showing itself in the form of riots in bombed districts is also confirmed from other sources. To raise the bogey of "growing bolshevism" in these areas may have been one of the purposes of publicizing the executions.

The validity of the Nazi charge that the victims were underground reorganizers of the Communist Party may best be judged by the Mannheim cases. Here is the list of the fourteen victims. It has been checked in New York with people from Mannheim who knew them: Georg Lechleitner, aged fifty-seven; Jakob Faulhaber, aged forty-two; Rudolf Langendorf, forty-seven; Ludwig Molderzyk, forty-three; Anton Kurz, thirty-six; Eugen Siegel, thirty-nine; Philip Brunnemer, seventy-five; Max Winterthaler, forty; Robert Schmoll, thirty-nine; Rudolf Moll, forty; Daniel Salzinger, forty-five; Käthe Veit (née Brunnemer), forty-eight; Adolf Veit, forty-nine; Johann Kupka, forty-two. Only Georg Lechleitner was a local official of the pre-Hitler Communist Party. None of the others were Communists. They were members of the Socialist youth movement, the Social Democratic Party, and the free trade unions. For years the center of the group had been the unhappy Brunnemer family—seventy-five-year-old Philip Brunnemer, his daughter, Käthe Veit, and his son-in-law, Adolf Veit. The father, a labor veteran, a survivor of the persecutions under Bismarck, was one of the faithful functionaries of the old Social Democratic Party; his daughter had organized a *Naturfreunde* youth group after the last war. They and their friends were critical of many of the policies of their party during the Weimar period, but they were faithful to it. Party lines of course no longer exist in underground Germany, though the old traditions are still strong; people simply work together, try to hold out, and prepare for a new movement. The Nazi label "Communist" must be taken as a weapon in the war of nerves at home—the Nazis will call a Catholic bishop a Bolshevik if they want to destroy him—and in the new appeasement drive directed toward certain quarters in Europe.

We should be only too happy to be able to say that the executions prove the existence of strong underground

organizations, of an effective revival of anti-Nazi activity. Unfortunately, we cannot do so. There may be a new movement in embryo, but we do not know. In view of the age of the victims it is even possible that their names were chosen at random from lists of subversive persons prepared long ago, and that they were executed merely for propaganda purposes.

This has been done in Norway and France. However, this can be said: the Mannheim executions show where the Nazis find the greatest potential danger on the home front. Look at the list again. The youngest of the Mannheim victims was thirty-six, the eldest seventy-five, the bulk of the group between forty and fifty. This is the present age of the old guard of the former labor movement. The Mannheim executions, like most of the others, make it clear that the Nazis, knowing the home front, knowing the growing unrest, know also whom they



Heinrich Himmler

must present as alleged conspirators—the men and women from whom the public might expect resistance. In short, having denied in so many boisterous speeches that they are afraid of a repetition of 1918, the Nazis are afraid of exactly that. The Gallup poll of blood has very little relation to the specific charges of the courts, but—particularly when compared with last year's record—it proves that, in the opinion of the Nazis, the danger of fundamental changes at home is growing. A dozen times in the past the Nazis have assured the public that they had wiped out the anti-Nazis; they now demonstrate that they did not believe what they said. That is why the heads of potential leaders roll again.

Innocent men and women are not yet being executed in masses in Germany as they are in occupied Europe. Murder at home is still in slow motion compared with the horrifying tempo abroad. The important news is that there is no longer a difference of principle between the Nazis' defense at home and their defense against the opposition in the conquered countries. One of the best illustrations of this is afforded by the executions that followed the assassination of Heydrich. According to figures compiled by the Swedish Goteborg *Handels-Tidning*, 1,103 people were executed at that time. We have learned since that the investigations conducted by the Gestapo, though officially confined to Czechoslovakia, were in reality pursued even more thoroughly in Germany—on German railways, in German homes,



in German military headquarters and soldiers' barracks. There is a report of a mass purge shortly after Heydrich was shot, in the famous Lichterfeld barracks in Berlin, the scene of the purge of Röhm's followers in June, 1934.

This is a situation with which the United Nations should reckon in formulating a strategy of political warfare.

## *Behind the Enemy Line*

BY ARGUS

IN THE fourth year of the war life is hard for German civilians. Rations have not yet been reduced to the smallest amount that man can live on—they are much larger than the unbelievably small allowances of the Italians—but the situation is pretty bad. The greatest lack, that of fats, can be only half compensated for by the carbohydrates of potatoes, which are somewhat more plentiful. The deficiency of proteins—meat, fish, eggs, cheese—cannot be made up and is calamitous; even the class which is allotted the best ration, the so-called "hardest workers," do not get the minimum necessary for health. And not only is food scarce but also heat, and means of transportation, and above all the consumers' goods which no household can get along without. To illustrate: many of the cheaper restaurants are now asking their guests to bring their own knife, fork, and spoon. These precious articles are so unobtainable that customers are carrying away the restaurants' equipment.

Depressing as these privations are, the thing that is most dreaded has not yet happened. In Germany the worst economic catastrophe that can be conceived is inflation. On this subject the average German is both a neurotic and an expert. Inflation for him is not just an abstract idea; its mechanics are no mystery to him. In that hellish time when the mark fell to a trillionth of its normal value the present generation learned all about its workings.

Since the beginning of Hitler's rule, therefore, the specter of another inflation has been an ever-present source of anxiety. It has worried even the government, which realizes that nothing must happen to alarm a hypersensitive nation on this score. Up to now the danger has been successfully avoided. Prices on the whole have remained surprisingly stationary. And there is no use denying that a people abnormally wise about inflation has posted this on the credit side of the Nazi ledger.

For our part we might learn a good deal by studying the Nazi technique for keeping inflation at bay. And oddly enough we could also profit from observing the government's handling of the people in this matter. For on questions of money and inflation the government knows that it cannot fool the public, and it speaks to it frankly, reasonably, and to the point.

To stimulate saving, it announced a savings week for the beginning of November. There is a lesson for us in the way the necessity of saving was impressed on the people. Savings notes in Germany are of course the equivalent of our war bonds, but they were not played up as the best and highest-paying investment in the world. A much grimmer argument was used. Expounding a scientific and merciless theory of inflation, government spokesmen said in effect: It is essential that you make yourselves still less able to buy things than you now are. You must voluntarily withdraw from use an additional portion of your income and freeze it for the duration of the war. Too much money is in circulation, and too few goods are to be had. That is the wellspring of inflation, and we must plug it up more tightly than can be done through taxes alone. Herr Lange, the vice-president of the Reichsbank, used these words in a widely circulated appeal: "Every reasonable man will understand that as the production of war materials rises, total income also rises, while the supply of consumers' goods steadily falls—that is, purchasing power increases out of proportion to the amount of goods that can be bought. All our anti-inflation measures aim to draw off this surplus purchasing power. Only in this way can depreciation of the currency be prevented."

In this country we seldom hear people urged to save on these grounds. "Save in order to go without"—it sounds like poor propaganda. But it is the one effective defense against inflation in Germany. Only the brutal truth will have any influence on an informed people. Perhaps the struggle against inflation will succeed only among a people that can understand the brutal truth.

It is another question whether his public believed in the rosier future which the Reichsbank chief went on to paint. After the war, he said, you can enjoy the fruits of your savings. "After the war we will manufacture consumers' goods to correspond to the money saved during the war. Victory will make it possible for us to satisfy, very quickly and at reasonable prices, the demand for goods that has been dammed up for so long." It is more than doubtful whether a perspective of the future which presupposes victory is confidently accepted in Germany. That is an argument which Americans seeking to combat a future inflation could use with better effect.

## *Poor De Gaulle*

IT WAS to be expected that the North African expedition would be hailed by the Axis press and radio as an act of American imperialist aggression, but a novel twist was introduced by one Axis commentator when he quoted a Paris newspaper as saying, "American piracy has not honored De Gaulle's sergeant-majors with the chance to share the glory of the Moroccan-Algerian raid. General Eisenhower and his gold-strippers have gobbled up all the crumbs themselves."



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mately explain in private conversation that if the party leaders accepted the immediate offer and formed a strong Indian Council, it would in practice be impossible for the Viceroy to precipitate a series of internal crises by refusing to take its advice, even if he should wish to do so. Given that the communal issues were not raised during the war and that the supreme direction of the war was in the hands of a British commander-in-chief—provisions that excited no controversy—could not the leaders of the great Indian parties agree to serve in a Council which, Sir Stafford suggested, would in the course of daily business become a responsible Cabinet, just as the British Cabinet had in practice, and without legislative change, gradually taken over the once autocratic powers of the King of England? If his proposals were accepted, Sir Stafford's influence in Indian matters would in fact be supreme; he would personally do all in his power to insure that the Viceroy's veto atrophied just as the King of England's veto has atrophied. Exactly how Sir Stafford put this point we cannot, of course, know, but that he urged these considerations is clear. As Fischer points out, Sir Stafford would scarcely have sanctioned without demur the publication by Congress of the statement that he had given such an assurance unless the account given by Congress were substantially correct. Nor is Sir Stafford to be criticized for thus in informal conversation going beyond the letter of his instructions. I believe he was right in saying that if the Indian leaders had accepted his proposals, they might in practice have made themselves the effective government of India.

After the completion of discussions that mainly turned on the functions of an Indian Minister of Defense, there seemed an excellent prospect of settlement. The hopes of April 8 were abruptly ended next day. Louis Fischer attributes this disaster to a telegram which, he alleges, Sir Stafford Cripps received from Whitehall. This has been flatly denied. This particular telegram is not in my view of great importance. We know that there was much telegraphing and telephoning between Britain and India that night, and the next day, when Sir Stafford was asked to give a formal assurance of a new convention between the Viceroy and the new Council, he was only in a position to refer Congress to the Viceroy. Fischer is wrong in thinking that any telegram Sir Stafford received would substantiate a charge of breach of faith, for Sir Stafford had never been authorized to make any offer that formally reduced the Viceroy's powers, and if Congress asked him to state in set terms what had been no more than an informal and personal assurance, it could not have expected anything but a negative reply. Personally, I must regret that Sir Stafford had not the support of the Viceroy and the British government in his effort to ease negotiations by an unwritten promise that the convention governing the relation of the Viceroy to his Council

would be changed once the Cripps proposals were accepted. Certainly, as Fischer says, powerful interests in Britain and India opposed the transference of power which Cripps hoped to achieve. But this transference of power during the war was never offered by the British government; therefore the offer could not be withdrawn. The question then arises why Congress should have asked for an open statement of an assurance that was by its nature personal and informal. The fact that they asked for a formal change that they knew from Sir Stafford the government would not grant suggests that they, like some conservative elements in Whitehall and Delhi, were afraid that the negotiations might succeed.

It is the part played by the divisions and weaknesses of Congress that Louis Fischer overlooked. Would Congress have been satisfied even if it had been formally assured that the Viceroy's veto would not be used? I am by no means certain. I do not mean that it might still have been difficult to settle terms of cooperation with Jinnah and the Moslem League. (I do not think Jinnah could have held out and wrecked the settlement if Congress had accepted.) Nor am I worried by indications that Congress would also have raised questions about the position of the princes. Why should it not? No, my concern is that Congress was always divided, and that the pacifist part of the Working Committee would have always found it extremely difficult to enter into any agreement to collaborate with Britain in the military defense of India. Consider how much was being asked of Congress. Here is a nationalist party, trained during years of struggle to regard Britain as the enemy and non-violent non-cooperation as the weapon. Suddenly they are asked not merely to abandon the struggle against Britain but actually to share in the responsibility for the conduct of a bloody war with the British government as an ally. A few like Rajagopalachari had no doubts and were prepared to accept the necessity of cooperation with Britain against the common enemy; Nehru, closest of Gandhi's followers, had long decided that in this situation he was first an anti-fascist. But not all Gandhi's followers had made any such decision, and though Gandhi was not himself present at the negotiations, his influence was powerful. Sir Stafford Cripps has spoken of a last-minute intervention by Gandhi, while equally truthful men, like Rajagopalachari and Nehru, have denied it. There is no difficulty in finding an explanation for this apparent contradiction. Sir Stafford may well have known of telephone conversations between Gandhi and some of his followers about which Rajagopalachari and Nehru knew nothing. But we move from the sphere of deduction into that of certainty when we state that Congress was deeply divided and hesitant; that it feared finding itself trapped into decisions that it might regret; that it very naturally found the Cripps proposals lacking in that dramatic concession of power that would have enabled it to go to its

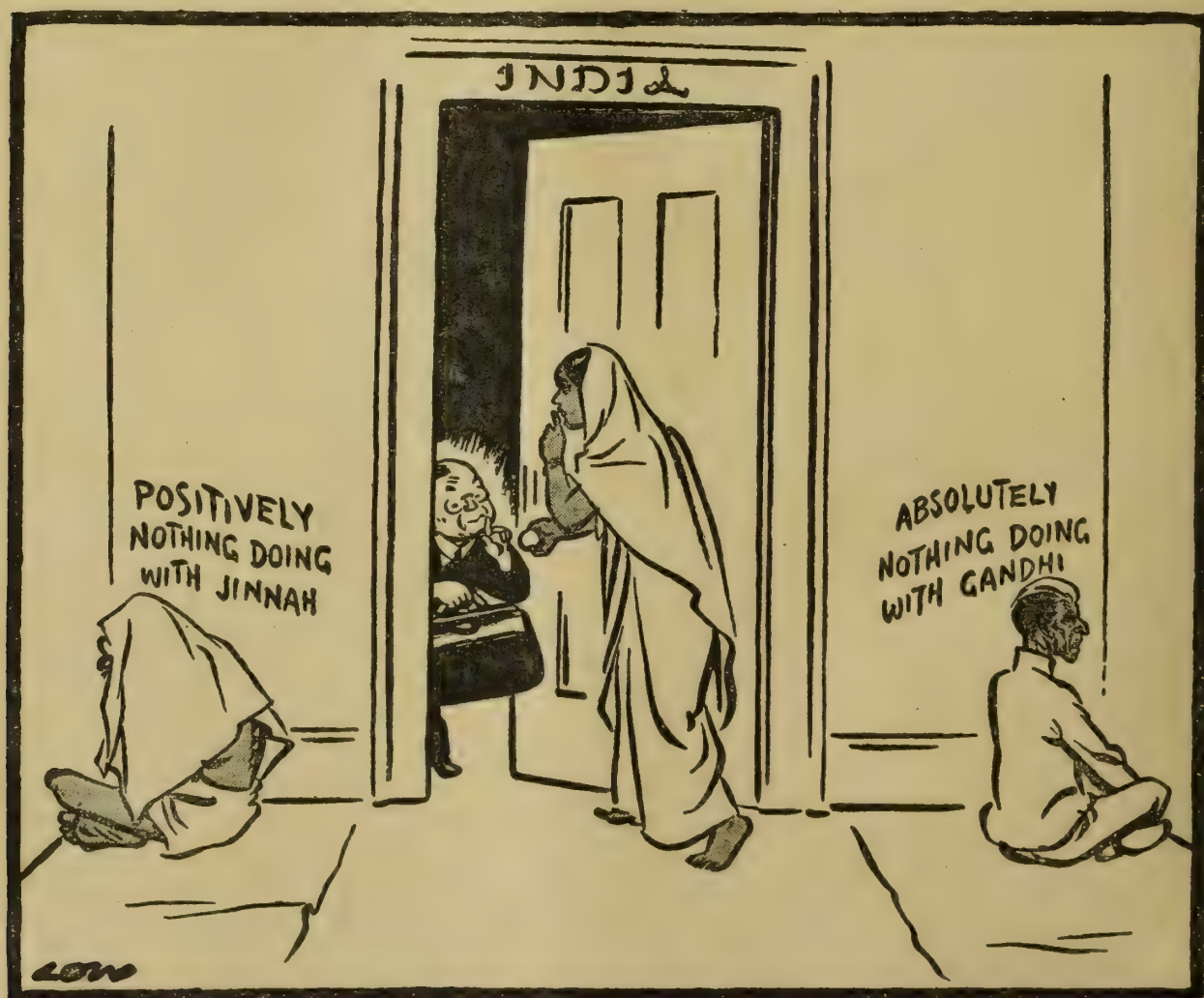


constituents confident of persuading them to abandon the tradition of non-violent non-cooperation and to rally to the new flag of violent cooperation. Remember, too, that Congress was skeptical, after the Burma campaign, of Britain's capacity to defend India against Japan.

Is it any wonder that a committee, so torn as this, should prefer the unity of refusal on a main constitutional issue chosen by themselves to the hazards of an acceptance which might divide its ranks and which to some of its members would certainly be psychologically more difficult than another period in a mild and already deplorably familiar confinement?

My own summary would therefore be that if Congress had been a more united and resolute body, less dogged by a minority attitude and a tradition of negotiations, it might have accepted the Cripps proposals and made of them, as Cripps suggested, the first and crucial stage in the formation of a real National Government. I add that the British might, in my judgment, have made an offer that even this divided committee could have found no excuse for rejecting. The failure was on both sides.

All this is past, but still important. I well understand the immense attraction of Gandhi and how Louis Fischer has become his apologist. The Mahatma's technique of non-violent non-cooperation is one of the great inventions of history, and stubbornly adhered to, it might have driven the British from India years ago. But it is a purely negative method, and it is not capable of dilution or compromise. Gandhi cares, says Fischer, about India's national independence first, and he was prepared to drop his pacifism for it. Certain it is that through months of negotiations Gandhi did in fact move to a position in which he accepted, in words at least, majority decisions that involved the total repudiation of pacifism. At the final meeting of Congress before the arrest of the leaders a resolution was passed offering certain military collaboration if a National Government was formed. It is a pity this resolution did not come earlier and that, when it did, it was accompanied by the threat of civil disobedience. Earlier resolutions attempted to bridge the gap between militarism and pacifism by the use of such ambiguous words as "resistance," which could mean violence to one Congress member and non-violence to



"HAVE EITHER OF THE PATIENTS REGAINED CONSCIOUSNESS?"



another. Moreover, Gandhi's whole record, as any study of his pronouncements during this war shows, is not only that of a pacifist but that of a politician who sees his duty to go to any lengths in the attempt to keep India out of war. Under his leadership India would pass into Japanese hands not because he was or could be pro-Japanese but because that would be the result of his policy. No doubt Gandhi hoped, if the British did quit India, to persuade Japan not to invade, and if this persuasion failed, to offer non-violent non-cooperative resistance. This technique, sometimes successful in appealing to the public conscience of a Western democracy, would certainly be ineffective against the Japanese army.

There is a further point that American critics neglect. They ask why we do not "quit India." I am not denying that there is an imperialist reluctance to relinquish power. But note that at this moment nothing would in fact so much alarm Americans and adherents of the United Nations everywhere, including India, as for us to attempt anything of the sort. No Indian party asks us to quit India until after the war, when we have promised to do so.

Indians distrust British post-war promises? True, and other members of the United Nations may perform a service, in my view, by offering to give a joint guaranty of this freedom. Americans who take part in this controversy should ask themselves whether they are prepared for the responsibilities involved in such a guaranty, which should be a joint affair of the United Nations, necessarily involving a new attitude on the part of both America and Britain toward all Asiatic and colored peoples. Indians, it should be noticed, are becoming suspicious of American as well as of British imperialism, and the participation of Russia, and especially of China, which is intimately concerned with the defense of India, seems essential if any such scheme is to succeed.

In regard to the immediate situation, I do not know whether it is now too late to form a genuine National Government in India to collaborate with the British in defense against Japan. I should myself like to see another attempt made by men like Rajagopalachari and Sir Tej Sapur to set about the task, without any restrictions, of establishing a National Government, with the fullest facilities for negotiation with any leaders, in or out of jail, who are ready to collaborate in India's defense. I cannot now judge how likely success would be: I am sure some such offer should be made; and if, as is possible, success would be more likely with a United Nations guaranty, then I should choose that method. There may be other means of ending civil disobedience and the reign of violence, of approaching a reconciliation and the formation in India of a genuine National Government. No possibility should be neglected. I welcome American interest and help in any such settlement. I only suggest that the starting-point must not be a desire to expose British imperialism—a game in which I have

myself taken a hand—but a responsible realization that we are in a desperate war which includes India. Every critic who writes about India should ask himself coolly and earnestly what exactly in these circumstances he is advocating. To give the American public the idea that there is some simple action of quitting India which Britain should take, leaving Mr. Gandhi in charge in India, is to serve the interests of no one except the Nazis and the Japanese. The problem is not now one of quitting India but of finding how, in defending India, to pass over the largest possible measure of power to the most responsible and representative Indians.

## *In the Wind*

**PAUL PALMER**, who was editor of the *American Mercury* when it published articles favorable to fascism and featured such writers as Lawrence Dennis and Harold Lord Varney, has been made a Senior Editor of *Reader's Digest*.

**NEGRO OFFICERS** are now being commissioned at the rate of about 275 a month.

**WENDELL WILLKIE** last week submitted to the President a long report on his trip around the world. No one else was present at the meeting. Willkie talked and answered questions, and the President acted as his own stenographer.

**JACK GOODMAN**, a parodist and author of "How to Do Practically Anything," learned that his friend Rex Stout had been asked by the *New York Times* to review Herbert Agar's "A Time for Greatness." To amuse himself Goodman wrote a review of the book the way he thought Stout would write it. He sent it to Stout, who liked it so much that he passed it along to the *Times*, which published it.

**AN ARTICLE** in the London *Sunday Express* which urged the abandonment of discrimination against Negroes was released by the censors for circulation in the British colonies but forbidden to be sent to this country.

**MIKE GOLD** in the *Daily Worker*: "I would be glad to join a league that helped . . . tobacco fiends to forget their dope and to substitute Communist work or other forms of idealism for smoking."

**A JOSEPH LEWIS** of Purdys, New York, has written to several magazine and newspaper editors advancing the thesis that the Thanksgiving celebration is responsible for many of our difficulties and urging that it be discontinued. "Shortly after the President issued his proclamation last year," Mr. Lewis writes, "within a month to be exact, the Japanese stabbed us in the back at Pearl Harbor while talking peace to our face in the White House."

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*. A prize of \$5 will be awarded each month for the best item.]



# BOOKS and the ARTS

M., W., F. AT 10

BY LIONEL TRILLING

PROBABLY few *Nation* readers will have heard of the book I am writing about. It has never been advertised in the literary sections; it may never have been reviewed. It is "A Survey-History of English Literature" by William Bradley Otis and Morris H. Needleman. Its aim is modest: it undertakes to present all the useful facts and necessary opinions about English literature. Barnes and Noble first issued it as one of a series of review-outlines but it seems to have had an unusual success and it is now being advertised and adopted as a required textbook for college courses. This utilitarian, rather grubby-looking volume is, I think, one of the symptoms of our intellectual condition.

My own interest in it is first of all aesthetic. For me there is a pawky charm in its mysterious critical statements. I like to read of Thomas Carew:

Gentlemen of the privy chamber (1628). Taster-ordinary to the King (1630). Friend of Suckling. Brilliant wit, lover of women and rime. Skilfully polished verse, neat and tuneful phrase, mastery of the overlapped heroic couplet. Second only to Herrick, lacking the latter's warmth and love of nature, but possessing a sensuous fancy and a becoming virility. . . . Best of his longer poems is "A Rapture," audaciously amatory and "marred" by unreticent passionate "impurity," emphasizing the physical (and to some the "perverted") side of love much in the way of Aretino and Donne. In the latter poem his expressions, metaphysical either through volition or constraint, are not inappropriately imaginative; e. g. "And we will coyne young *Cupids*," and taste "The warme firme Apple, tipt with corall berry." Two of his most common stanzaic structures are *ababcc* and *ababb*.

Of this it is perhaps appropriate to remark, in the cryptic words the authors use of John Webster's work, that its "pornography is endemic rather than deliberate."

Then it is fascinating to read that Bacon's "counsels for the practical life are nucleated by three staple subjects" and to wonder why the authors wrote this rather than "stapled by three nuclear subjects." And there are those mad masterpieces of cautiousness from which we learn of Gibbon that "not only may his anti-Christian arguments be antiquated but his method of historical research may be defective or obsolete," and that his history is "somewhat sneering in its ironical deference toward Christianity." But most engaging of all is the system of parallel opinions, the columns of Suggested Merits balanced by the columns of Suggested Defects. Of "Beowulf" a Suggested Merit is "Broad study of character"; a Suggested Defect is "No minute characterization." Two Suggested Merits of Dr. Johnson are "Teacher of moral wisdom" and "Sonorous words," but a glance to the right discovers that two Suggested Defects are "A moralist in everything he wrote" and "Copious use of Latinized vocabulary." With an apparatus like this it is impossible to go wrong.

For example, under Alexander Pope we find:

#### *Suggested Merits*

2. Heatless, faultless lucidity. Polished and brilliant diction. Unerring choice of right word, incisive.

#### *Suggested Defects*

2. Poor in largeness of imagination. Rhetoric, not poetry. Periphrastic constructions and pretentious expressions.

In every class of English B1 (M., W., F. at 10) some students will take their stand as Merit men or Defect men, but they will be strong-minded rather than well-rounded. Well-rounded students with a proper feeling for the nuances of criticism will know how to deal with the problem of Pope's style: "Pope, by his polished and brilliant diction, his periphrastic constructions and pretentious expressions, achieved a heatless, faultless lucidity. As a result of his unerring choice of the right word he produced rhetoric, not poetry."

But literature is not always easy and even the well-rounded student will be stumped by the Wordsworth situation. For no sooner has he absorbed Suggested Merit 1, "Spiritual love of nature, cosmic sympathy for peaceful things," than he has to square it with Suggested Defect 1, "In a strict sense is not always a descriptive poet, nor a great nature poet." The chances are that he will prefer Suggested Merit 2, "Found God in Nature—pantheistic philosophy," to Defect 2, "Philosophy unorthodox, or materialistic, or pantheistic, or mystical"; with Defects so irreconcilable any sensible student will hang on to Merits. But then he will have to deal with Merit 5, "Love poetry while small in quantity, is important for its personal quality, intensity and significance," as against Defect 5, "Lack of intensity and passion; note the mention but not the expression of sexual passion."

Mr. Otis and Mr. Needleman lack taste and prose, but they have not been lazy—they have accumulated the facts, they have consulted the treatises and learned journals and they cite their sources assiduously and indiscriminately, so that even graduate students use the "Survey-History" as a cram-book, finding it more efficient than the older discursive histories. Perhaps a moderately intelligent graduate student could make use of the facts and laugh at the opinions—although not all the facts are correct (we are told that Swift in *A Modest Proposal* "proposes revoltingly that the Irish should fatten and eat their children for food") and although, in the study of literature, it is often hard to separate fact and opinion. But not all graduate students are moderately intelligent and the "Survey-History" is primarily intended not for graduate students but for undergraduate "majors" in English and for those students who are taking a "required" or an "elective" course in literature, perhaps the only one they will ever have. A concise manual of facts is useful, even a cram-book can be recommended if its purpose is properly understood, but the "Survey-History," as I have said, is making its way in some of our colleges as a textbook, a historical and critical account of literature, an approved source of attitudes and ideas. When we have this in mind, the "Survey-History" begins to seem less funny than it is.



Of the graduate students and the "majors" in English, a large number become teachers; and it is not at all funny to think of teachers instructing young people in literature out of the opinions and in the style of the "Survey-History."

It is not essential to anybody's education to know anything at all about Chapman's "Caesar and Pompey," but when the student reads of this play, "Ethical reflection. Cato, the protagonist, commits suicide," he has been led to suppose that this nugget of inconsequence is a literary fact or idea. When he has been taught that "not the pitter-patter of hearts is involved" in the novels of Scott, "who apparently has no major purpose of crying in the wilderness" and "is quite blind to the abstract intelligence"; or that Sir Thomas Browne wrote "tasseled" prose; or that "The Tempest" is "poetically emotional" although "its character-outlines [have] no particular merit"; or that Milton's "Epitaphium Damonis" is superior to "Lycidas" "in sincerity and purpose"; or that Blake has "intense, ecstatic sensitiveness to impressions" but is "unable to depict his sensibilities," he—who is to be a member of the literary public, possibly a teacher—has had thrust upon him every shabby, fusty, third-rate vulgarity of opinion—I have chosen at random—that has ever attached itself to a work of English literature. Education for democracy? Perhaps we ought to begin with education for democracy's first element, simple intellectual decency.

And perhaps that is the element students are looking for when they turn away from literature to science or even social science. The honest student who takes his one course in literature with the help of the "Survey-History" or with a teacher who can use the "Survey-History" will surely be impatient to get it over with and go on to a less cynical subject. Even the literary student, the "major" in English, will surely need to be fortified by a native sense of intellectual honor if he is not to suppose that the study of literature is the jolliest of the disciplines because in literature anything goes.

In academic circles we hear a great deal about the sad estate into which literary studies have fallen and a great deal about what the function of the teacher of literature should be. Well, let us consider that the authors of the "Survey-History" made their book in an apparently successful effort to meet what is presumably an academic need; let us consider too that they made their book, as their footnotes testify, out of the precious essence of academic literary opinion. They have accumulated all the academic ideas, taking the good with the bad, distilling both into silliness, making a negation of common-sense and meaning. I am not trying to absolve the "Survey-History" nor to indict a profession; but clearly the "Survey-History" could not have been written without the connivance of a large number of teachers of English. And what is important is not that a foolish and vulgar book has been produced but that the written word is being treated without seriousness and respect by the very people who are supposed to be its guardians.

So the "Survey-History" is not a funny book after all. It raises grave thoughts. At the moment, however, I can escape the serious reflections by contemplating Defoe's lack of modern conveniences: I have just discovered in the "Survey-History" that one of Defoe's Suggested Defects is "No plumbing of the soul."

## LITERATURE FOR CHILDREN

BY BETSY HUTCHISON

**D**URING all the centuries that children were seen but not heard they managed to see and hear a great deal. Growing up was the process of trying to figure out adult behavior, at first toward yourself and then in the adult world in general. Adults themselves did little to enlighten you.

For the last two decades adults have been studying the workings of the child's mind, considering how to make the world plausible to him and which parts of it should be made plausible at each stage. The results in pedagogical reform are a little disappointing, but that may be because progressive education, like Christianity, has been tried so seldom and by so few, and those few have sometimes been fanatics. The results in children's literature are so bountiful that we really do need a week out of the year to give thanks for the harvest, and to select a few of its fruits for those who give Children's Book Week a more than academic interest for us.

The informative books of the new era in children's literature are perhaps its most striking contribution. Even more than the so-called popularizations for adult consumption they have achieved a high level of integrity, which is often coupled with literary quality. Above all, most of them show a real respect for their audience; they do not condescend. There are of course some juvenile authors who are painfully aware that they are bridging a gap between themselves and their readers, and who assume that the adult must make the whole effort to reach the child. These authors write down; they produce a nauseating species of literary baby-talk, and their books are bought by adults who like to think of children in baby-talk terms. Beware of archness in children's books, especially when they are beautifully illustrated! I could name names, but I forbear.

On the other hand, there are the authors who recognize the child's impulse toward exploration and discovery and aim to meet him halfway because they know that he wants to go part of the way himself. If they are writing books which inform or explain they do not dress up the subject matter with irrelevant frills or tuck away pills of knowledge in the jelly of romance. They themselves find the subject matter romantic, and their enthusiasm is contagious. (Indeed, contagion is nine-tenths of good pedagogy.) Among these are the Petershams, Henry Lent, Roger du Voisin, the d'Aulaires, Gertrude Hartmann, Donald Culross Peattie, and the father of them all, Hendrick Willem van Loon. If the books are intended for children of ten and upward, an adult can test them by his own enjoyment. I cannot believe that Carleton Washburne's "Secrets of the Earth and Sky" should be limited to children's consumption, and it would be a dull adult who could not enjoy and profit by a reading of Genevieve Foster's "George Washington's World," a triumph of the art of book-making as well as a pattern of imaginative historical writing.

Juvenile fiction has its source in quite another wellspring, probably deeper in the unconscious mind of the writer. But the best authors in this field do not seem to be dealing with the problems offered by their special audience so much as with those which concern all creative writers. If they succeed,



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the effect is spontaneous, and the result a communication of emotion. They can abandon themselves unashamed to comedy, as does Atwater in his "Mr. Popper's Penguins"; they can present tragedy undisguised as does Kate Seredy in "The Singing Tree," a story so poignantly beautiful in its plea for peace that one hesitates to offer it to children who have to face what lies between us and the achievement of peace. They can identify themselves with a historical background, without a trace of educational uplift, as does Cornelia Meigs or Lois Lenski; or they can lose themselves in fantasy like Disney or again Meigs in "The Wonderful Locomotive." They can present a great personality in the light of its human value—with no hint of "lives of great men all remind us"—as does Babette Deutsch in her "Walt Whitman," or Lisitzky in his "Thomas Jefferson." There is a long list by now of those who do one or more of these things, from Mark Twain, Louisa Alcott, Lewis Carroll, and Kipling to Disney, Ransome, Flack, Dalgleish, Kästner, Laura Ingalls Wilder, the Farjeons, Seredy, and Eric Knight, who should be included in a juvenile list for that great dog story "Lassie Come-Home."

But here the naming of names is a hopeless task, and an unnecessary one. The third edition of "The Right Book for the Right Child," completely revised and reset (The John Day Company, \$3), contains thirteen hundred titles selected and annotated by a committee of children's librarians, and graded by the experts of Winnetka, than whom none are more expert where the working of the child's mind is concerned. The annotations are informative; the selection is comprehensive, including a judicious sprinkling of classics for almost all ages and a few adult titles for older children, especially from the field of biography. In spite of the most painstaking search, I can find very few omissions. These include the Farjeons' two delightful volumes of historical nonsense in verse, "Kings and Queens" and "Heroes and Heroines," and Donald Culross Peattie's "Child's History of the World." The titles are all graded according to the reading ability required, a fact too often overlooked by the well-meaning Santa. Unfortunately they are also arranged according to reading ability, which will probably discourage the average parent or adopted uncle. But this edition, like its predecessors, will be very helpful to teachers and librarians. The layman's standby will continue to be Josette Frank's "What Books for Children?" (Doubleday, Doran. Revised, 1941. Published under the auspices of the Child Study Association).

There is one great satisfaction about using lists of children's books. Although they may cover twenty years of publishing, the majority of the titles are still in print. For every year brings a new generation of six-year-olds who know not "Humphrey" or "Diggers and Builders" and of eleven-year-olds ripe for "Blueberry Mountain" or "Invincible Louisa" or "The Prince and the Pauper." Classics are made in ten years or less when a year or two represents a generation, and such classics are alive. The present season brings a shipload of new treasures to set beside the old ones, but by no means to supplant them. Leave ennui to the grown-ups!

[A selected list, compiled by Lena Barksdale, of children's books published this season appeared in The Nation of November 14.]



## Memoirs of Julian Green

MEMORIES OF HAPPY DAYS. By Julian Green. Harper and Brothers. \$3.

IF THERE is any truth in Dante's famous statement that no suffering is greater than remembering past happiness in present unhappiness, most of the inhabitants of the world have cause to suffer today. But for those Europeans, and particularly the French, who have taken refuge in the pleasant purgatory of America, all hope is not lost: they know that eventually heaven will be granted them in the form of a return to their native land. This is probably what permits them to mull over the past with such evident pleasure.

A few weeks ago André Maurois gave us his urbane memoirs; now an equally significant, though younger, French writer recounts his childhood and youth. Julian Green is a literary anomaly. An American of solid Georgian and Virginian ancestry, he was born and educated in Paris, where he grew up to distinguish himself as one of the most original French novelists of his generation. As a young child he sat on his mother's lap and listened without understanding a word while she read in English to "the little French monkey," as she affectionately called him. And now, after a dozen successful novels, most of which have been translated into English, he has come to America for the first prolonged stay since the three years he spent at the University of Virginia (1919-22), written his first book in his mother's tongue, and joined the United States army.

It is rare that a writer can express himself so personally in two languages. Oh, to be sure, his mother's tongue shows occasional signs of being influenced by his mother tongue: he "assists at" ceremonies, "profits by" opportunities, "is persuaded" of facts, "agitates" questions, and piles "heteroclitous" luggage into a taxi—but these are the only such examples in the whole book. It is more interesting that Julian Green, whose novels are so singularly lacking in humor, shows here a delightful and typically American sense of humor, as for instance in the passage describing the scene when his cousin Sarah, a loyal Southerner without the grim earnestness of the older generation, played "Marching Through Georgia" in the Greens' Paris flat: "A brief altercation followed and tears were shed; and that was the last time Sherman's boys marched through our house." No such sketch as the following will be found in his novels either: "Next to the baroness sat a middle-aged Mexican lady whose green sweater was outrageously and purposely tight, but whose tongue, by way of compensation, was loose; a heavy brown fringe fell over her eyes; she smoked cigarettes and talked about men in a manner which made the baroness wince."

The greater part of Julian Green's memoirs concerns his childhood in Paris and Andrézy on the Seine, the only boy in a family of six children. It tells of the beauty of France, the rigors of a French education, the supernatural fears of a sensitive child, the gathering war clouds in those calm days before 1914. This is only just, since Julian Green told us in his diary, published here three years ago: "All that I write is immediately and directly derived from my childhood." The later pages, after the experiences as an ambulance driver at

*"I do not remember any literary history recently to appear that is more judicious or more sensitive."*

—HOWARD MUMFORD JONES  
*Saturday Review*

## ON NATIVE GROUNDS *Alfred Kazin*

"Kazin is a critic who brings to his survey of American literature of the modern period something of the high seriousness of Matthew Arnold . . . I do not think I exaggerate when I say this book is the signal of a new force in American criticism."—Irwin Edman, N. Y. *Herald Tribune* "Books."

"An admirable book . . . his scholarship is notable . . . his taste is mature and discriminating. Quite the best and most complete treatment we have."—Lionel Trilling, *The Nation*.

"Fresh, sane, original, unintimidated by fashionable shibboleths or the intellectual arrogances of older and less reasonable men. Mr. Kazin cuts his own path through the literary woods and doesn't care in the least where the chips fall."—Orville Prescott, N. Y. *Times*.

"Here is a book worth cheering for. I find myself going back again and again to savor the bright lines. He describes writing with an excitement that he communicates to his willing reader."—Harry Hansen, N. Y. *World-Telegram*.

"I know of no literary history of the last half-century which moves so rapidly, is so full of original insights. Here, at last, is literary criticism that is something more than academic muttering. Here is a fresh voice."—Lewis Gannett, N. Y. *Herald Tribune*. \$3.75

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the front and as a student at Charlottesville, describe the writer's early struggles. They contain suggestive discussions of the relative value of plot and characters, of the difficulties of the writer's medium, and revealing portraits of friends such as Jean Cocteau, André Gide, Robert de Saint Jean.

To say this is to suggest the limitations of these memoirs. Despite their nostalgic charm, they are too unaffectedly intimate to mean much to the general reader. But to the student of modern French literature, and particularly of Julian Green's admirable novels, they form an invaluable adjunct to his "Personal Record, 1928-1939." JUSTIN O'BRIEN

## Journalists on Leave

NEWSMEN'S HOLIDAY: NIEMAN ESSAYS—FIRST SERIES. Harvard University Press. \$2.

ONE of the most interesting experiments in the American newspaper field since the turn of the century undoubtedly has been the establishment of the Nieman fellowships at Harvard University. The men who receive these annual grants, entitling them to browse at will for nine months at America's greatest center of learning, attending lectures or not, as they prefer, but enjoying the stimulus which comes from residence in such an atmosphere, have a rare opportunity. The maturity and intellectual curiosity of these picked reporters, desk men, and editorial writers and the cordiality with which they have been received at Cambridge have made the Nieman experiment highly successful.

In the volume under review the fourth group of Nieman fellows, those who terminated their residence last June, have combined to make a book of eleven essays about the newspaper business, essays which were originally conceived without thought of publication. But now that they have been put between covers they enable the public to get a clearer picture of this group of Nieman fellows than it has had of their predecessors.

These eleven essays cover various aspects of journalism. There are reminiscences here, together with discussions of such subjects as editorial independence, press agents, the Newspaper Guild, censorship, sports pages, the weekly newspaper, and related matters. Evident throughout are an earnestness and a striving after truth utterly alien to the whiskey-soaked caricatures conjured up in Hollywood who pass for newspapermen with a regrettably large section of the moviegoing public. Nor is there anything surprising in this. Anybody who has been the "guinea pig" at one of the fortnightly Nieman dinners knows that these boys are alert, keen-minded, intellectually curious, and as tenacious in pursuit of a fact as a hound dog on the trail of a fugitive possum.

After the introduction by Curator Louis Lyons, the book opens with an authentic bit of reminiscence by Kenneth Stewart, who carries us from the copy desk of the New York *Telegram* to the Paris *Herald*, and then back to Gotham to the bedside of the dying *World*. The success with which Mr. Stewart recreates the atmosphere of the various newspaper shops on both sides of the Atlantic in which he has worked makes this chapter a stand-out. Another high point is the final chapter, in which Thomas Sancton provides a

sharply etched vignette of a fictitious character named "Charlie Wilson," the prototype of the newspaper "failure."

In between there is a chapter by Henning Heldt on the origins and *raison d'être* of the Newspaper Guild, which states the case for that organization with reasonable clarity and detachment. Mr. Heldt is properly enthusiastic over the substantial pay increases which the Guild has managed to obtain for its members at a time when those increases were sorely needed. Now that the organization has divested itself of its extreme left-wing leadership, more cordial relations between guildsmen and management should be possible. The tone of the *Guild Reporter* at one period was such as to make these relations almost out of the question.

Mr. Heldt's severe strictures upon the ethics of many publishers are partially answered by Robert Lasch, who presents in a well-balanced chapter a number of the arguments on the other side.

There is a meaty discussion of the weekly newspaper by Neil Davis. It sets forth with cogency the problems which beset the small-town editor. Some of us who rumble daily in the editorial pages may be taken aback by Mr. Davis's dictum that the weekly editor "swings far more influence in his home community than any other editor." Which is to say that when we editors of dailies think we are stirring up the animals and fluttering the doves from one end of the state to the other with blasts from our sanctums, we probably are not sufficiently aware of the extent to which the weeklies can checkmate us. Some weeklies, of course, carry no editorials, and others confine themselves to such soporific themes as "Patronize Your Local Merchant" and "Go to Church Regularly," but Mr. Davis is talking about those with a vigorous editorial approach. Their potency in their respective bailiwicks is doubtless greater than we city slickers care to admit.

All in all, "Newsmen's Holiday" is a readable volume. Most of the Nieman fellows represented here are worth listening to. In publishing their views concerning the profession which claims them, they have established a precedent which, it is to be hoped, will be followed by other fellows of the foundation.

VIRGINIUS DABNEY

## Lincoln and the Copperheads

THE HIDDEN CIVIL WAR: THE STORY OF THE COPPERHEADS. By Wood Gray. The Viking Press. \$3.75.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND THE FIFTH COLUMN. By George Fort Milton. The Vanguard Press. \$3.50.

IN SEEKING to assemble the facts of the Copperhead movement during the Civil War the historian labors under certain disadvantages. In great part the correspondence of the Midwestern Democratic leaders has disappeared—it has apparently been intentionally destroyed. The evidence of sensational reports of spies and detectives is highly suspect. Moreover, although many records of the War Department have now been deposited in the National Archives, those of the United States Secret Service are still closed to students.

Nevertheless, in the preparation of "The Hidden Civil



War" Professor Gray has examined an enormous body of material, both in print and manuscript. He has carefully searched the files of Midwestern newspapers of the period and discovered relevant editorial opinion, as well as instructive reports of clashes and riots. His study is concerned with the states of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, where the strength of the Copperhead movement was concentrated. It clearly analyzes the relation of the subversive element to the Democratic Party as a whole—a relation which was to redound to the disadvantage of that party, lessening for many years its strength as an opposition.

Professor Gray's foreword acknowledges a debt to his birthplace, Petersburg—formerly New Salem—Illinois, where he listened to the reminiscences of surviving "boys in blue" and Copperheads from "Secesh Lane." Little of the color of those reminiscences has penetrated his book. It is a scholarly and factual account of a critical phase of our history.

While Professor Gray's study leaves the impression that the decline of the Copperhead organizations was largely the result of the military successes of the Union, George Fort Milton believes that the failure was primarily due to "the lack of leadership, futile disorganization, and ineffectiveness of plan" of the revolutionary leaders. "Abraham Lincoln and the Fifth Column" abounds in incident and personality. Mr. Milton sketches the arch-Copperheads, Vallandigham and Fernando Wood; Horatio Seymour, the patriotic Democrat who was Governor of New York, and Oliver P. T. Morton, the Republican Governor of Indiana, who made himself the virtual dictator of his state. While recognizing the fallibility of "spy" evidence, the author frequently makes use of it, both in his account of the conspirators and of the federal agents who worked to uncover their plots. In spite of Mr. Milton's easy manner of writing and evident enjoyment of his subject, he has produced a book which leaves the impression of being rambling and discursive. It lacks the solidity of, for example, "The Age of Hate," the author's study of Andrew Johnson and the Radicals.

To the mind of this reviewer, the use of the term "Fifth Column" in connection with the American 1860's is as dislocating as it would be to speak of the Copperheads of the Spanish Civil War.

MARGARET LEECH

## Spotlight on Canada

**CANADA, TODAY AND TOMORROW.** By William Henry Chamberlin. An Atlantic Monthly Press Book. Little, Brown and Company. \$3.

**THE UNGUARDED FRONTIER: A HISTORY OF AMERICAN-CANADIAN RELATIONS.** By Edgar W. McInnis. Doubleday, Doran and Company. \$3.

CANADA'S drastic system of economic controls and anti-inflation measures has brought it more and more into the American spotlight in the past few months. Even the foreign correspondents, who have up to now neglected this mine of good copy, have begun to sit up and take notice. The first to produce a book on Canada is William Henry Chamberlin, and he has set a high standard for those who follow. "Canada Today and Tomorrow" is a first-rate job of



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fact gathering and analysis. For Americans who want to understand what goes on north of their 3,800 miles of undefended border it is required reading. They will understand the situation even better if they read Professor McInnis's excellent history of that border in conjunction with Chamberlin's book.

Canada is no subject for hit-and-run journalists, for it is a country of infinite and deep-seated complexities. It is a country with a stomach full of seventeenth-century France, in the form of the province of Quebec, which it cannot digest and cannot get rid of. It is rent by sectional animosities and antagonistic economic interests. The three most powerful disturbers—religious conflict, economic conflict, and geographic conflict—produce almost hopeless division. And yet such a substantial degree of unity has been forged that Canada's war effort has been prodigious. Chamberlin has seen all these things clearly, and in the main he gets them into proper perspective. Few Canadians know that the planes of their vast air-training scheme fly a million miles a day, but Chamberlin dug out the fact. This year the country will produce enough aluminum for 80,000 planes. It has the largest small-arms plant in the world and the largest shell factory in the British Empire, and it has reached parity with Britain itself in the construction of merchant shipping. For a nation which had to start almost from scratch, these are

accomplishments of the first magnitude. To pay for these things Canada has taxed its people to a point where the rates are only slightly below those of Britain.

The Canadian picture is not without its dark side. Canadian labor has been passed over in the appointments to government control boards. It does not feel happy about the anti-inflation controls. It clamors for production councils, which the government has been slow to set up. It has no Wagner Act, and it wants one badly. However, despite its grievances Canadian labor is solidly behind the war, though internally it is a house divided. The war between industrial and craft unionism almost wrecked the Canadian labor movement twenty-three years ago. It has never recovered from this struggle. Today only one Canadian in fifteen belongs to a union.

As the war goes on, the Canadian economy is becoming more and more enmeshed with that of the United States. Indeed, some critics complain that Ottawa has become nothing but a branch office for Washington, that nothing can be done here without Washington's approval. This is an exaggeration which has some basis in fact, but not much. Canada depends largely upon the United States for certain vital supplies—for a great deal of steel, for airplane engines, for oil, and for coal. The Hyde Park agreement has enabled it so far to obtain these things. But Canada's war production is so large that it can hardly continue to produce enough other things to pay for its supplies, and it may soon have to borrow or come under lease-lend.

Chamberlin believes that after the war Canada and the United States will move much closer together. Here I think he is on solid ground. If a large measure of world free trade does not come out of the peace, that will be the only solution for Canada's economic problems. But any approach to reciprocity will be bitterly fought by the industrial provinces of Ontario and Quebec. Into these provinces American industrialists have poured almost \$4 billion in investments in branch factories. They will seek to protect this investment by maintenance of a high Canadian tariff to shut out American competition. This is one phase of Canada's problem which Chamberlin does not see quite clearly. To live, Canada must trade. It produces enough food, for example, to feed four or five times its population. Obviously it cannot dispose of its wheat if imports are kept out.

In his history of the ungarded frontier so dear to the after-dinner speakers, Professor McInnis unearths many interesting and long-forgotten facts. That Canada managed to preserve its independence from the United States can largely be attributed to two facts. The first is the fantastic incompetence of the military efforts made to conquer it. Secondly, the imperialistic tendencies of the United States were directed toward the south and west at the time when it might have been able to swallow Canada. The border has not always been peaceful. Despite the fact that 40,000 Canadians fought with the Union armies during the Civil War, there was much bad feeling on both sides of the line at that time. Southerners plotted in Canada and Fenian raiders tried to free Ireland by invading Canada. For years America's trouble with Britain bedeviled its relations with Canada. Since Canada became a nation in its own right, relations have progressively improved.

JAMES H. GRAY

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## DRAMA

### A Vehicle for Miss Hepburn

AS ALL playgoers know, Philip Barry has his serious side. For many years he has tended to alternate between light comedy and more pretentious pieces tinged with religious mysticism. When, therefore, one sees the title "Without Love," that title not unnaturally suggests Roman Catholic theology—at least to those who are aware of the fact that "love" is not the exclusive possession of Hollywood and the pulp magazines. I, for one, found myself thinking in advance of O'Neill's "Days Without End" and anticipating some indictment of modern man on the charge of being—as he too often seems—"loveless" in the full theological and philosophical senses of that word. Imagine, then, my surprise to discover in the play which the Guild is presenting at the St. James Theater little more than a vehicle for Katharine Hepburn and her assisting co-star, Elliott Nugent—a vehicle in which "love" seems to be used almost exclusively in the *True Confessions* sense and the two people without it seem to be merely young members of opposite sexes who are slow to recognize a normal inclination toward the consummation of their marriage. "Without Love" is, in other words, little more than one more retelling of the old, old story of the marriage of convenience which everyone except the parties most directly concerned recognizes from the beginning as something more than that. This has always been, on its own level, a good story, and it still is. For one thing, it provides an opportunity for intimate dalliance which would be almost censorably embarrassing if the two parties were not already licensed to proceed even farther than they actually do. For another, audiences always find it pleasantly exasperating to watch a member of the male sex disregarding his manifest opportunities. But there is some significance in the fact that when the story is acted out—as it often is—at neighborhood movies on a Saturday afternoon, the hero always gets audible encouragement from the small boys assembled.

Considered simply as a "vehicle," "Without Love" serves its purpose well enough. Mr. Nugent plays the hero, who is assumed to be a young economist of remarkable abilities, as an engaging mixture of shyness and determination. Miss Hepburn, as the no

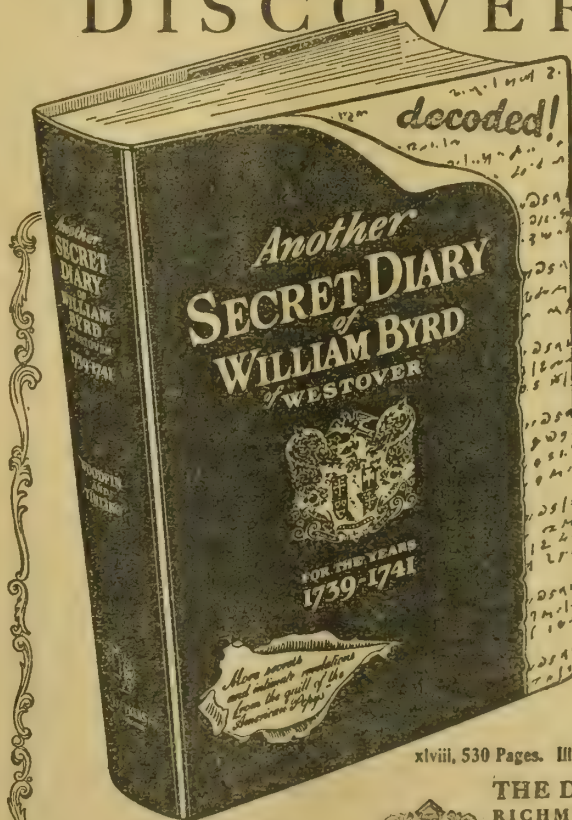
longer idle daughter of the idle rich, brings to the role her gift for making a certain gauche angularity seem authentically elegant. Largely for these reasons the piece will almost certainly play the season out and run on the road as long as Miss Hepburn will consent to let it. Nor do I wish to deny Mr. Barry the credit that is due him. Even if, here as so often, he slightly overdoes an effect which he knows so well how to create and introduces us to people almost too charming, elegant, witty, sophisticated, and well bred, the fact remains that he does really know how to create that effect. Moreover, his dialogue has point and style as well as an extraordinary air of accomplished ease. Not more than one or two other contemporary playwrights can equal or even approach him when it comes to turning out an epigram—as distinguished from the epigram's roughneck twin, the wisecrack—pointed enough to be delightful without being too elaborate to sound convincing as conversation. And though there is no very large number of such epigrams in "Without Love," there are several. An example might be Miss Hepburn's remark while attempting to explain the effect of a New England back-

ground on her love life, "I pray for guidance—and blush when I get it." Another, which sounded quite as good but hardly stands so well the test of cold type, is her husband's diagnosis of the same dilemma, "Like the Tower of Pisa you may have certain leanings—but you remain upright."

For all these and for certain other reasons "Without Love" will not only run the season out but deserve to do so, provided of course one does not assume that success of that sort is any more than precisely success of that sort. Nevertheless, I cannot help coming back to the feeling that there is something objectionable in the play as a whole and that it ought to be either less serious or more so.

I have not, thus far, mentioned the fact that the background is Washington just before our entry into the war and that into the main action there keep intruding political references, quite a little hocus-pocus about big men with secrets for the President's ear, and some childishly simple theses about the Irish problem. What, I kept asking myself, is all this doing in a bedroom story? And no possible answer seemed even moderately satisfactory. If the war and its

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problems are what really interest the author most, then his main plot is singularly ill chosen. If the intention was somehow to establish a real connection and through that connection to give to the title some such inclusive significance as I suggested at the beginning, then I can only say that I fail absolutely to see what the connection is or how the story of Miss Hepburn as wife-in-name-only makes any point more important than the obvious one. Finally if, as I suspect, these patriotic or political references are merely an attempt to give some timeliness and weight to an essentially frivolous piece, then the device seems to me quite unworthy of Mr. Barry. I am not among those who proclaim that this is no time for comedy. I see no objection to plays, even frivolous plays, which have nothing to do with the war and which deliberately refrain from acknowledging its existence. But I do object to those which introduce the subject superficially or trivially; and it seems to me that, for all its occasional pretense of seriousness, "Without Love" does exactly that. To use our peril and our resolution, to use France and Poland, Dunkirk and the A. E. F., merely as a timely device for getting two young people to bed seems to me, to state it mildly, verging on bad taste. It is too uncomfortably like advertising lipstick for morale or inventing the slogan "V for Victory—and for Mt. Vernon Whiskey."

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

## MUSIC

FOR the first time in my own lifetime, and probably in the lifetimes of most others, there is a performance of Berlioz's "Romeo and Juliet" in its entirety—and not just any performance but one conducted by Toscanini that gives the work a form, a life in sound such as we are not likely to hear again. The mechanical means exist by which millions of persons throughout the country can hear the performance at least this once; but it is not broadcast because N. B. C. has bought exclusive rights to Toscanini's name for broadcasting purposes, and C. B. S. has bought similar rights to the name of the New York Philharmonic-Symphony; and if the companies have done this out of the devotion to music which they loudly proclaim, that devotion evidently is not sufficient to induce them, even on the most extraordinary of musical occasions, either to waive their commercially

valuable rights or to pool them and broadcast the performance jointly. Similarly the means exist by which the performance could be preserved for millions of persons to hear in years to come; but even without the Petrillo ban it would not be recorded because Victor has bought the rights to Toscanini's name and Columbia the rights to the New York Philharmonic-Symphony's.

As we have seen, even when C. B. S. or N. B. C. broadcasts a musical program local stations may not carry it: the reader who wrote me last year that C. B. S.'s Pittsburgh station did not broadcast the Sunday afternoon New York Philharmonic concerts wrote me recently that this station was cutting off the Budapest Quartet's Sunday morning programs at 11:30; and another wrote me that the Boston station was not carrying the Budapest Quartet broadcasts at all. But this reader informed me later that when she got all the people she knew to protest and demand, the station began to carry the program; and having succeeded here she was about to organize a campaign against the program commentators who annoyed her. If you and your friends are not getting the music you want, make a loud and prolonged noise about it: that is the only argument which broadcasting companies understand.

Mozart's eighteen sonatas for violin and piano are being played three or four at a time, with a work of Bach or Beethoven in between, by Szigeti and Foldes at the Y. M. H. A. Three or four of these sonatas would be too many for one time even with Mozart and Szigeti constantly at their best, and neither Mozart nor Szigeti is at his best at every moment; but their best moments are not to be missed. It takes Szigeti time to work himself up to the point of communicative intensity at which, functioning with complete assurance and mastery of his instrument, he produces those breath-takingly inflected lines of sustained melody, among other things; and until then one accepts the technical and musical manifestations of lack of equilibrium. One accepted them in the delightful early Sonata K. 296 which opened the first concert, for the wonderful playing that Szigeti began to do in the dull Sonata K. 481, for his magnificent performance of Bach's Chaconne, and for his playing in the Sonata K. 526 where Mozart too is at his best. The piano parts were sensitively phrased by Foldes; but a combination of raised piano-lid and

*una corda* pedal made their sound dull and thick.

In a performance of the Beethoven Concerto with the National Orchestral Association under Barzin a few days later Szigeti began again with playing that made the listener as uneasy as it made the orchestra and conductor, until somewhere around the middle of the first movement it began to pull itself together and to build up to something magnificent; and at that he was not able to establish complete rapport with the orchestra. The performance of Bloch's Jewish Poems provided another demonstration of the combination of technical competence and musicianship which is so rare in conductors (as in pianists and violinists) that one would expect Barzin to have been grabbed by a major orchestra long ago. I heard only recently that he was considered a few years ago for the conductorship of the Minneapolis Symphony that in the end was given to Mitropoulos; and this made me as angry as it must have made Barzin. I don't say that any American should be engaged in preference to any foreigner; but I do say that a Barzin should be engaged in preference to a Mitropoulos.

B. H. HAGGIN

## Art Note

MORRIS GRAVES. Gouaches. At the Willard Gallery, until November 28.

Graves works almost exclusively in gouache on paper. He takes most of his motifs from zoology and embroiders them decoratively—birds, snakes, rodents, and the like. All except his very latest pictures are unsatisfactory in one respect or another; yet they have elements of strength in them and make no gestures to fashion or publicity. In spite of the debt Graves owes to Klee in several instances—in addition to his titles, which have the same whimsy-fantasy—he is one of the most inventive painters in this country. His color is somehow not American, being all grays, gray-blues, restrained pinks and madders. Since the artist comes from Seattle, one might argue a Pacific or Oriental derivation. He seems to have, on the basis of his 1941 work, an important future ahead of him. He generates power out of lightness and fragility—that is, in his best work.

C. G.

Coming Soon in *The Nation*  
"A Treasury of British Humor"  
Reviewed by Irwin Edman



# Letters to the Editors

## Biddle's Order: a Third View

*Dear Sirs:* Can another voice be heard after Sforza's and Salvemini's on Biddle's Order (*The Nation*, November 17)? It is not a voice of full consent.

Of course it is splendid that Sforza and Toscanini and others of high rank in political and intellectual service are no longer "enemy aliens." Thankfulness must welcome an exoneration enabling, on less conspicuous levels, many harmless or useful Italians to live free and to find employment. But it is not so splendid that a number of German exiles, who suffered hardship and indignity at the hands of Nazism, who fled to this country as tested allies in a common cause, still are labeled "enemy aliens," with curfew and restrictions and, above all, the iniquity of being "technically" thrown back to the enemy camp against which they fought and still fight.

Words of hope we read in Biddle's speech, when he said: "I wish to emphasize that in thus removing the label of enemy alien from Italians, we do not forget that there are other loyal persons now classed as enemy aliens. Their situation is now being carefully and sympathetically studied by the Department of Justice." It seems that the study, perhaps excessively careful, has not been completed yet.

Biddle, whatever fine things he may have said otherwise in his speech, has insisted on national demarcations. One criterion is applied to the Italians, one to the Germans, still another to the Japanese. All of us—Americans born and Americans foreign born—should insist on demanding that the acquittal of the Italians be understood as a preface to the total and prompt repeal of the Enemy Alien Act, with discrimination among aliens to be made henceforth according to heart and mind, not to blood and soil. Then and then alone can Biddle's speech and order be greeted with unqualified applause.

Otherwise doubts may arise in suspecting minds. First it was the Austro-Hungarians who were exempted from the treatment of enemy aliens. Was it meant to please Otto von Hapsburg? Then it was the Italians. Was it meant to prop the diplomatic plot dramatized in Myron Taylor's visit to the Vatican? Italy is asked to break the chain that

binds it to Nazi Germany, later on to receive from the hands of "democracy" the clerico-royalist chain that is being forged not so secretly in some smithies on both sides of the Atlantic.

This cannot be Biddle's order. His speech, ringing with human feelings and with genuine love for the "other Italy," must stand above such suspicions. An act of undelayed justice for all aliens in America, no matter what the land they came from, will dispel the doubt that the excellent intentions of the Attorney General are being used in adjoining quarters for deplorable machinations.

G. A. BORGESE

Chicago, November 10

## Yugoslavs Are Cheered

*Dear Sirs:* Attorney General Biddle's statement of October 12 that alien Italians in the United States are henceforth to be regarded as non-enemy aliens has met with immediate response in the Italian immigrant press in this country. Italians here welcome any move that has for its purpose the delivery of the Italian people from Fascist rule.

I believe that to have the picture complete your readers should also be informed that Attorney General Biddle made an additional statement on October 28 pertaining to the situation of those Yugoslavs who after the First World War had to live under Italy. According to a newspaper dispatch dated October 29, Biddle stated that "his present order removing Italian aliens from the alien-enemy classification applied also to aliens of Yugoslav nationality who were technically subjects of Italy by virtue of certain treaties negotiated following the First World War. The order also applies to Serb, Croat, and Slovene aliens who emigrated to this country from the former provinces of Zara, Udine, Gorizia, Trieste, Carnaro, Istria, Fiume, and Lastovo."

This news will undoubtedly cheer the souls of the 600,000 Yugoslavs who live in Italy. They have always been in the front line of the fight against Mussolini, and for that they have had to pay dearly. Execution, imprisonment, abolition of their native tongue, burning of schools and libraries have been their lot during the two decades of Italian rule. Yugoslav guerrillas, recruited partly from the peasant population of the region, have

successfully engaged Italian troops in the hinterland of Fiume, Trieste, and near Monte Nanos. Efforts are directed against railway lines and military objectives. It can be said without hesitation that the Yugoslavs of oppressed "Venezia Giulia" are an important link in the chain of the activities of the United Nations on the European continent. With the second front approaching the mainland, an organized and trained resistance in the Italian provinces has immediate military value; the most important railway connections between the Mediterranean and Central Europe lead through country which is under constant threat from the Yugoslav guerrilla army.

In the United States immigrants from Istria, Gorizia, and Trieste belong to the best section of the foreign-born population. By tradition they are deeply democratic and loyal. Today they are in the defense industry of Cleveland and Detroit, in the Coast Guard of the Pacific Coast, in the Allied merchant fleet. Slovenes from Trieste and Gorizia form part of the Allied army in Egypt and Libya.

Attorney General Biddle's statement of October 28 does justice to and encourages a brave people who are already playing their proper role in the Allied war effort.

NICHOLAS MIRKOVICH

New York, November 13

## More Facts About the C. I. C.

*Dear Sirs:* In her letter to *The Nation* in your October 31 issue Geraldine Fitch treats well of the history, hopes, and aspirations of the Chinese Industrial Cooperatives. There are, however, some inaccuracies that should be corrected. In speaking of the International Committee she makes several points: (1) It has, she says, in remitting funds to the International Committee, by-passed the Central Headquarters. That depends on what by-passed means. Reports of donations to the regions are sent to the Central Headquarters so that the Central Headquarters can have an overall picture. (2) The International Committee is British and American with one Chinese as secretary. This also is not accurate. It was organized with ten Chinese and six British and Americans. That there are now more Americans is because the American money-raising organiza-



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tions demanded that there be Americans to report on American funds. Incidentally, the International Committee was one of the first organizations distributing foreign funds in China to be a mixed committee.

The reason for the present set of problems is that the central administration, now in the hands of five men appointed within the last few months, one of whom is George Fitch, wishes to control rather than guide and strengthen the local cooperatives. It has, for instance, "issued an order prohibiting regional headquarters, depots, and individual cooperatives from entering into contracts on their own." This tendency has been resisted by Rewi Alley and the Chinese with him; hence the desire to be rid of Rewi Alley and some of the Chinese leaders.

The International Committee, organized by people who for almost four years have been working for the original conception of the C. I. C., sends the funds to the cooperatives, for projects proposed by the secretaries and supervisors of the seven regions. The emphasis has been on helping the federations to get stronger. The officers of these federations are elected by the members and will in time take over all the functions of the servicing groups. It is not a question of whether the American money going to China shall be spent by a few foreigners or by the Chinese. It is a question of whether the American funds shall be controlled by a few Chinese in high places or by the thousands in the cooperatives.

There is no reason to "lose faith" in the cooperatives or in China. We know that nothing is ever accomplished in our own country without opposition by some groups. We hope the American people will continue their support of the Chinese people, who for five years have carried on this great struggle.

IDA PRUITT

New York, November 12

## Sins of the Anthologists

Dear Sirs: I was requested some time ago by Mr. Whit Burnett to select some piece of writing of mine for his anthology called "This Is My Best." I suggested an essay called The Old Stone House, writing him that it "seemed to me one of my short pieces that came out best." In the book, which has now appeared, Mr. Burnett has quoted the sentence from my letter, substituting *means* for *seems* and thereby making nonsense of it; but—what is more seri-

ous—he has also left out the whole last third of my essay, which, in the form in which he presents it, is certainly far from one of the most successful of my pieces, and amounts, in fact, to a fraud on the readers of Mr. Burnett's anthology.

There is no way for the unfortunate Emerson to restrain Mr. Richard Aldington in his "Viking Book of Verse" from lopping off the last two stanzas of the Concord Hymn; but such incidents as this ought to warn living writers to safeguard themselves by written agreements against the impudent mutilations of the anthologists.

EDMUND WILSON

Wellfleet, Mass., November 9

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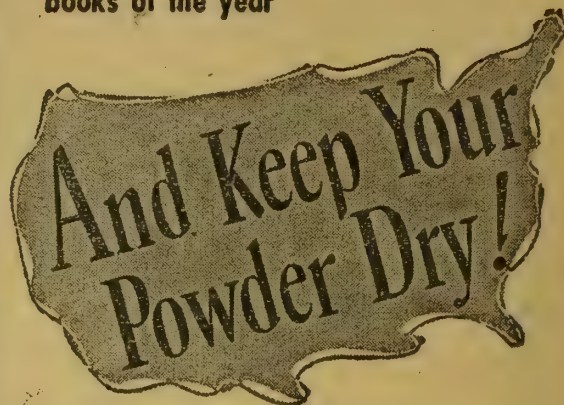
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## *Darlan and American Liberals*

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE last two weeks have witnessed a historic clash between two theories of political behavior—the "quarterback" or opportunist theory, long indorsed by the President, and the theory which insists upon the importance of a thought-out, consistent political line. It seems to me that events have demonstrated the superior value—especially for a nation fighting for the survival of democratic institutions—of the second theory. And what amazes and alarms me is the ease with which so many persons sincerely committed to the democratic cause have accepted football tactics as adequate to the demands of a complex political-military struggle.

The opposition expressed by *The Nation* to Darlan's appointment as military and civil chief in North Africa was received with total disapproval by many liberals. The protest of one prominent dissenter is published on a later page of this issue. Suddenly, and with evident satisfaction, people who had fully recognized the dangers of appeasement abandoned their critical functions altogether. The wave of self-congratulation and relief set in motion by the first experience of victory swept both principles and political judgment from their accustomed moorings.

There were exceptions—notably the comments of Edward A. Murrow broadcasting from London, at least one careful discussion by Walter Lippmann, and several columns by Dorothy Thompson. I mention these persons particularly because they spoke clearly where others apologized or equivocated. I mention them, too, because they are so few, while the liberal apologists for the government's position are so many and so contemptuous of the principles and beliefs they formerly supported. And I want to say that the mass surrender of the liberals in this country, their determination to believe that military expediency and political wisdom are identical, their rush to follow the leader wherever he may be heading—these phenomena are ill omens for the future of democracy.

The one useful role independent liberals can perform is that of vigilance officers. Committed to no govern-



mental position, restrained by neither official reticence nor party discipline, they have the duty to use their minds freely and critically. If they abdicate this role, they lose their only excuse for existence in a warring nation. At a time when the very shape of the future is being molded by the acts of today, the need for independent political thinking and leadership is as great as the need for a strong army and an efficient government. The satisfactions of the confessional and the sawdust trail, however tempting in days of stress, must be resolutely rejected by those who hope for the survival of democratic ways of either fighting or peacemaking.

Already events have shown how well founded was the belief expressed in this journal that the appointment of Darlan was political dynamite. The bitterness among the Fighting French and their supporters, the disapproval manifest even in official circles in Britain, the open alarm among the European free groups in this country, the quick reaction in Latin America, these were clearly responsible for the President's explanation on November 17. But his emphasis on the temporary character of the arrangements in North Africa, while serving as partial reassurance, also showed how little political foresight had entered into those arrangements. For in the very act of explaining matters to a disturbed and anxious public, the President was forced also to explain to Darlan that he was being cynically used for our immediate advantage and would be thrown out as soon as our position became secure. To expose a plot is to demolish it. To the degree that Darlan and his followers believe the explanation, Darlan's authority is undermined and his zeal, one would imagine, diminished.

But in any case, the political harm done by the Darlan appointment has not been undone, nor can it be by any pronouncement from Washington. Darlan is still in charge. He is organizing his civil administration. In his first broadcast announcing his assumption of control he assured his listeners that the Vichy laws would remain in effect. He must, it is true, carry out the orders of the American command. But how far our writ will run in French territory is a question. We have a war to wage on alien ground. We have given tremendous practical power—however temporary—to a man who has little reason to implement American orders any farther than he must. With our help and equipment he will build up a force officered by men who for the most part owe no more allegiance to us or to the democratic cause than he. No doubt they will be as loyal as our continued success warrants. What they would do if we should meet reverses can only be imagined. One thing alone would safeguard our situation as well as fulfil our political obligations: the prompt reestablishment of a legal government as constituted under the regime Hitler and Pétain overturned.

Not only have the dangers of our ill-advised political action in North Africa not been wiped out by the President's counter-action; suspicion, although somewhat allayed, has certainly not been dissipated. When the French labor leader Léon Morandat escaped to England the other day, he reported bluntly that President Roosevelt's influence in France had been reduced by 75 per cent as the result of the Darlan appointment. This may be an exaggeration; it is important if it is only half true. Our complacent officials and all recent converts to the cult of expediency should also ponder the attitude expressed in the influential political weeklies of Britain. Every one of them—and the list covers the whole range of political opinion, from the conservative *Spectator* to the left-wing *Tribune*, including the independent pro-labor *New Statesman and Nation*, the liberal *Time and Tide*, and the middle-of-the-road *Economist*—comments in its current issue on the dangers involved in America's political strategy in the North African campaign.

Neither the President nor the army nor their liberal apologists should fool themselves in this matter. Democratic elements all over the world have developed the deepest suspicion of the whole appeasement policy. They fear a future Europe studded with Quisling governments. They note the tenderness with which Franco's hateful tyranny is treated, and they ask whether Britain and the United States have not already pledged themselves to support his regime after the war in return for his continued neutrality. They see the creation of a "Free Austrian" battalion in the United States army built up with the collaboration of Archduke Otto, and they ask whether a new embryonic empire is in the making. They read that the foreign offices of the Allied nations are considering whether the future government of Italy should or should not be built around the House of Savoy, for twenty years the willing shield and accomplice of Mussolini. They observe the close relations between some elements in our government and the Vatican. And they ask whether in the end the forces of democracy may not find themselves marching toward victory side by side with their enemies.

These questions will be asked as long as our government acts as though this war were a strictly military struggle to be won by tanks and planes reinforced by political compromises which seem momentarily expedient. They will be asked until the United States, in common with the other United Nations, agrees on a consistent political policy and makes that policy a part of the grand strategy of the war. If the Inter-Allied Political Council, long advocated by this journal, were now in existence, the Darlan blunder would not have been made. Events may hasten the creation of such a council; the demand for a political strategy which will win the confidence and inspire the resistance of common people in all countries grows stronger every week.



## The Shape of Things

A GLOBAL OFFENSIVE BY THE UNITED Nations is in the making, and in nearly all war theaters the initiative is passing into our hands. In the southern Pacific American and Australian forces are consolidating gains on Guadalcanal and New Guinea while the Japanese fleet licks its wounds. In North Africa the pursuit of Rommel continues while the Allied forces under General Eisenhower's command mass for an assault on Tunisia. But it is from Russia that the most exciting and important developments of the week are reported. A few days after a successful counter-offensive in the Caucasus, Timoshenko launched a powerful and rapid pincer movement designed to trap the Nazi army before Stalingrad. It is possible that a part of that army had already withdrawn westward, for it has long been obvious that Hitler would be unable to establish winter lines on the bare steppes between the Volga and the Don. In any case the Red Army seems to have caught the Germans by surprise and to have staggered them by the violence of its punch. The huge quantities of booty already taken suggest considerable demoralization among the Axis forces. And nothing could be less impressive than the latest Nazi alibi—a statement that the strategic plan of the Reichswehr was to open gaps in its lines in order to tempt the Russians forward to destruction.

✱

THE SCARCITY OF NORTH AFRICAN NEWS and the vague terms of the meager official communiqués make intelligent comment on that theater difficult. American censors are having a field day, and many of the correspondents who were so mysteriously whisked from London to the scene of operations must be wondering why they were invited at all. One thing is clear: the task of mounting an offensive against the strongly entrenched enemy in the Tunis-Bizerte area is proving formidable. For while the Axis ground forces are undoubtedly inferior to the numbers we can muster, strong German and Italian air fleets are being concentrated in the Mediterranean arena. This situation makes understandable the anxiety of General Eisenhower, not merely to neutralize the French North African army, but to obtain its active aid. That was the reason for the deal with Darlan, and the bloodless adherence of Dakar enlarges our profit from the bargain. But we do not know what price the Vichy turncoat has received; according to his own statement, there have been no American demands "unrelated to military requirements." Controlling a large army revived by American supplies, he might be found to hold powerful trumps should the military situation deteriorate, for example, by the adhesion of Spain to the Axis. The emergence of Suñer in Madrid makes it impossible to overlook this possibility.

TWO FREEDOMS CLASHED IN THE CHAMBER of the United States Senate last Monday: the freedom of 10,000,000 American citizens to vote without having to pay for the privilege, and the freedom of Senators to talk on a bill without time limit and without pertinence. By a vote of forty-one to thirty-seven the Senators decided that their right to endless talk was the more important of the two; they refused to invoke the closure rule by which the anti-poll-tax bill would have been brought to a speedy vote and a certain victory. What they said in effect was that it is better for a measure approved by a majority of their membership to be filibustered to death by a handful of Senators than for the simple rules of intelligent debating to be enforced. Senators who favored the anti-poll-tax measure supported this fantastic view with solemn warnings about the dangers of closure and boasted of their spotless records in never having voted for this perfectly normal ban on parliamentary anarchy. We are glad to see the Senate get on with other important business, but in a way it is too bad that Senator Barkley, the majority leader, agreed beforehand to bury the bill if closure were rejected. The spectacle of Senator Bilbo reading back issues of the *Congressional Record*, or perhaps the telephone book, to a quorum of dozing colleagues might have produced enough public reaction to force an overhauling of the Senate rules.

✱

AN UNHERALDED CABINET SHAKE-UP IN Britain has resulted in the demotion of Sir Stafford Cripps and steps upward for Anthony Eden and Herbert Morrison, both possible future Prime Ministers. According to a rather cynical suggestion, Cripps has been "a victim of the success atmosphere." His popularity helped to bolster the government when its own prestige had fallen to a low point after the loss of Singapore. Then by taking responsibility for the Indian negotiations he provided a convenient left-wing conductor for the lightning bolts of anti-imperialists at home and abroad. Now, with Mr. Churchill's ascendancy reestablished by victory, Cripps may have been sacrificed to Labor Party demands for greater representation in the War Cabinet. On the other hand, it is probable that he has found membership in that body a growing weight upon his conscience. Whatever disillusionment he may have suffered in the course of his abortive Indian conversations, he must find Churchill's reviving imperial effervescence hard to stomach. There must have been domestic decisions, too, which he accepted unwillingly, and difficulties may have arisen between him and the Prime Minister owing to the generally recognized impossibility of inducing the latter to take any interest in post-war problems. Cripps, therefore, may have been anxious to avoid further responsibility for Cabinet policy, but it is hard to understand why he should have accepted an administrative post instead of moving to the opposition.



benches. As an independent critic of the government he might have been in a better position to serve the progressive cause.

✱

A RECENT BRITISH POLL, THE DETAILS OF which have not been published, revealed the popular belief that Anthony Eden was the man best fitted to succeed Mr. Churchill, with Cripps a close runner-up and the rest of the field nowhere. By virtue of his promotion to leadership of the Commons, Eden is brought into the limelight in just the spot where Cripps proved himself singularly inept. The House of Commons is always aware that it controls the destiny of a British government, and it has to be handled with a special mixture of firmness and tact. Cripps showed himself insufficiently sensitive to parliamentary atmosphere, and his tendency to pedagogy was resented by the members. Eden is likely to shine by comparison in this particular job. The elevation of Herbert Morrison to a place in the War Cabinet draws attention also to his possibilities as Prime Ministerial timber. He is as able a politician as he is an administrator, and so is probably aware that the promotion involves danger as well as honor. His labor colleague in the War Cabinet is the equally able Ernest Bevin, and between them there has long been a certain amount of rivalry. They will both need, therefore, to discourage Mr. Churchill from pitting one against the other. For united as the British political parties are for the purpose of winning the war, it is no use pretending that they share a common policy for peace or that jockeying for future political position has been abandoned.

✱

AS THE NATION REVEALED SOME WEEKS AGO, Otto of Hapsburg has been busy planning a "Free Austrian" legion to be headed by himself. Now the scheme has moved a step farther. A Washington dispatch to the New York *Times* announcing the decision of the War Department to form a battalion of Austrian Americans to fight for the liberation of Austria also reported that Otto had set up a "military committee" to "cooperate in recruiting" the battalion. This item raises several fascinating questions. Was Otto authorized by the War Department to act as a recruiting agent? If so, was the decision made with the assent of the State Department? And in any case what possible excuse can be found for allowing this alien pretender to an extinct throne to enlist American citizens for the American army? But subtler problems are also involved. Otto's committee has announced that recruits for the battalion will be found among the "10,000,000 Americans of Austrian descent." The figure is interesting. Austria has a population of 6,000,000. To find 10,000,000 descendants of "Austrians" would be possible only if Austria were generously defined as including all the Succession States. And that, one must assume, is just what Otto meant.

How our allies, the Czechs and Poles and Yugoslavs, regard this enterprise can easily be imagined. They are naturally outraged and are waiting to see whether our government intends to rid itself of Otto's embarrassing services.

✱

AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN ADMIRAL ROBERT, governor of Martinique, and the State Department will, according to Mr. Hull, make unnecessary American occupation of French possessions in this hemisphere. No details have yet been published, but it has been stated officially that the agreement provides for "American security" and for the maintenance of economic life in the French islands. We are unable to say, therefore, whether the Martinique radio will in future be subject to American control or be permitted to continue propaganda of the kind quoted in an article on page 576 of this issue. It should be noted that as recently as November 16 Admiral Robert was still transmitting orders from Marshal Pétain. It is said, however, that in signing the agreement with us he has cut himself off from Vichy and acted on his own authority. But from whom does he derive that authority if not from the government which appointed him? If he is no longer responsible to Vichy, then he is responsible to no one but himself, for he certainly has received no mandate from the inhabitants of the French Antilles. In other words, he is merely a self-made tropical tyrant who can hold his position only so long as the armed forces under him are loyal and the United States continues to recognize his government as legitimate. The second of these factors is undoubtedly the governing one, which means that we become morally responsible for his rule or misrule. Under these circumstances Mr. Hull ought to let us know what steps he has taken to free the prisoners whom Robert is holding for the sole offense of wishing to support the United Nations.

✱

REPORTS FROM CHUNGKING OF JAPANESE troop concentrations in the northern part of French Indo-China and west of the Salween River on the Burma border indicate a serious threat to China. If the Japanese were successful in pushing into Yunnan Province as far as Kunming, China's last tenuous contact with the West by way of India would be cut. This would be a major calamity not only for China but for the United Nations cause in Asia. For regardless of recent triumphs in the Solomons and New Guinea, the chief hope of dealing a knockout blow to Japan lies in operations from China. The Chinese have vast armies trained and ready to destroy Japan's land armies once they are adequately equipped and provided with air power. They have several huge air bases within bombing range of Tokyo, but so far not a single long-range American bomber has appeared to use them. The number of fighters sent to China has been pitifully small. Our neglect



of China and of the opportunities that China presents for effective action against Japan is the most discouraging aspect of our war strategy. The best aid that could be given to China would, of course, be the reconquest of Burma and the reopening of the Burma road. A major drive against Burma, even if not immediately successful, would automatically check a Japanese drive into Yunnan.

★

ONE OF THE MOST NATURAL—AND AT THE same time one of the shabbiest—arguments used by employers to shelve the National Labor Relations Board is that the board's hearings disrupt war-time production. It is therefore particularly painful to see it trotted out by the American Federation of Labor in the case of the Kaiser shipyards. Kaiser is charged by the C. I. O. with having entered into illegal closed-shop contracts with sixteen A. F. of L. unions. The contracts were signed at a time when only 191 men were working at his Vancouver yard, 66 at his Portland yard, and no men at all at the new Swan Island establishment. Consequently there are now thousands of men in the three yards who must hold A. F. of L. cards in order to work and who have never been permitted to designate a union of their choice. At least 700 workers, says the C. I. O. complaint, were being discharged at the very moment that Kaiser was recruiting man-power in New York. With evidence enough to warrant a full investigation of the charges, the board had no alternative but to issue a complaint and call for hearings. It is this action which William Green has denounced as "the outstanding Axis victory of the month" and which has impelled him to warn that his federation will seek to oust the board's present personnel. Ignoring the allegations contained in the complaint, Mr. Green has confined himself to pointing out that production at the Kaiser yards is booming and that labor and management are getting along beautifully. All of which is true—and just as irrelevant as an employer's contention that he should be exempt from the Wagner Act because he is successfully turning out war goods with the aid of a company union.

★

"IN A RECENT ISSUE OF *THE NATION*," complains Oswald Garrison Villard in the *Christian Century* for November 18, "a writer actually urged the defeat of twenty-six men who were candidates for reelection to the Senate or the House because they had not voted the way he thought they should." Mr. Villard's comment suggests a novel approach to politics, and we wish he had developed it farther. If a Congressman is not to be judged on the basis of his voting record, just what criterion should be applied? If there is something "discreditable"—the word is Mr. Villard's—about prying into this aspect of a candidate's qualifications, how can Mr. Villard conclude that "those who were reelected

now have the right to say that they spoke for their constituencies and have been upheld by them"? Finally, if Mr. Villard himself did not—discreditably?—examine the voting record, what is it that impels him to believe that "not in many, many years has there been as startling and salutary an election as the one just held, or one which does more credit to the intelligence of the electorate"?

★

THE *SURVEY GRAPHIC'S* SPECIAL NUMBER ON "Color: Unfinished Business of Democracy" contains many excellent articles, including several on the status of Negroes in the African colonies, and of these none is more timely than a portrait of Felix Eboué, Negro governor of the Chad region, who has kept millions of natives on the side of the Fighting French. A copy of it should be laid on Cordell Hull's desk. Eboué is a great fighter and a statesman of vision; he strikes us as a far more desirable ally than some who have recently been adopted by the United States. As a matter of fact the *Survey Graphic's* issue as a whole should have the widest possible reading, for it presents an extremely interesting and lively analysis of one of the pressing problems of our time.

## Political Censorship

WE HAVE heard a great deal about the sins of the British censorship, but probably most Americans are unaware that even more stringent restrictions are imposed on press messages sent from this country to Britain. Until recent months American correspondents in London were usually able to cable information which had appeared in the British press and were allowed to quote from editorials and speeches, however unfavorable to the government. In neither of these categories of news has the censorship in this country been nearly so lenient.

Facts of various kinds, particularly those relating to production, are frequently deleted from cables sent to Britain even though published in every American newspaper. An example is the President's statement that bombers are not yet coming off the Willow Run assembly line. The excuse offered in such cases is that the Nazis can get copies of British papers through Lisbon and can make use of even non-military information for propaganda purposes. This explanation would be more convincing if the Administration had not acquiesced in the operation of convenient pipe lines to Berlin through the Vichy and Spanish embassies.

But while they fight specific instances of censorship of facts, British newsmen concede that the question of what facts may be of use to the enemy is a reasonably open one. What they chiefly complain about are attempts by



the censor to prevent the honest reporting of American opinion. British correspondents in New York have, for example, been prevented from telling their readers about the great debate in this country on race discrimination. They were not allowed to quote from a recent speech by Wendell Willkie on this subject. Again, efforts have been made to hinder the transmission to Britain of views expressed in this country about the Indian deadlock. In one of many instances a quotation from an article by Raymond Clapper sharply attacking Premier Churchill's attitude on India was prohibited. Another matter on which the American censorship is extremely touchy is State Department policy.

The Darlan incident brought this situation to a head. British opinion was extremely disturbed over the sudden development which placed a leading collaborationist with the Nazis in a position of great authority in French North Africa. Strong protests were made in the British press; sharp criticisms were heard in Parliament. Similar American editorials and statements could not be sent to Britain, and so successfully have our censors persuaded their British colleagues to accept their taboos that only an emasculated version of the pungent comments of the London political weeklies has been allowed to reach our eyes.

The excuse offered for this kind of censorship is again that it offers ammunition for Nazi propagandists. But there is no way of preventing such controversies from being overheard by Goebbels, and attempts to prevent Britishers who dislike the adoption of Darlan from learning that their feelings are shared by many Americans can only foster Nazi efforts to promote disunity between us and our allies.

In a recent cable to the London *Sunday Dispatch*, Don Iddon, New York correspondent of that paper, accused the American censorship of taking upon itself "the task of deciding what the British people should know about America and what they should not know about America." This suppression of opinion, he warned, is apt to result in a tremendous misunderstanding. "One day there might be a major schism in Anglo-American policy, and the people in Britain will say, and rightly: 'But we had no idea American opinion took this view. . . . There were never any indications of such a trend.' " "When you suppress honest and responsible opinion," Mr. Iddon concludes, "you are playing a dangerous game. American censorship . . . is shackling and gagging us and is shackling and gagging American opinion by preventing its export to Britain. I protest against this sort of censorship. It is not worthy of American democracy."

We indorse this statement and hope that the British correspondents will not be left to protest alone. As Raymond Daniell in a London dispatch to the New York *Times* points out, the British authorities are politely re-

ciprocating the regulations of the American censors. Thus the rights and interests of all American newspapers, newspapermen, and newspaper readers are involved in this disregard for freedom of public opinion.

## Ration Food!

ALTHOUGH the United States has produced more food in the past two years than in any other two years of its history, the average American housewife is having increasing difficulty in getting adequate food for her family. Our shipments of foodstuffs to our allies under lend-lease arrangements have been tremendous. Millions of our own citizens, including many in the armed forces, are enjoying an adequate diet for the first time in their lives. Some supplies, such as those of sugar, tea, coffee, and bananas, are reduced because of shipping difficulties. At the moment, the most serious stringencies are felt in meat, butter, and other dairy products. Owing to the demands of the armed forces, the amount of beef available for civilian consumers has recently been cut down to 70 per cent of last year's deliveries. A recent WPB order froze 50 per cent of the butter in cold storage in thirty-five principal marketing centers.

In normal times a temporary shortage in one or two food items would cause only minor inconvenience. But these are not normal times. Each rumor of an approaching shortage starts a flood of buying by hysterical housewives, thus frequently creating a shortage where none existed before. The coffee shortage was greatly accentuated by just such hysteria. The report of the cut in butter supplies almost immediately led to a wave of unnecessary buying. The OPA is said to be considering the adoption of drastic anti-hoarding regulations, but such regulations would be extremely difficult to enforce. The one satisfactory safeguard against hoarding and inequitable distribution of necessities is rationing. But rationing works best if it is instituted before stocks become seriously depleted. And the experience of the past few months demonstrates the unwisdom of giving advance notice regarding the goods to be rationed. There are many kinds of food which for one reason or another will never need to be rationed. But where shortages are anticipated—and the Department of Agriculture and the WPB well know where that is—immediate action should be taken to institute a rationing system that will guarantee adequate supplies for everyone.

It is worth noting that representatives of some twenty consumer, church, and labor groups have taken the initiative in urging a comprehensive rationing program. Many persons within the OPA are known to have long favored such action. But the WPB has held up general rationing, presumably because it was not sure of the public's reaction. The opposition of a group of recalci-



trant Congressmen to nation-wide gasoline rationing may have intensified this concern. But we think the public would welcome a rationing program if it were presented as a means of safeguarding the family diet, not as an attack upon it. It is unfortunate that the propaganda associated with the rationing of sugar, oil, and gasoline appealed

to the patriotism of the average consumer instead of making it clear that these steps were being taken for his protection. This handicap must be overcome if a general food-rationing program is to be successful. A fireside chat by President Roosevelt would perhaps be the most effective way of doing it.

# Fighting the Fighting French

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, November 23

PRIME MINISTER CHURCHILL seems to have played some part in the President's statement last Tuesday declaring our North African agreement with Darlan "a temporary expedient." De Gaulle's own protest the day before was approved by the British government in advance of its release, and there is reason to believe that Churchill telephoned Roosevelt about the Darlan affair that same night. Some further clarification of our government's attitude was expected when André Philip, De Gaullist Minister of the Interior, paid a visit to the White House yesterday. A few of the Fighting French seem to have been optimistic enough to believe that the President might grant recognition, and they showed their disappointment after the conference. Philip was taken to the White House by Under Secretary Welles. After he left, Secretary Hull visited with the President. There may be some significance in the sequence. Hull could have wiped out the unpleasant memories associated with his reference last year to the "so-called Free French" by taking Philip to the White House in person; or he could have had Philip present at a press conference and made amends for the slur. He did neither. Hull and the dominant faction in the State Department still seem to harbor a grudge against the Fighting French.

The Fighting French are far from satisfied with the President's statement on North Africa. This dissatisfaction does not spring from lack of confidence in Mr. Roosevelt but from long and painful observation of some of the men and forces in his Administration. In some quarters the President's declaration "We are opposed to Frenchmen who support Hitler and the Axis" is being interpreted precisely and literally as shutting the door only on collaboration with Frenchmen *now* visibly supporting Hitler. If this is a correct interpretation, the statement does not mean much. Naturally we are opposed to Frenchmen now supporting Hitler. But what of the Frenchmen like Flandin and Pucheu who steadily supported appeasement, collaboration, and Hitlerism until the North African invasion but who

are now flocking to our side? Some indication of how certain State Department figures would answer the question may be obtained from the newspapermen who reflect their views. On Tuesday Arthur Krock spoke of Flandin's "harsh conservatism, even fascism" as making him "ineligible for any *sustained* cooperation from the United Nations" (my italics), but added that "if he can be of any real use in winning the war, he will be used." The next day Ernest K. Lindley, while recognizing that De Gaulle had good reasons for disliking men like Flandin, made an extraordinary observation. "There are practical advantages," he wrote, "as well as inherent difficulties, in broadening the political base of the French movement for liberation." It would be broadened further, one supposes, if we could also take in Laval.

Dorothy Thompson wonders why "if it was possible to get Giraud out of metropolitan France . . . it was not possible to spirit a man like Herriot out, to be there to declare the dawn of liberation." A possible answer to the question is that among the army's political advisers are very few who would feel at home in dealing with an *homme du gauche* like Herriot. Most of these advisers are men of the right who gravitate naturally to the anti-democratic forces. With General Eisenhower is Robert D. Murphy, who is a close friend of General Weygand and who represents the right-wing Catholic attitude toward Vichy. There are many elements in the church at home and abroad who disliked the Third Republic as a secular state. The Office of Strategic Services, which seems to do much of the army's political thinking, is as mixed in its composition as its chief, William J. Donovan, is in his thinking. There are many good things, from the progressive point of view, to be said about both the O. S. S. and Donovan, but there is also much that is disturbing. The O. S. S. has acquired some of our most moth-eaten diplomats. William Phillips, who as our ambassador to Rome so admired Il Duce, is in charge of its London Office for Political Warfare. Hugh Wilson, whose soft attitude toward the Nazis so disturbed the late William E. Dodd, is also with the O. S. S., as is John Wiley, who was



Bullitt's first secretary in Moscow. These men can inspire only misgivings in the European underground.

The battle for the reconstruction of Europe has already begun. A view that is meeting little resistance favors the setting up of new regimes far enough to the right to permit American big business to take back its properties and resume its old cartel ties. In most big-business circles it is realized that we must get rid of Hitler, but these groups would still like "the trains to run on time," as we used to say in the days when Il Duce was in favor. The European underground has other visions of the future, and that is one reason for the undercurrent of anti-De Gaullist sentiment in places like the State Department. André Philip is a Christian Socialist, but distinctly not of the Dollfuss variety. De Gaulle has learned much in the years since France fell. His followers have no intention of handing the country back to the Comité des Forges and the two hundred families. They wonder why we have called only for repeal of the Nürnberg laws, not for reestablishment

of the laws of the Third Republic; anti-fascist French Jews will resent the move as compromising them in the eyes of their neighbors.

The most hopeful development here is the feeler put out by the Administration in the Welles speech asking for a statement of war aims. Without some such statement, without at least the outlines of a program, the forces of the economic status quo will win by default. "Nothing of importance," Wendell Willkie said in his speech at the forum conducted by the New York *Herald Tribune*, "can be won in the peace which has not already been won in the war itself." The policy of drift will lead toward more Darlan deals, and these impair the moral leadership of the President and the Vice-President and the American people in the eyes of the world. Unless watched, these temporary arrangements may take on a more permanent character. Trial balloons are going up here for a deal with Franco. These arrangements may be the means of achieving some immediate military advantage, but what of the Four Freedoms?

## *Pacific Deadlock*

BY DONALD W. MITCHELL

OUR recent naval victory in the Solomons brought into the public eye with startling suddenness a front which during the past few weeks had seemed to be definitely secondary.

The most striking characteristic of the Pacific war to date has been the closeness with which its main outlines have followed pre-war predictions. Japan was conceded an advantage in the western Pacific, the United States in the eastern. Barring the large-scale naval and air intervention which the pre-war diversion of American sea power into the Atlantic and the disaster at Pearl Harbor ruled out as a possibility, Japanese successes were certain. Had not the Japanese, in great confidence, attempted to make their victory complete by an unsound attempt to invade the American zone, their strategic position would have remained much stronger than it is today. The defeat at Midway and also the prolonged attrition in the Aleutians have definitely crippled Japan's striking power.

The enemy's losses, however, cannot be regarded as decisive. For if the war is to be won it is we who must take the initiative in an amphibious offensive, not the Japanese. The latter have already won, and to keep their victory they need only to repel American attacks. The central question, therefore, remains: Can we penetrate the western Pacific successfully and there decisively defeat Japan? Can we deprive Japan of its conquests?

Here we face two special difficulties. The first is trans-

portation, in which the Japanese have the advantage of operating along lengthy but interior lines. A given number of merchantmen are more valuable to them than the same number would be to us because of the difference in distances. With this consideration and the needs of the Atlantic in mind, then, we must outbuild Japan by an enormous margin to achieve mere equality in the battle of supply.

In the second place we are obliged to take the offensive in the Pacific without naval superiority, because of the number of ships that must be diverted to the Atlantic. Furthermore, our Pacific fleet is matched against an enemy which in six years of secret shipbuilding has obviously constructed many more vessels than it has been credited with possessing.

The early news from the Solomons seemed to indicate that despite these disadvantages we were ready to answer in the affirmative the question as to whether we could reconquer territory seized by the Japanese. We achieved a complete surprise and made landings with ridiculously small losses. American strategists were convinced that the island-hopping process essential to victory had commenced. In nearly four months events have not justified these early hopes. We have succeeded in holding our conquests, but save in nearby and rather unimportant New Guinea we cannot show any positive victories.



There are several reasons for this negative record. To begin with, we were not prepared to follow up our successes with a further offensive elsewhere. The Joint Board apparently viewed the Solomons campaign as a local operation, an opportunity to handicap the Japanese without running the risks or undertaking the responsibilities of a full campaign. For example, MacArthur, whose command was not directly involved, was notably slow in sending army reinforcements to relieve the marine garrisons. But whether this circumstance opens him to criticism is doubtful since the navy can hardly be said to have taken its sister service into its confidence.

Our failure to follow up the occupation of Guadalcanal and Tulagi gave the Japanese an opportunity to recover and launch attacks of their own. On the night of August 8 three Japanese cruisers and four destroyers sank 40,000 tons of ships and did an undisclosed amount of damage to a somewhat larger American force, which despite advance warnings was completely unprepared. This disgraceful repetition of Pearl Harbor was actually cited as a tactical victory since American transports were not interfered with in the unloading of their troops. The navy, moreover, chose not to disclose losses until it was possible to make a simultaneous announcement of successes. This disaster, of course, required replacements, and these considerable reinforcements must have created serious logistic problems in the Atlantic. Despite our superior air strength, which could be readily replenished, the enemy took advantage of our inferiority in sea power and put in reinforcements and supplies. Air power proved invaluable. Had the Japanese held the upper hand here, our campaign would long since have ended in disaster. Nevertheless, air power could not take the place of naval dominance. Our planes exacted a tribute of Japanese ships coming within their range, but the fleet itself continued to operate.

A second reason for our negative record is to be found in the unwillingness of the Japanese to accept defeat and lose face. The anchorage at Tulagi and Henderson Field hold a certain value, but they are assuredly not worth the three major efforts which the enemy has made to recover them. This shortsighted pugnacity, while it has forced us to acknowledge the Solomons as a long-continued major campaign rather than an isolated episode, has also played into our hands to a certain extent by leading the Japanese to risk large losses repeatedly. Though they have never tried using the entire striking power of their navy and risking the war on a single battle, the task forces have become larger and larger. When efforts to entice our warships away from air support failed, the Japanese took long risks. The sinking of at least one Japanese battleship and five cruisers in a clash with our surface and air forces is a fair commentary on the military unsoundness of operating without air support. If the United States navy has been too cau-

tious, as is sometimes charged, that of our opponent has been bold to the point of foolhardiness.

The continued fighting about the Solomons has yielded some interesting tactical results. Our air forces, especially those of the navy, have been largely responsible for our success to date. Repeatedly they have retained command of the air under attack and have destroyed a very large number of Japanese Zeros, bombers, and float planes. In contrast to its inadequacy at Pearl Harbor and the Philippines, our air-raid warning system has been extremely efficient, much better than that of our opponent. The navy has learned by bitter experience, but it has learned. Our marine and army units are likewise giving a much better account of themselves than did the land forces earlier encountered by Japan. Anti-aircraft defense by planes and guns has likewise become more effective, though the poorer grade of pilots now being used by the enemy probably has something to do with this good record. The plane carrier as a capital ship has demonstrated such definite vulnerability to air attack that either a much better protected type of carrier or a great superiority in their number will be a future prerequisite to carrying on an offensive. The battleship itself still packs the most powerful short-range punch of any weapon, and the mid-November naval battle demonstrated that it is not obsolete. But the longer reach of air power is clearly a necessity.

From the strategic point of view the campaign has certainly produced something approaching a stalemate. While we are somewhat better off than we were at the first of the year, the mass destruction of sea-based air power has left both the Japanese and ourselves so short of this essential to amphibious war that an immediate offensive by either side is highly unlikely. Defenses on both sides, however, are strong.

As to which side will be most benefited by the delay in launching an offensive, there is considerable room for doubt. The Japanese will be given more time to garrison islands, erect coastal defenses, bring in air forces, and otherwise consolidate their gains. On the other hand, the production of American shipyards is certain to augment vastly our striking power by sea, and it is not probable that the Japanese will be able to match this increase. This is especially true because the ratio of losses by attrition is clearly in our favor, though not to the degree that American official figures—which frequently do not include our own damaged vessels—would indicate.

The public is still suffering from a paucity of information on the war in the Pacific. A stupid method of handling news, for which neither Elmer Davis nor the navy's efficient Office of Public Relations is responsible, has made our sea fighters look even worse than they are. Most of the popular praise for Midway and the Coral Sea, for example, mistakenly went to the not over-



modest Army Air Corps. Representative Melvin Maas of Minnesota, ranking minority member of the House Naval Affairs Committee, and Hanson Baldwin of the *New York Times* both returned from the scene of action with devastating criticisms. Those of Baldwin concern overcaution, poor leadership, useless and extreme censorship, friction between the services, and division of command. Maas has stressed poor leadership and the release of false and misleading news. Both hit directly

at our naval high command. Official reactions have done little to promote public confidence, but the criticisms have nevertheless been distinctly valuable. The navy has been learning from its critics, as well as by experience, and it has been correcting its mistakes. As a whole the record in the Pacific is at least fair, and the enemy has certainly been guilty of as many mistakes. The decisive battle is yet to be fought. The showdown has merely been postponed.

## Church Control versus Birth Control

BY EUGENE L. BELISLE

*Boston, November 21*

IN JUNE of 1940 a reputable survey of public opinion showed that 82 per cent of the voters in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts favored legislation permitting doctors to furnish information on contraceptives to women whose health would be endangered by pregnancy. Seventy-two per cent of the state's Roman Catholic voters who were asked indicated that they would favor such a law. Yet on November 3 a state-wide referendum on the subject resulted in a rejection of the measure by 58 per cent of the voters. As executive director of the Mothers' Health Committee, which conducted a vigorous campaign in behalf of the defeated measure, I was in an excellent position to see how almost half a million men and women were led to change their votes if not their minds.

The story begins in 1938, when an old Massachusetts blue law was construed by the state Supreme Court to make it a crime for a physician to prescribe contraceptives even to women who might die if they bore children. Several birth-control clinics were closed, and although it was still a relatively simple matter for a woman of average means to purchase contraceptives, it became exceedingly difficult for poorer married women to secure either advice or prescriptions. This circumstance soon led to a protest movement, and the protest just as quickly produced a violent reaction on the part of the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic church.

In 1941 an initiative petition bearing 45,000 signatures was submitted to the Legislature and promptly challenged by Frederick Mansfield, former mayor of Boston and now the registered legislative agent of William Cardinal O'Connell. The petition asked only that existing laws be amended so that they "shall not apply to treatment or prescriptions given to married persons for the protection of life and health by or under the direction of registered physicians. . . ." If this had become law, Massachusetts would still have had more rigid statu-

tory restrictions on birth control than any other state except Connecticut. Mr. Mansfield, nevertheless, held that it was improperly before the Legislature, since the Constitution forbade the introduction by petition of "measures pertaining to religion, religious practices, and religious institutions." Asked for an opinion, the Supreme Court, three of whose seven members are Catholic, unanimously held that the legislation was "purely permissive" and "in the field of police power." No Catholic, in other words, would be required under the amended law to do anything not in keeping with his religious beliefs. The Cardinal's agent next held that the signatures were forged and fraudulent, but he was again rebuffed, and in January, 1942, the proposed amendment was offered to the voters. That was a signal for a campaign rarely surpassed in lies and distortion.

The tone of the opposition's campaign was set by the *Pilot*, official organ of the Boston archdiocese, which every week from late July until early November carried blazing editorials against the referendum. The gist of its attitude may be briefly conveyed: (1) birth control, it said, is not only against Catholic teaching but against "God's law" and should therefore be opposed by any Christian, irrespective of denomination; (2) the proposed amendment would permit the promiscuous distribution of contraceptives; (3) the measure constituted state interference with the rights of Catholics; (4) its sponsors had no morals, believed nothing they said.

The ultimate result of this constant hammering was that thousands of people voted No on November 3 because they actually believed that the referendum was intended to set up some form of state control over childbirth. A fantastic hysteria developed in many sections of the state. Some women believed that the proposed law would permit doctors to remove their ovaries against their will; that licenses would be required for childbearing; that doctors could forbid, and forcibly prevent, their having children.



The Democratic State Committee, once more in the control of former Governor James Michael Curley, recently elected to Congress, took its cue from the *Pilot*, and many Republicans took their cue from the Democrats. Candidates in the primaries vied with each other in denouncing the measure. Roger Lowell Putnam, Democratic candidate for governor, made it his principal campaign issue. Fearful of the clamor, Governor Leverett Saltonstall also opposed adoption of the amendment, saying that a decision on the merits of the measure should be postponed "for the unity of the war effort." Opposition propaganda was distributed in front of the Washington Street headquarters of the Democratic State Committee in Boston. One of the leaflets handed out to noon-day crowds was headed "The Church Says Vote NO on Birth Control, Dogs, and Horses," and explained that the dog- and horse-race gang "will finance the birth-control campaign and steal the election while the boys are away fighting." Parish priests rounded up unregistered voters, using lists turned over to them by machine politicians. A card mailed to unregistered voters and headed "Register to Vote No on the Birth-Control Referendum" illegally bore the seal of the State of Massachusetts.

On October 11 the Boston *Sunday Advertiser*, in one of its many special articles aimed at the amendment, unwisely revealed that "Jesuit priests have been especially insistent that the women of their congregations register. They have told their women parishioners that it is a moral duty for them to go to the polls and cast their votes against the birth-control amendment. Some have gone so far as to tell the women that it will be a mortal sin not to vote against the amendment." The Springfield *Union* reported on October 12 that "at Sacred Heart Church parishioners were told that Catholics had a moral obligation to vote against the referendum and that any Catholic who knowingly voted in favor of it could not expect absolution." A week before, Father Ruddy, of Sacred Heart Church, was quoted in the same paper as telling the Massachusetts Catholic Order of Foresters that the principal leader (unnamed) of the birth-control movement was in the contraceptive business. On Sunday, October 11, it was reported by indignant Catholics that from the pulpit of St. Gregory's Church in Dorchester it had been stated that the campaign for the amendment was financed by commercial contraceptive interests and directed by them "from a shady hotel near the North Station." From St. Anthony's Church in Allston, according to reports from dissenting parishioners, came the suggestion that the campaign for the amendment was being financed and directed by Jews. Subway cards, billboards, and three-sheet posters in the subway stations proclaimed, "Birth Control Is Against God's Law—Vote NO."

Until late in the campaign not one major Boston radio station would sell time to the Mothers' Health

Committee, even to answer attacks by politicians. The Boston *Post* and the Boston *Record-American-Advertiser* combination gave column after column to the most inconsequential speeches by opponents of the measure, but refused even to sell space to its supporters. The Boston *Globe* likewise refused to sell



Cardinal O'Connell

space, but in the last two weeks of the campaign it followed a policy of devoting equal news lineage to the rival camps. The Fall River *Herald News*, only English-language daily newspaper in a city of 115,000, refused to sell space to the Mothers' Health Committee and ran news items only in the last few days, after the committee had succeeded in making a series of one-minute announcements on the freedom of the press over Fall River's radio station WSAR. The *Herald News* printed whole sermons on the other side. Code complaints were filed against Station WNAC (Boston), which had sold politicians time used to attack the amendment while refusing to sell us time for the affirmative. The result was that six days before election we were permitted to have fifteen minutes in which to answer a half-hour free broadcast by the Catholic Question Box on the preceding Sunday. WNAC decided to sell time during the last four days of the campaign, and on Sunday night, November 1, station WEEI allotted fifteen minutes to each side.

In the final days of the campaign the opposition ran riot. On Monday, October 26, the Boston *Daily Record* quoted Mr. Mansfield in reporting the planned distribution of 5,000,000 propaganda pieces through churches in Massachusetts. One of the folders stated, among other things: "Any person may sell, or give away, any article intended for self-abuse, or for causing abortion. . . . Any person may print or circulate cards or advertisements stating where such articles may be obtained." Another, printed in red and blue, with cherubic baby photographs for illustration, carried the following message:

Fathers—Mothers—Voters. . . .

Teaching birth prevention with the sale of contraceptives on the open counter of drugstores—department stores—the "5 and 10"—barber shops—beauty parlors—will encourage unlawful sex relations between boys and girls.

Do you want this?

Vote "No" on Question No. 1.

These cards were distributed within and in front of



Roman Catholic churches on Sunday, November 1, two days before election. Boys and girls six and seven years old were seen handing them out within the doorways of the churches.

Small wonder, then, that the effort to bring social and medical sanity to Massachusetts was defeated by 691,000 to 505,000. The campaign will go on, and the Catholic hierarchy will find it much more difficult to have things its own way, even among Catholics. Toward the end of

the campaign the *Catholic Messenger* asked for and ran paid advertising of the Mothers' Health Committee without a word of negative comment. Many members of the church privately expressed their shame at the conduct of the hierarchy. This Catholic opposition to political interference by heads of the church is likely to grow; if it does, it will go far to ease the anti-Catholic reaction which this campaign has stimulated throughout Massachusetts.

## The Country That Moved

BY ALBERT RHYS WILLIAMS

FOUR months after the Nazis attacked the Soviets, Hitler complained that he never dreamed the Russians had such reserves of material. Again in six months he announced that Germany would direct its main effort against these "immense and incredible supplies of ammunition, tanks, and planes."

It is difficult to understand why he was so astounded. The phenomenal growth of industry in Russia was a well-recognized fact. The casual traveler looking out of the train window saw evidence of it. There were plenty of authenticated reports from specialists returning home after fulfilling contracts with the Soviets—among them many German engineers. And the Soviets, though they may not have told all about their industry, told a great deal.

In terms of capital investment, the *Gosplan* reported that during the First Five-Year Plan 51 billion rubles were invested; during the Second Five-Year Plan, 114 billion; during three years of the Third, 192 billion, making 357 billion in the aggregate, of which the lion's share went to industry.

As significant as the growth of industry is its distribution. To get some concept of this, instead of looking at figures, look at the map. Only it must be a new one. The old maps show the industrial centers in the extreme west—Leningrad, Moscow, and the Ukraine. Ninety per cent of all industry was concentrated in them, five hundred miles from the frontier. They had grown up in czarist days along with the railroads, close to pools of skilled labor, easy credit, and easy markets. The great hinterland of Russia was treated as a colony, a source of raw material and cheap labor.

The Soviets reversed this policy for three reasons: First, they sought to develop the backward regions and peoples at the expense, if need be, of the richer and more advanced centers. Only through the development of their own resources and the resulting benefits could the many peoples be welded together into one union. Second, they

wished to locate industry as close as possible to the sources of raw material and cheap power. If cotton were grown in Uzbekistan, there it should be spun and not in Moscow. This meant that not only the new enterprise must be built, but at the same time new railroads and new cities and all the services required in such a drastic reorganization—very costly, but in the long run it would create a more rounded and less wasteful economy. Lastly, the location of industry should contribute to the defense of the country. The Soviets consciously planned for strong industrial bases on which to fall back in case of invasion, strategically located beyond the reach of bombing planes. They wanted to erect in the east duplicate plants of every essential industry, in case factories should be destroyed. They wanted all regions to develop local industries to provide for everyday needs and to be as self-sustaining as possible in case supplies should be cut off. In other words, they were aiming at "total defense."

Of all the new regions the Urals and western Siberia are the most important from an economic-military standpoint. The last time I talked with Lenin in the spring of 1918, he said: "Soon from west and south the White armies will be driving in on Moscow. But never mind. We have the big, rich Urals to fall back on. There we can hang on for a long, long time."

While the Whites, like the Nazis, almost reached the gates of Moscow, they never captured the city. So Lenin did not have to flee to the Urals. But in mind and feeling he was often there. Pointing out on the map the region lying between Vologda and Tomsk, he would say: "Look at it! An immense territory, half savage and in some places wholly savage. In that now wasted wilderness a score of civilized states could be built up."

It was more than a decade before this vision began to take form and shape. It began in earnest around the twin-peaked Magnet Mountain that rises out of the barren plain near the frontier of Asia and Europe. This was discovered when a traveler noticed that the needle



of his compass, instead of pointing north, pointed to this mountain. It was an almost solid mass of magnetite—60 per cent pure iron.

In 1928 armies of workers with dynamite, bulldozers, steam shovels, and dredges moved in on the place. They were joined by exiled kulaks, Kirghiz nomads from the steppes, engineers from America. Hills were rent asunder, rivers turned from their course; caravans of camels, oxen, and tractors struggled through mud and dust storms. Buildings, hurriedly thrown up at the wrong place, were torn down, to be erected again. Concrete froze as it was poured. Typhus and malaria swept through the flimsy shacks and dugouts of the workers. Agents of the secret police watched out for spies and wreckers. Engineers, cursing and toiling like mad, hurried by plane to Moscow to get relief from red tape and delays. Everywhere—noise, dirt, stench, confusion.

But steadily out of seeming chaos emerged the outlines of the huge metallurgical combine. Blast furnaces now light up the long winter night and stain the snowfields with their fumes. The howls of wolves are drowned by the roar of rolling mills. Long trains of ore-laden cars rumble off to the Kuzbas and Karaganda, bringing back coal to smelt the iron of Magnitogorsk. Out of the river, dammed into a five-mile lake, the water pours to cool the masses of molten metal. On the once barren, windswept plain now stands this Soviet Gary with its huge steel mills covering twenty-seven square miles. It turns out half as much steel as all Russia did under the czars. Constantly expanding, it is slated to become the biggest in

the world, with an annual output of 4,000,000 tons of coke, 4,500,000 tons of iron, and 5,000,000 tons of steel.

This is what the Soviets call the "bread of industry," the raw material for cannon, tanks, armored trains in the present; for bridges, rails, radios, and telephones in the future—"the wings of steel by which we lift ourselves to the sun." Magnitogorsk is but one of a hundred new enterprises established in this mid-continent—based not only on metals, coal, and oil but on the virgin forests, the fisheries of the big Siberian rivers, the rolling wheat and cattle-grazing lands of the steppes. They form here a second Soviet state, self-sufficient and as large as Western Europe. On its western fringe the city of Sverdlovsk, where the Czar was executed, is now the center for the making of machines, turbines, and submarines in shops three miles long. Two thousand miles to the east is Novosibirsk, the Chicago of this new West, a second "Stacker-of-Wheat, Hog-Butcher, Forger-of-Metals for the World."

Between these two cities, each with about a half-million inhabitants, are scores of others growing up out of small towns and villages, or straight out of the wilderness, around the coal of Kizel, the oil of Ishimbayev, the potash of Solikamsk, at Kurgan, Chusovaya, Kirovgrad.

The story of this great venture has been told in scores of novels, plays, and epic poems by Soviet writers. Now they have a bigger, more exciting, and more heroic story to tell. For what happened in this region in the ten years



From "An Atlas of the U. S. S. R." by Jasper H. Stenbridge. (Oxford University Press)

#### INDUSTRIAL RESOURCES OF THE U. S. S. R.



prior to the outbreak of war in June, 1941, is quite dwarfed and overshadowed by what happened here in the ten months following.

On July 3, eleven days after the Nazi invasion, in his celebrated "scorched-earth" speech, Stalin declared: "To the enemy must not be left a single engine, a single railway car, a single pound of grain or gallon of fuel." That meant the evacuation of rolling stock, cattle, grain—everything usually deemed movable—and the dynamiting of mills and factories. That is what people in the outside world thought. And that is what the Soviets intended them—especially the Germans—to think. Only in October, 1941, when the economic experts came to the Three-Power Conference in Moscow was the full intent of Stalin's speech revealed.

The visitors found that scores of plants in the Nazi-occupied regions, instead of being blown up, had been uprooted from their foundations, loaded on trains, and, along with their workers, shipped a thousand miles or more into the east, where they were in full operation. While the Red Army slowly retreated before the advancing Nazis, keeping its forces intact, the industrial army of the nation, with the same skill, made a parallel retreat, keeping its forces and equipment intact. Night and day the trains moved east, laden with the turbines of the Dnieper dam, the stamp mills, the forges and presses of Kerch, the textile looms of Mozhaik.

For the evacuation of a single plant, the Kirov Works on the Neva, thousands of cars were required. An armament works like Krupp or Skoda, it covered 400 acres, with 40,000 employees, 9 rolling mills, 15 open hearths and electric steel furnaces, 310 forges, 420 heating furnaces, 3,500 metal-working lathes. Most of this was loaded directly upon long strings of flat cars backed into the shops and some days later was unloaded at its new home in the Urals.

The same feat was repeated with the giant tractor works of Kharkov, the farm-implement plants of Rostov, the aircraft factories of Moscow and Taganrog. Along with the giant plants from the big centers were evacuated hundreds of others from smaller cities and towns. And accompanying them on the long trek to the east went millions of workers with their families, engineers and directors, technical schools with teachers and apprentices. The speed of their removal was equaled by the speed with which they were put into action again. A few months, sometimes a few weeks, after they arrived in their new homes, their output was as high as in their original locations and in many cases actually higher than it had been before.

To grasp the scope and significance of this unique exodus, transfer the scene to America. Imagine Nazi armies, already in control of the Atlantic seaboard, steadily pushing into our industrial Middle West. To

all centers is given the signal to move. Dismantle most of the big factories along the Ohio River and the Great Lakes, the plants of the Fisher Body in Cleveland, Wright Engine in Cincinnati, Martin Aircraft in Baltimore, the steel works of Pittsburgh and Youngstown. Add to them some hundreds of enterprises producing chemicals, rubber, textiles, shoes. Assemble the plant personnel—engineers, technicians, and workers—together with their families. Load all these people and plants upon trains—for in Russia motor trucks are scarce and good roads scarcer. Then, over the same railway lines on which two million soldiers with guns and munitions are moving east, ship this huge aggregation of machinery and men into states as far west as Colorado and Kansas. Set up the enterprises anew, adjusting them to existing supplies of water, fuel, and power or finding new ones. Then, when most of the able-bodied men have been drafted into the army and half the women are toiling in the fields, get them going full blast, and in a short time run their output up to their former level or beyond.

No wonder that the evacuation of Soviet industry was hailed abroad as stupendous, almost incredible. Hard put to explain it, commentators said that Russians are always doing strange, inexplicable, mysterious things, and this was just one more of them. Without doubt it was a remarkable feat. A little investigation, however, reveals nothing very mysterious or incredible about it.

The flight to the east was not an improvisation, a sudden, last-minute, desperate measure. It was carefully planned and prepared for long years in advance—in many cases down to the last detail. For example, machines, lathes, and forges, instead of being imbedded in concrete, were bolted on to timbers. When the time came, they did not have to be torn away but simply unbolted and lifted from their bases. Similar ingenious devices facilitated their reestablishment in their new homes. In some cases they had simply to be set up in new buildings awaiting them—the so-called "shadow plants," complete in everything but the machinery. When the machines from the old plants arrived at their destination, they were lifted from the cars and set on the foundations prepared for them. In many cases they actually worked better than in their old homes, thanks to better planning of new shops, the rationalization of processes, the introduction of later models.

If there was a duplicate factory, the area of the "double" in the Urals was expanded, and the two enterprises were merged into a single big unit. Other factories, like orphans, came to their journey's end with no place to shelter them. Often in the trains that brought them were flat cars with building materials and lumber. With these, and the stone, lime, and fire clay that abound in the Urals, a new structure was soon under way. Meanwhile, on the chosen site, the machines were



often set up in the open air, and while belts whirled, forges blazed, trip hammers pounded, on either side rose the walls and roof that would protect them from the autumn rains and winter snow.

And they rose quickly, in as many days or weeks as months were needed in time of peace. In construction, as in most other fields, all previous records were broken, thanks to the mobilization of the best brains and energies available for this resettlement of industry in the east. The ablest engineers, architects, and draftsmen in the country, among them Iofan, designer of the Palace of the Soviets, contributed their best efforts; as did the leading geologists and scientists for locating new resources, headed by the academician Fersman, and the veteran transport workers, directed by Kaganovich. The railroads were compelled to double and triple the already dense traffic.

In the coordination of all these forces, spurred on to the utmost endeavor by the urgency of the situation, and in their application to very carefully thought-out plans lies the explanation of the success of the evacuation. But this, of course, does not explain it away. It remains a stupendous national achievement—to the United Nations a cause of marvel and rejoicing, to Hitler a source of bitter disappointment.

In Hitler's plans these Soviet mills, factories, and arsenals, as in France, were slated to be a part of the war economy of the Reich. But just as they came within his grasp, either they blew up like the Dnieper Dam or they slipped through his fingers. Before the Nazis advancing across the land, one by one like gigantic grasshoppers they leaped up and took flight a thousand miles into the east. From this safe vantage ground they at once set to work again, turning out projectiles, planes and tanks—how much no outsider exactly knows.

Before the war this new industrial region in the Urals and beyond accounted for about a sixth of the Soviet output, a fourth of its coal and iron. Now, augmented by the arrival of these evacuated plants, its output probably amounts to a third, a half, or even more. One thing, however, is certain. The new plants and workers will for the most part never return to their former homes in the west. Added to the old enterprises, these new centers and hundreds of others in the making, constitute a solid base for that great civilized state which Lenin in his vision of twenty-five years ago, saw rising in this hinterland.

A mighty factor in the war, it will be equally powerful in the years following. In the event of a bad peace, it will continue to function as a colossal arsenal, backing the Soviets in the game of power politics. If the peace is a good one, bringing security to all nations, this new industrial empire will be a vital factor in building up a good life, not only in the Soviets but in all the lands of the East.

## Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

### The "New Poor"

A NEWLY arrived English friend said to me the other day: "You simply cannot conceive the contrast between the ease and comfort and color of life here and the inconvenience and drabness of life in London. Everything there is shabby and run-down. We get enough to eat, it is true, but the diet is monotonous in the extreme, and our houses are colder even than *we* like. Most of us cannot afford modest comforts, let alone luxuries, and if we could we would probably be unable to buy what we wanted. Traveling is a nightmare of discomfort. And after the completeness of our blackout, New York in the dim-out looks positively radiant."

It was just after this talk that I sat down to read a series of articles on the tribulations of the "new poor" which have been appearing in the *Wall Street Journal*, and perhaps my mood was less sympathetic than it should have been. At any rate, I was able to restrain my tears while considering the cruel problem of "Mr. R," a Middle Western executive who cannot figure out how to make ends meet next year when his income will be considerably stunted by the \$25,000 salary ceiling. As president of a big corporation, Mr. R has been receiving a salary of \$95,000 and in addition an unspecified amount in dividends, but as he explained to the writer of the article, this wasn't so much, in view of the expenses involved. His position requires that he maintain a "front," including an imposing home where he can entertain lavishly and "several high-priced automobiles."

If, as one has been led to believe, there is only one "front" which it is essential to maintain in war time, it would seem that Mr. R can easily reduce the strain on his pocket-book, his digestion, and his country's supply of man-power by cutting out business entertaining for the duration. Probably his company is solely or largely engaged in filling government contracts, and lavish hospitality to government procurement officers is, or ought to be, unnecessary. But even if his business is confined to civilian goods, he must be enjoying a sellers' market which should obviate the need for reducing prospective customers to a state of alcoholic receptivity.

Mr. A, another example of the "new poor" (1941 salary, \$100,000 plus), finds in fact that the simple life is being forced upon him by the fuel-oil shortage and the difficulty of retaining domestic help. So he and his wife are going to squeeze into a wing of his large Detroit home and hope to keep "two or three servants insulated from the siren song of the war factories." By means of such economies and with the aid of a substantial income



from investments, Mr. A hopes he can worry along.

I have an idea that should these tales of woe reach the ears of Messrs. R and A's opposite numbers in Britain, they would not inspire much sympathy. There is no ceiling on salaries in Britain, but a more steeply graduated system of taxation than our own has left only a handful of persons with an income exceeding \$25,000. Here a man with an income of \$67,000 has \$25,000 left after paying taxes; there a gross income of \$400,000 shrinks to \$23,000 after the Exchequer has received its cut. Most country houses in England have been handed over to the government for the duration for use as evacuation centers, hospitals, barracks, and so on. And the domestic servant, once far more often a feature of the English than of the American home, is almost an extinct species.

It would seem, therefore, that our better-paid executives are not being asked to accept an exceptionally austere war-time standard. On the other hand, the \$25,000 salary ceiling is certainly open to criticism, primarily on the ground that it discriminates unfairly between earned and unearned incomes. The distinction between these two categories in the upper ranks of the business world is of course sometimes obscure, but this fact will increase the inequity by providing a loophole for executives who also own the whole or a large share of their business. They will be able to cut their salaries and make up the difference in dividends.

According to the *Wall Street Journal*, the storm of protests that the ceiling scheme has aroused is due to the widespread suspicion that it is intended as a permanent social reform. If, it suggests, the same objective had been approached by way of increased surtaxes, there would have been no such outburst of disapproval. As to this, remembering the attitude of the *Wall Street Journal* toward higher taxes for the upper brackets, I keep my fingers crossed, but I hope Congress will take the tip and by employing taxation to limit all net incomes to \$25,000 will remove the occasion for a ceiling on salaries.

It is perfectly true that such a measure would not yield an impressive amount of new revenue in relation to total war expenditures. Nevertheless, in a period when the whole national scale of living is in process of being radically reduced, we must cut the superfluities of the few before we bear too hard on the necessities of the many. Any other course would have a shattering effect on morale. Those swollen pay envelopes we hear so much about mean in many cases that a very modest standard of comfort has replaced bare subsistence. And not always that, for too many war workers are discovering that even good wages cannot buy decent housing for their families.

Taxes are beginning to weigh heavily on the wage-earners in the low brackets, and the burden will have to be increased further. They will take it, but only if they are assured that their bosses are making at least faintly equivalent sacrifices.

## In the Wind

UNTIL A FEW WEEKS AGO a writer who called himself Paul Toal was working at the German desk of the New York branch of the Office of War Information. His real name is Paul von Lillienfeld-Toal, and in 1934 he admitted before the McCormick-Dickstein committee that he was the liaison between William Dudley Pelley's Silver Shirts and the National Socialist Party in Germany. His past came to light last month, and he was dropped from the pay roll.

ANOTHER IMPROVEMENT at the O. W. I. is a teletype service which will answer Nazi lies and distortions as soon as they come over the short-wave. Hitherto the German stories have appeared in the newspapers pretty much as they were received, though attributed of course to Axis propaganda sources. From now on, however, they will be analyzed by O. W. I. experts a few minutes after they appear, and comments will be immediately teletyped to the press services.

FRED C. KELLY, the father of the gossip column, has founded the League to Enforce Monkey Business on the Radio. As Acting Temporary Emergency Secretary of the League, he has dispatched hundreds of postcards urging radio listeners "to compel news announcers to quit calling New York 'New York' and to refer to it as 'our nation's metropolis.'" They never call Washington anything but "our nation's capital," says Mr. Kelly, or the President anything but "the Chief Executive."

AIR-RAID WARDENS are being unionized in Great Britain. Full-time A. R. P. workers have already received two pay raises, won through the intervention of the Trades Union Congress.

A MAKE-UP MAN'S FANTASY is page 14 of *PM's* Sunday Picture News for November 15. Column One, under the head "Good Writing," is a condensation of a solemn and eloquent letter by Dr. Edouard Heimann, which first appeared in this magazine, to the effect that only "under God" can "this nation . . . have a new birth of freedom." The rest of the page is devoted to a lush full-length portrait of Dorothy Bigby, showgirl of the "Star and Garter" cast, clad only in brassière and bespangled G-string.

"HELL LOCATED" is the title of a series of lectures now being delivered throughout the country by Robert L. Boothby, an itinerant evangelist. In an advertisement in the *Washington Star* Mr. Boothby promises to tell "just where hell is; how many are in hell now; whether hell will ever burn out; whether the fire burns the meanness out of people, or if they go on burning forever; whether it can be seen through a telescope."

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of \$5 will be awarded each month for the best item.—EDITORS THE NATION.]



## *Sidelights on North Africa*

### Goebbels in a Jam

FOR the guardians of German morale the invasion of Africa brought on the worst crisis they have yet been through. Not only was it evidence that the enemy too was capable of waging a Blitzkrieg, hitherto considered a German monopoly, but it demolished with one stroke the propaganda "line" that had been followed for the past several months.

Ever since the deadlock in Russia confidence in victory had been distilled out of the shipping situation. The argument ran as follows: The overseas powers can do nothing to us because they have lost so many ships and are losing more every day. Even if a real army should be built up in America, which is not likely, it could not possibly be brought over to Europe. On the European continent we have everything we need, and not one of our enemies is capable of an offensive. Lack of ships prevents any attack on us from overseas.

There we find the defensive theory of victory of the last few months in a nutshell.

With the appearance of a great American army in Africa the whole theory collapsed. Here was clear proof that the enemy had enough ships to transport a large force across the ocean. During several days the confusion of the Berlin morale strategists was complete.

For the first two days they attempted to belittle the whole affair. North Africa, they said, is a distant waste land which does not concern Germany. That the Anglo-Saxon powers were not ashamed to seize the territory of their former ally, in violation of all law, shows their maniacal greed, their "imperialism." Roosevelt was referred to with especial venom as the "scamp" (*Strolch*) or "scamp-in-chief" (*Oberstrolch*).

On the third day this line was abandoned. "We must revise our judgment," said the radio voice. From then on it was no longer a question of a trifling hold-up and robbery on the periphery of Germany's interest. With a bold leap the propaganda heads again sought comfort in the tonnage stringency. The overseas powers had pounced on Africa in a mad attempt to make the Mediterranean safe for their shipping. For they were so desperately short of tonnage that they could no longer use the route around the Cape of Good Hope. That took too long. The strangle-hold of the German U-boats had forced them to make a convulsive effort to open up a shorter route which could be served with fewer ships. Thus an act of the Allies which proved that they had

enough ships to transport an army was twisted into proof that their lack of ships was catastrophic. "It shows to what a pass in respect to shipping England and America have been reduced," exulted the star radio commentator Hans Fritzsche.

But the public could not swallow this absurd inconsistency; and on the fifth day the subject of shipping was dropped and a new idea introduced. The undertaking in Africa, it was now said, was the overture to an intended invasion of southern France. The walls of the "European fortress" which Hitler had constructed had "one weak point—southern France." The French, "poorly armed and politically and psychologically backward," could not offer an adequate defense. Therein lay the last chance of the Anglo-Saxons. At Marseilles and Toulon and Nice they hoped to breach the fortress. But they had laid their plans in vain. The Führer "made a lightning decision to defend Europe." With a "magnificent gesture of European solidarity," he came to France's rescue, sent his divisions to its southern coast, and saved it from assault. And thus the last weak spot in the ring of armor around the Continent was made strong. "Now Europe has become an absolutely impregnable fortress. Indeed, through this development good has come out of that scamp Roosevelt's evil purpose."

After three false starts, this was the aspect in which events in Africa were finally presented to the German people. Africa, namely, is a matter of indifference to Germany. We Germans are interested only in Europe, the fortress of Europe. The enemy tried to break in through the last remaining gap in its walls but was repulsed with great loss. The fortress stands more impregnable than ever.

After five days of confusion the general staff on morale had fallen back on what was perhaps the best position it could have chosen, though the allusion to European solidarity could have deceived no one. Most Germans learned long ago from their relatives in the army, if not from other sources, how much solidarity the conquered nations feel. But that is a side issue. The central question for Germans is: Can the European fortress be breached? After the African performance uncertainty on this point must have increased sharply. Germans are not children in military matters. They understand perfectly that it makes quite a difference whether the American military machine is 3,500 miles from the edge of Europe or suddenly only 400 miles away.

The minority which wants an invasion has had its



hopes strengthened, but we must not imagine that this minority is anything but very small. In contrast to the Italians, most of whom, it is thought, would welcome invasion, the majority of Germans have their hearts set on victory. The slogan of Europe's invincibility is in harmony with their desires and will therefore be believed, in spite of undercurrents of doubt, for some time yet. Probably until it is disproved by deeds and events.

ARGUS

## Martinique and Vichy

**I**N ADDITION to the authority given to Admiral Darlan by our representatives in North Africa, we have in our own back yard another hangover of the old Vichy appeasement policy. The radio transmitters on the islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe continue to spew forth their pro-Axis poison, not only to the French Antilles, French Guiana, and Frenchmen on the American continent, but also to Haiti.

For half a year the State and Navy departments have been carrying on mysterious negotiations with Admiral Georges Robert, Governor General of the French Antilles and Guiana. (This pro-Pétain stalwart has in his possession half a dozen warships, a naval base, a hundred fighting planes, and a quarter-billion dollars in gold, cached there when France fell.) The invasion of North Africa and the ending of relations with Vichy might have been expected to put a stop to such by-play. But on November 9 Secretary Hull said that the North African campaign did not change the status of French possessions in this hemisphere.

Now, our policy toward the French Antilles is said by the State Department to depend on the "effectiveness with which the [local French] authorities endeavor to protect their territories from domination and control by the enemy." Therefore the reaction of Admiral Robert's radio transmitters to the North African campaign is significant. A fragment of the record follows, as monitored by the Federal Communications Commission:

On November 11 Admiral Robert responded to Secretary Hull's assurances by saying over the Martinique radio, "No matter what course events take, the Marshal is still our leader—the symbol of French unity and faith in the destiny of the nation. . . ." On November 12 these amazing statements appeared in a gloomy broadcast of the Martinique Central Information Bureau, the official voice of Admiral Robert's government: "Neither France nor her empire will be returned to us. . . . France has been invaded by Germans, our colonies by the British and Americans. . . . Foreigners have taken everything. All of them flood us with promises of restitution. All of them promise to defend us. All of them love us." The broadcast continued along the Nazi-Pétain line of self-flagellation: "We believed in reconstruction. But

you cannot reconstruct what is rotten. . . . Twenty years of politics deteriorated the French soul. . . . We chose the way of collapse. . . . Today there is no France, there is no empire, soon there will be no Frenchmen."

But the Martinique radio went even farther as the North African offensive developed. On November 12 it broadcast an "announcement to the crews and officers of the merchant vessels now on the high seas or in the Mediterranean: 'Turn back immediately to a French port in the Mediterranean or in Corsica. London is inviting you to commit treason. Do not let yourself be deceived. Your duty is clear. Marshal Pétain demands that you return to French ports and continue to serve France.' " On November 16 both the Martinique and Guadeloupe radios transmitted in full Pétain's declaration forbidding General Giraud to act in his name. Coming from Vichy, these messages might have been blamed on the Germans who have taken over that radio; in Martinique Admiral Robert must bear full responsibility.

## Spain's "Neutrality"

**I**T SEEMS to be the unanimous conclusion of various press services and unidentified "reliable European sources" that Generalissimo Francisco Franco has suddenly veered toward neutrality since the occupation of French North Africa. But the evidence from European short- and medium-wave broadcasts in the first week of the campaign points in exactly the opposite direction.

The broadcasts, as made available by the Office of War Information, show two things clearly: first, that the Axis is putting pressure on Spain, possibly to assure its cooperation in any counter-attack which the Nazis may decide to make by way of Spain and Spanish Morocco; second, that Spanish domestic propaganda, scrupulously neutral during the first three days of the occupation, swung back toward the Axis line when German troops took up stations along the entire Pyrenees frontier.

Direct Nazi radio pressure on Spain has consisted largely of propaganda to turn the people against the United Nations. There have also been implied promises that Spanish ambitions to annex French Morocco and Algeria might best be realized by collaboration with the Nazis. Indirect pressure has been exerted in broadcasts to other nations designed to swing United Nations opinion away from Franco. Berlin Transocean reported in English Morse code, for use in American and British papers, as early as November 8 that there was great tension in Spain and that the "war undoubtedly is closer now to Spain." The Nazis told France the next day that "Spanish public opinion in general feels that the Anglo-American guaranty . . . is an insufficient safeguard of Spanish national independence." A whole barrage of items came over the Axis radio from Berlin to Tokyo telling of military preparations in Tangier and Spanish



Morocco and of conferences between Franco and his Cabinet and Portuguese, Vichy, and Spanish Moroccan officials.

Spain's first radio reaction to the Allied offensive was to give favorable publicity to the American and British notes to Franco. Late on November 10, however, a

Phalangist broadcast from Valladolid on a domestic network said: "Never in the whole course of the war has there been such an extraordinary example of cold calculation. . . . The Axis General Staff, as always, has its plans scrupulously worked out, and at the right time Roosevelt will learn the answer of Europe's defenders."

## Mihailovich and the Partisans

BY RALPH BATES

THE fact that the Yugoslavs were the first to revolt and are still the only people among the so-called conquered nations to wage organized war against the Axis makes recent events in that country doubly tragic. Fighting has broken out between the two main sections of the movement of liberation, with the result that not only has Yugoslav liberty been placed in dire peril, but Axis troops, thereby disengaged, have been released for the Russian front. Though the problem is primarily one for the Yugoslav people, it is not exclusively theirs. The United Nations have before them the lesson of Spain, through whose defeat—largely due to the negligence of world democracy—the entire democratic world suffered disaster.

That minor difficulties had arisen between the partisan battalions and the regular forces organized around General Mihailovich, we knew as long ago as March of this year, but it was not until July, when the controversy between the two wings was aired in the press, that we learned how grave the matter had become. On July 18 it was reported from Ankara that General Mihailovich had launched a campaign against "Communist" partisans accused of banditry and pillage in reconquered territories. A few days later it was announced that the General had previously made inquiries in Moscow and, having been assured of the Soviet government's lack of interest had begun to repress the "criminal" bands. Mihailovich was specifically named as the authority exercising repression. It should be pointed out, however, that had the partisans been mere criminals, or had they been acting in defiance of law, General Mihailovich would hardly have needed to consult Moscow. The inference is clear. The partisans were not criminals, and a political principle was involved.

Almost simultaneously we learned from an Istanbul cable transmitted by Inter-Continent News and published in the New York *Daily Worker* that a small conference of Yugoslav patriots, meeting in Istanbul, had accused Mihailovich of treasonable collaboration with the Axis. From other sources it was learned that Mihailovich troops had not only attacked partisan battalions but had

carried out reprisals against the villages and valleys that provided the peasant volunteers with their bases. Incidentally, it should be said that the fact that Inter-Continent News and the *Daily Worker* are the sources of this report may be taken as proof that Moscow is very far from being uninterested in the fate of the partisans—but does not wish to make a diplomatic issue of the matter.

Pertinax, the French commentator, next took up the matter, declaring in the *New York Times* (July 31) that Mihailovich objects to "roving bands of Communists" because they and he do not see eye to eye about the use of sabotage in anti-Axis warfare. A few days later the well-informed and discreet London correspondent of the *Christian Science Monitor* said that while the partisans are not Communists, "they are certainly left wingers." Four days later the *New York Times* correspondent in Ankara, Ray Brock, in an extremely misleading cable, reported that Mihailovich had driven the "Communist partisans" out of Montenegro. At the same time, staggering those who had been following events closely, he credited the General with the bitter anti-Axis campaigns which the partisans were waging.

That a quite considerable civil war was going on became clearly apparent when the *New York Times* (October 5) published another Ankara cable denouncing the *Daily Worker's* charge—originally made by the Istanbul conference—as false and preposterous propaganda "aimed at creating disunity among the fighting Yugoslavs." Mihailovich, the dispatch asserted, at the



General Draja Mihailovich



## DARLANISM

*A Balkan minister to Vichy who used to boast at Geneva of his liberal ideas and his passion for collective security was asked some six months ago how he could justify his support of Hitler. He answered: "If I am against Hitler and he wins, I will be shot. If I am for Hitler and he loses, there will be time enough to come over to the other side. I will be accepted. I have nothing to lose by being for Hitler."*

head of 160,000 men and women, had been waging a six months' battle "against 30,000 partisans, whose ranks include scores of criminals, renegades, bandits, and dissident Croats and Moslems."

By October 9 we see a new slant given to the anti-partisan propaganda. According to a Washington story appearing in the *New York Times*, it is no longer Mihailovich who is repressing the "Communists" but the people themselves, who in "spontaneous uprising" have killed "thousands of partisans." Evidently the General, the official servant of a government in formal relations with Soviet Russia, cannot be allowed to take the responsibility. No issue is said to be involved between the Yugoslav government and the Soviet Union. But Moscow now begins to defend the partisans by issuing news releases, picked up from the partisan-controlled Free Yugoslavia radio, about their anti-Axis activities.

The discerning eye will perceive the main outline of the problem in these confused reports. What is going on in Yugoslavia is a struggle for political power within the recreated nation. That struggle was initiated by General Mihailovich, who for some months has done little fighting against the Axis. The General's apparent intention, and the royal government's, is to preserve as large an army as possible in order to control the country when the Axis has been finally overthrown by the major forces of democracy. The natural result of the General's inactivity is that his forces, which at their peak numbered perhaps 120,000, have already begun to dwindle, large numbers of them—the "renegades" of the October 5 cable—having transferred themselves to the vigorously combatant partisans. As for another charge that has been made against the partisans, it is certainly true that a few of them are not Yugoslavs. This, surely, is one of their greatest glories, that men of conquered lands—Hungary, Rumania, Greece, and Czecho-Slovakia—hungering for vengeance and liberty, should have made their way to the village committees which organize the partisan battalions and there have found arms and comrades-in-arms.

But while Mihailovich is far from blameless, the charge that he acts in calculated collusion with Nedic, the Serbian Quisling, is certainly unfounded. Many Yugoslavs to whom cooperation with the Communists

seems perfectly natural resent this attack upon a man who, however great his political folly, was the first to rise up against the enemy. The report arose when Nedic and Mihailovich forces made simultaneous, though wholly separated, moves against the partisans.

Liberal supporters of the Yugoslav cause here and in Britain are of the opinion that one of the root causes of this strife is the political ignorance and inexperience of the General, who is a soldier, not a statesman. That may be so, but it is impossible to overlook the fact that the royal government-in-exile is in no sense a representative body, but consists largely of court nominees, military men, clericals, bureaucrats, individuals of the privileged classes, and old-time politicians of various nationalist schools. Though some of these conservatives are sincere patriots, the royal government has failed to show any understanding of the revolutionary nature of the war. And since an inactive front is a decomposing front, another cause of the civil strife is the United Nations' early failure to provide Mihailovich with arms.

That Communists play an important part is agreed by competent sources. Their numbers are not great, but their vigor and discipline and in many cases their special experience have given them considerable influence. They have also served as a useful coordinating element in a land where the great diversity of parties and regionalist sentiment make good liaison very necessary. But it cannot be too strongly insisted that the presence of Communists in the partisan movement is not the real issue. The issue is the demand for a democratic administration made by a large section of the Yugoslav people-in-arms, a demand which is resented by the far-off royal government and its chief representative in Yugoslavia. On the other hand, the dropping of such demands would not remedy the situation. One fears that the royal government regrets the very existence of the peasant militias. But these forces are absolutely necessary if the fight against the Axis is to be waged in its fullest intensity.

There always remains the fact of pan-Slavism, with its deepening political significance. After patriotism it is the most powerful sentiment in Yugoslavia, but it is more or less frowned upon by the royal government, principally because of the social structure of the Soviet Union, but also because its growth might limit or qualify Yugoslav foreign policy in the post-war period. On the other hand, the Kremlin has been making pan-Slavist propaganda for a long time now, with the probable intention of organizing a Russian-Balkan "defensive bloc" after the war. But even if one finds Moscow's plans unacceptable, it is manifestly absurd to circumvent the danger by tactics like those of Mihailovich, which play directly into Axis hands. Reconstruction of the Yugoslav government-in-exile is long overdue. A firm recommendation from Washington would do much to persuade it to reform itself.



# BOOKS *and the* ARTS

## ON REREADING THE MODERN CLASSICS

BY JUSTIN O'BRIEN

IT HAS been said that the classics of only yesterday do not bear rereading, that the reprint editions are designed for the very young or for those otherwise prevented from reading the "masterpieces" of twenty years ago when they appeared. But of three such books I have recently reread, two stood the test; if that is an average, it is not a bad one. Probably it is quite fortuitous that those two books were French novels, André Gide's "Counterfeiters" and Proust's "Remembrance of Things Past." The other was "Point Counter Point" by Aldous Huxley.

This is neither the moment nor the place to attempt to reevaluate Proust's work. For years it has suffered from the shortsighted attacks of the socially conscious critics, blinded by its almost exclusive preoccupation with aristocratic society to the bitterly ironic view it takes of that society.

Proust revisited still charms: his vision of the world is still new, and Combray and Paris and Balbec live in even fuller detail than on the first reading. The poet who sees and creates by metaphor becomes more apparent, as does the classic observer of men's foibles, and when I was not admiring the universality of the maxims and reflections in the manner of La Rochefoucauld I found myself pausing on almost every page to savor the beauty and variety of the imagery. Time only helps the Baudelaire and the La Bruyère in Proust to emerge.

Gide claims that he writes to be reread, hoping to win his case on appeal. What stupid things we have all said of him on a single reading! No one should ever talk about Gide—in print at any rate—without having read all of his major works at least twice. "The Counterfeiters" bears a third and fourth reading even better than it does a second. The ideal is to approach it afresh after a lapse of a few years, with the action still fairly clear in one's mind and the characters still answering to their names. Then the multiplicity of plots and the corresponding abundance of characters—à la Dostoevski—cease to be elements of confusion, and one can fully appreciate the art of the novelist. Then only does one see, in spite of Gide's explicit desire never to take advantage in one chapter of the impetus carried over from the preceding chapter, the subtle balance of chapter against chapter and incident against incident. One comes to understand the role of such characters as La Pérouse, Armand, Sarah—half-effaced by their more dazzling neighbors. And finally, through the confusion caused by the initial critics back in 1926 who disagreed as to the primary subject of the novel, Gide's purpose becomes clear. "The Counterfeiters" gives, first of all, a picture of the struggle between the generations: this is the reason for the introduction of little Gontran de Passavant, of the many members of the Vedel family, and of the old musician's misunderstandings with his son and grandson.

This is why Edouard, who belongs by age to one generation and by temperament to the next, stands at the center of the action. But "The Counterfeiters" is also the story of a novel's creation in its author's mind, the very novel we are reading, in fact. And since the one subject is a story of flux—the decaying of one generation and the growing up of another—what is more appropriate than that the novel itself should be in a state of becoming? Beneath this double subject lies the conflict between reality and its representation, its counterfeit, both in social life and in art.

For full enjoyment—let it be said at the risk of making Gide appear discouragingly difficult and thus incurring the just rebuke which Joseph Wood Krutch addressed in these pages to modern criticism—the rereader of "The Counterfeiters" should also read both the little daybook kept by Gide during the composition of the novel and certain pages of Gide's own diary of the last fifty years, both as yet untranslated. Those supplementary texts will greatly enlighten him as to the novelist's problems and will correct any false impressions he may have formed from identifying Edouard too closely with Gide. In the diary, for instance, he will find under the date of August, 1893—Gide was then not quite twenty-four—this significant note:

I wanted to suggest in the "Tentative amoureuse" the influence of the book on the one who is writing it, and during that very writing. . . . In a work of art I like to find, transposed into the scale of the characters, the very subject of that work. Nothing throws a better light upon the work or more solidly establishes the proportions of the whole. For example, in certain paintings by Memling or Quentin Metsys a little mirror reflects the interior of the room in which the painted scene is taking place. Likewise in Velasquez's painting of the Meníñes—but somewhat differently. And in literature, the dumb show in "Hamlet" and in many other plays. In "Wilhelm Meister" the marionette scene. In "The Fall of the House of Usher" the story read to Roderick. But none of these examples is just what I want. What would give a better idea of what I attempted in my "Cahiers," in my "Narcisse," and in the "Tentative" is a comparison with the device of heraldry which consists in setting in the escutcheon a smaller replica *en abyme*.

This *composition en abyme*, which like the triple mirrors at the tailor's opens a staggering abyss before our eyes, has preoccupied André Gide from the first; in addition to the very early works he mentions, he has used it in "Paludes," in the "Caves du Vatican," and most effectively in "The Counterfeiters"—where the novelist within his novel is himself writing a novel with a novelist as the central character.

Huxley does much the same thing. And his novelist, Philip Quarles, sees this form of composition in terms of the Quaker holding a box of oats pictured on the Quaker Oats



box. This is why the rereader of "The Counterfeiters" should also read "Point Counter Point" if only to enhance his admiration for Gide's achievement. Despite Ruth Temple's easy dismissal of Gide in her very full study of Huxley's debt to France (*Revue de Littérature Comparée*, January, 1939), Huxley's best novel is directly inspired by, not to say frankly imitative of, Gide's. Nor is his use of the novel within the novel at all effective. Unlike Edouard, Quarles does not stand at the very center of the action. Out in India at the beginning of the novel, he never catches up with events, knowing nothing directly of Burlap's seduction of Beatrice, of his father's affair with Gladys, of the satanic evolution going on within the Baudelairean Spandrell, or even of Walter Bidlake's abandoning of Marjorie for Lucy, which is to figure in his novel.

To be successful, the novelist used thus as a character must be a meeting-point for all the currents—a fuse box, as Edouard is—and hence preserve the real author from the necessity of omniscience. Gide can afford to let his creatures get out of hand, even—in the eighteenth-century English manner—to interject ironic comments on their antics. But Huxley, who has hurriedly seized upon an original discovery and badly used it, must maintain the Olympian attitude of the traditional novelist. Like his prototype Edouard, Quarles keeps a notebook, but, unlike Edouard's, his jottings neither advance the story nor reproduce from another angle events already related in the form of action or conversation. Quarles's notebook most often serves simply as an excuse for the essayist to elaborate ideas set forth by Rampion. Just as Gide did, Huxley wants to seize all the layers of reality—"multiplicity of eyes and multiplicity of aspects seen." Nevertheless, he attempts only rarely, and then quite mechanically, to view the same problem or event through different eyes, as, for instance, when Webley's fascist speech is reported directly by the author, described in terms of Elinor's emotions, and noted by Quarles in one of his little essays.

Gide, who calls for the reader's collaboration and expects him to remember what he has read, is a master of indirection. As in life, his characters often remain ignorant of details that appear clear to us outsiders, but Gide has permitted us to make the deduction ourselves. When Olivier becomes enthusiastic over Passavant's knowledge of marine biology, we know that the latter has simply handed on facts he had learned from Olivier's brother Vincent. Likewise, the moment we learn of Strouvillhou's sojourn at Saas-Fee we guess the source of Bernard's counterfeit coin. But even when Huxley has a chance to let the reader add two and two, he steps in and shouts the answer—as when Molly d'Exergillod thinks Elinor a fool for not noticing how much Philip is attracted to Molly. Forgetting that the preceding chapter has told us how Elinor regularly pushed her husband into other women's arms to humanize him, Huxley tells us all over again.

Does Huxley really forget? On the contrary, it would seem deliberate, this unwillingness to permit the reader that little thrill of recognition akin to creation. Like the old-fashioned school teacher, Huxley must always show himself more intelligent than his readers, and this he does by always being painfully explicit. In consequence his novel is repetitive, wordy even.

Even Huxley's contrapuntal composition ("All you need is a sufficiency of characters and parallel contrapuntal plots") comes directly from Gide, whose Edouard claims that he wants to write a novel based on Bach's "Art of the Fugue." Indeed, many of the characters and the situations they find themselves in have their parallels in "The Counterfeiters." In addition to the Quarles-Edouard parallel, Lucy Tantomount corresponds to Lady Griffith, Walter Bidlake to Vincent Molinier, Marjorie Carling to Laura Vedel, Spandrell to Strouvillhou, John Bidlake to La Pérouse, Burlap to Passavant, and so on. Finally, both novels—which opened with a family "scene" and with the novelist character traveling to the point of action—close with scenes of violence abruptly related in the Dostoevskian manner. With a similar group of characters Gide depicts the decay of the bourgeois family; Huxley, a society that is rotten to the core. But in Gide's novel, so much of which deals with the young who are aiding the dissolution of their families, there is hope in youth. Huxley's world shows no element of hope.

Both works have frequently been classified as immoral. A moralistic and myopic critic early called "The Counterfeiters," the novel of uranism and onanism; "Point Counter Point" offers a society in heat in which adultery is the normal practice. In Gide's work there is a greater dosage of positive evil, creative evil—which Gide would attribute to the collaboration of the demon—whereas Huxley's world from Burlap to Spandrell is shoddily immoral. But as for the immorality that lies in the attitude of the author, and which D. H. Lawrence particularly castigated in "Point Counter Point," no comparison is possible.

In his diary for March 18, 1931, Gide recorded:

For the third time I gather my strength to read "Point Counter Point," for I have been told that you must get beyond the beginning. But what can I think of a book whose first seventy pages I read attentively without finding a single line rather firmly drawn, a single personal thought, emotion, or sensation—not the slightest bait for the heart or the mind which might invite me to continue?

And later that day he drops the book definitively at the 115th page. Imitation may be the sincerest form of flattery, but André Gide has never been susceptible to flattery.

## For a First Birthday

Hang at my hand as I write now  
My small one whom the dogs follow  
That, nuzzled in my stomach once,  
Like lions at her laughter dance.

The roaring forties in the bed  
Beat up disaster on her head,  
And on the wall the calendar  
Always enumerated war.

Thunder in the teacup and  
Prognostications in the sand  
Menaced her amusement with  
The abracadabra of death.

She who kisses prettier than  
Two breezes meeting round a fan,



November 28, 1942

What shall she hold in her arms  
But the catastrophes like lambs?

And when, among the temporal  
Ruins of her landscape shall  
The giddygoat and the Cupid chase  
All but Disney from the place?

On the rag of a single summer  
She dried all tears of the future;  
The vernal equinox was up her sleeve  
When the winter made her grieve.

Happily the unhappy shall lie down  
By her, and bounty be her own  
Bubble: the hitherto inconsolable  
Find solace at her first syllable.

The dove, in its code of coos,  
Will carry abroad her good news:  
That it was Love, and not  
Law kept the Ark afloat.

For the desire, and the daughter,  
And the dog chasing its tail  
Renew all things in Nature,  
And Nature renews it all.

GEORGE BARKER

## I WUZ ROBBED

*Fearless Reporter Battles Censors*

BY GILBERT HIGHET

**C**AIRO, September 19. I am feeling quite sick. Stupidity infuriates me. Today I wrote out my broadcast for next Tuesday, and took it round to Captain Plinkett-Drax, the British censor. This is what I tried to say:

Britain is losing the war here in North Africa. The idiocy of her senior officers, the poverty of her equipment, the class-conscious, hidebound inadequacy of her social system, and the poor training of her troops make it virtually certain that Marshal Rommel will walk through the few battalions now struggling against him on the desert front. Behind the lines morale is low. I heard reports this morning that General Staff Headquarters is moving to Aden. The superior training, material, and will-power of the Afrika Korps make it look like a black day for the British Empire.

I was kept waiting for ten minutes, cooling my heels in Plinkett-Drax's outer office. Surely, I thought to myself, he realizes that his most important duty is to read and pass my broadcasts. What is wrong with these people? Can't they understand how much a broadcast like this will help the British war effort?

When at last I was admitted, I was amazed to find the censor looking coldly at my script as it lay there on his gold and ivory desk. He said: "Do you think it is right to use our radio to tell the world that we are losing the war?"

At once I was up in arms. I retorted: "Don't you see it will encourage the Americans to come in and save you?"

"I don't quite see how it will do that," he replied with deliberate obtuseness.

"Well, anyhow," I shouted, "it happens to be true."

Then he actually called me a liar, in his hateful clipped accent. At least, he said: "There are two sides to that question. It is possible that you are overestimating our weakness and the enemy's strength."

I was so furious that I picked up my script and stormed out of the office.

*September 21.* I have been ill for two days. The heat and worry of this place gets me down. I haven't been able to do more than two hours' work. I laid off at three today and ordered a drink in the Ritz bar.

It infuriates me to see smart British officers of military age stop working at seven o'clock and sit down lazily to have whiskey and soda in hotel lounges. Don't they know there's a war on?

*September 22.* Another brush with the British censors. I had written a wonderful script exposing the ghastly situation in Malta, and submitted it to the ineffable Plinkett-Drax. It said, and I quote:

The situation in Malta is critical. Of the last consignment of forty-eight Spitfires, only four remain airworthy. The others have been either shot out of the air or destroyed on the ground. The anti-aircraft defenses are woefully inadequate. If the Germans and Italians attack by sea with good air support, particularly on the northeastern sector where the safeguards against a landing are virtually nonexistent, there is grave danger that this bastion of the British Empire may fall. Most of this has come about by the stupidity of British officers and administrators.

I had never written better, for I felt the truth of every word as I put it down. What was my astonishment to hear Plinkett-Drax say that I was to be prohibited from reading it on the air. I told him: "Perhaps you don't understand. I am an American reporter. The people in America want to hear the truth. How can I give it to them through a smoke screen of censorship?"

He actually suggested that the broadcast might help the enemy. I was mad. I shouted: "You are accusing me of trying to help the fascists! You must be criminally crazy as well as just plain dumb. I'm not talking to the Axis. I'm talking to the people of America. Nobody listens to these broadcasts here. How could they possibly help the fascists?"

He muttered something about the Germans having listening-posts and picking up hints, but I paid no attention and stamped out.

I have such a terrible headache. I wired Bertha: "SWEETIEPIE LOVETHINKING BACKCOMING IMMINENTLY." Then I went out for the evening with Wun Lung. Wun Lung is an enchanting Eurasian girl, cultured and intelligent. To talk with her is like a cool bath after the heat and struggles of the day. She doesn't like the British either.

*September 24.* Astonished by a cable that arrived this morning. It read: "YOU HAVE BEEN AWARDED BIG MEDAL BY ETA BITA PI FRATERNITY OF REPORTERS FOR YOUR WONDERFUL STORY ON ABYSSINIAN EMPEROR." I remember taking the story down as some sissy-pants British liaison officer gave it to us. I thought for a minute I might write to thank him for giving



me the material, but when I remembered his accent and his monocle, I decided not to. He was too conceited already.

I spent the evening talking to Wun Lung about my medal. I cabled Bertha too. Ah, how I long for her.

*September 26.* Another instance of the stupidity of censors. I just heard today that when the British were evacuating an advanced post in the desert, they absolutely refused to help the wretched Ababa tribesmen to escape. Of all the selfishness and shortsightedness! I wrote a stinging denunciation of the British for not loading these poor "natives" into their armored cars; but Plinkett-Drax made an issue of it, and I had to change my script at the last moment and talk about Rommel's supply lines.

He said it would discourage the natives. What nonsense! What abject nonsense!

*September 27.* Hot news today. I sat up in my bedroom all morning typing it out. It seems that the British war effort in the desert has been gravely impeded by the fifth-column work of Ababa tribesmen. For some reason I was not allowed to broadcast this either.

Why won't the British let me tell everyone about the Ababa tribesmen?

*October 1.* I spent four hours, from nine till one this morning, arguing with Plinkett-Drax about my next script. I noticed his desk was heaped with untidy papers. The trouble with these British officials is they are afraid of work. An American would have had those papers cleared off by 11 a. m.

I got no satisfaction out of him, despite all my efforts to be cooperative.

*October 4.* Rommel is still advancing. Everything is finished here. I am getting out. I cabled Bertha again: "HONEYBUN UPFIXING EXIT SOONEST."

I took my typewriter to a British store to get the capital "I" renewed, on Saturday afternoon. They told me it couldn't be done till Monday, because people stopped work on Sundays. What abject, nauseating nonsense! Don't they know there is a war on? I had to wait till Monday before I could write any letters or scripts, without my capital "I."

*October 5.* Today news came through of the fall of Singapore. The reason is obvious. The British never expected the Japs to attack them. This is because of their smug, aristocratic Eton-and-Harrow mentality. Democratic Americans would *never* make the mistake of not expecting the Japs to attack them.

*October 6.* I was surprised to hear that Captain Plinkett-Drax had been taken to hospital with a complete breakdown. The nurses said he kept raving about brownies that wouldn't let him attend to his work. The trouble with these British is, they are soft. I tried to cable an interpretative story on the general collapse of morale of which this is symptomatic, but was prevented by the usual eggbound asininity.

All the censors, except Plinkett-Drax, came down to see me off. I can't think why. They have never been so cooperative before. Perhaps they are beginning to realize the truth. Rommel will be in Cairo in ten days, I feel, and I want to get out to tell the world whose fault it is.

O boy! I could write a book!

## Soliloquy

*For Creative Artists in War Time  
Designed to Help Them Keep Up Their Morale.*

It's up to us while the young are fighting  
To keep up our music and art and writing;  
It's for us to keep lighted God's timeless taper;  
Freedom needs us to put words on paper.

All culture would end save for us creators;  
To have us stop would delight dictators.  
There is more to a war than just to win it;  
Pleasant thought, and I hope that there's something in it.

IRWIN EDMAN

## Mann's Political Essays

*ORDER OF THE DAY.* By Thomas Mann. Alfred A. Knopf. \$2.75.

*THOMAS MANN'S WORLD.* By Joseph Gerard Brennan. Columbia University Press. \$2.50.

IF THE collection of Thomas Mann's political essays had appeared alone, without the almost simultaneous publication of Mr. Brennan's excellent study of Mann's whole spiritual history, it might have been sufficient to accept the essays with grateful admiration for the noble proportions of Mann's thought, for the elevated and slightly tragic mood of his style, and for the depth of his understanding of the issues involved in the world crisis. Mr. Brennan's analysis of the development of Mann's thought, particularly of the tension between the artist and the exemplar of bourgeois respectability in Thomas Mann's novels, naturally prompt one to ask some more fundamental questions about the relation of Thomas Mann to German culture and the relation of German culture to Nazism.

Yet it may be well to begin more simply with the essays and to express the satisfaction which any sensitive reader must feel in reading Mann's moving defense of democratic civilization. Though some of the essays have been published before, the most important ones—particularly those written in Germany before Hitler came to power—are new to us. The first essay in the book, *The German Republic*, was delivered as a lecture in Berlin in 1923 and represents Mann's first explicit defense of democracy. He was obviously speaking to a hostile youthful audience, already deeply infected with the virus which would bring disaster to them, to Germany, and to the world. He responds to their jibes with the dignity of a patrician and a great humanist, and in the process of countering their hostility he expresses forebodings which have since been tragically justified. The whole chapter, and many subsequent ones, contain the vitality of living history and are more than the mere words of a wise man.

In all of his various appeals Mann is defending something more than democracy as a form of government against the rising tide of obscurantism, militarism, and mystic nationalism. He speaks as a protagonist of the common element in the classical and Christian tradition which has informed the culture of Europe for ages; and he seeks vainly to stem the tide of synthetic barbarism which the youth of Germany



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so pathetically regarded as the resurgence of German vitality.

It is not possible to do full justice to all the facets of Mann's thought in his polemic against Nazism. One may say, however, that no one has been able to express disgust for something loathsome with so nice and calculated a contempt. His essay on Hitler entitled *A Brother*, in which he measures the man as a perverted artist and perverse genius, is a perfect piece of irony.

Thus while one may hail Thomas Mann as the most authentic voice of the "true" Germany, as the most persuasive exponent of a culture to which Germany made as many significant contributions as any other Western nation, one may be pardoned if one detects in Mann's spiritual history some clues to the pathos of Germany's genius. He protests eloquently against the degradation of Nazism. He sees it as a perversion of the romantic tradition in German culture. Yet he is himself deeply indebted to the romantic tradition. He is quite right of course in not holding Schopenhauer or Nietzsche responsible for Nazism; and equally right in detecting a closer affinity between Wagner and Hitler, despite his own honest admiration for Wagner. Yet one wonders whether the Nazi dregs could be what they are if the best wine of German culture had not been what it was and had not been a little too heady. Mr. Brennan makes much of the tension which Mann felt and expressed between his tradition as a *Bürger* and his vocation as an artist, between the solidity, respectability, and conservatism of a scion of a patrician family and the freedom and creative irresponsibility of art. Yet it may be that the difficulty of German culture lay in an insufficient tension between characteristic bourgeois virtues and artistic feeling in the German middle class.

In other parts of the Western world the rise of the bourgeoisie was concomitant with the destruction of feudal traditions and loyalties and the establishment of political justice based upon careful rational discrimination. But for Mann and for Germany *bürgerlich* had other connotations. The point of Mann's original disavowal of politics in his *Reflections of a Non-Political Man* was that Germany was a land of music and not of politics. His preference for music as the highest art was prompted by his conviction that it expressed depth of feeling without the conscious intellectual discrimination other art forms demand. In his debate with the youth of Germany, after he had renounced his former indifference to politics and had come to the significant conclusion that an intelligent interest in politics was synonymous with concern for democratic politics, he states the position of those who oppose him thus: "Literature and art, I am told, romantic literature at least, German art, are they not dream, simplicity, feeling, or better yet temperament? Whatever have they to do with intellect, which like the republic is more the concern of sharp-witted Jews and to be disapproved of on patriotic grounds?" He refutes this position, which was once his own, and his whole volume of essays does handsome penance for his previously avowed indifference to politics. But they can scarcely hide the original mistake. It would be ungenerous to call attention to the mistake had it been unique rather than typical. It was not the mistake so much of a German artist who was in conflict with his middle-class traditions as the mistake of the German middle classes. They were informed by romantic traditions which might be

universalist or nationalistic, individualistic or *Völkisch*, but which scorned the plodding, discriminating social and political disciplines which bore the fruit of political justice.

What would have become of democracy in the non-German world if only Rousseau and not John Locke had informed our tradition? It is significant that even after Mann espouses democracy he makes much of the similarity between the thought of the German romantic, Novalis, and our own romantic, Walt Whitman. Rousseau, Novalis, and Whitman may persuade us to love the people en masse, but more is required to save the people from themselves and each other.

In short, the tragedy of a non-democratic Germany slipping into the morass of tyranny and obscurantism which the democratic Thomas Mann tried so nobly and so futilely to avert may be partly explained, or is at least illumined, by the thought of the non-democratic and non-political Thomas Mann. The futility of his later efforts is, at any rate, partly determined by the typical, rather than unique, character of his early position.

It is necessary to make this indictment of German culture for the sake of refuting such indictments as those of Lord Vansittart, which attribute a congenital defect to German character. Nazism is not merely an accidental aberration in German life. But neither are its cruelties typical of German character. Nazi tyranny is the bitter fruit of a congenital political ineptness in German culture; and that ineptness is at least partly derived from the romantic tradition.

All this does not derogate from the stature of Thomas Mann. Only a very great man could rise to the height of his noble disavowal of Nazism and his humble and ironic recognition of Hitler as "a brother." Hitler is of course a brother to all of us, in so far as his movement explicitly avows certain evils which are implicit in the life of every nation. Yet it is not unfair to regard him as, in a special sense, the evil fruit of the German romantic movement. The greatness of that movement is not refuted by the fact that Nazism is really its fruit; but neither can the relation of the fruit to the tree be denied. The most tragic aspect of German culture is that it frequently illumined the ultimate issues of human existence more profoundly than any other culture. But meanwhile it scorned all the proximate issues. In a sense all Thomas Mann's arguments since his conversion to the importance of politics are a plea to the artist and the philosopher to deal with proximate as well as with ultimate issues of existence, lest failure at this point wipe out the ground upon which men stand when they concern themselves with the ultimate.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

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*VICTOR HUGO: A REALISTIC BIOGRAPHY OF THE GREAT ROMANTIC.* By Matthew Josephson. Doubleday, Doran and Company. \$3.50.

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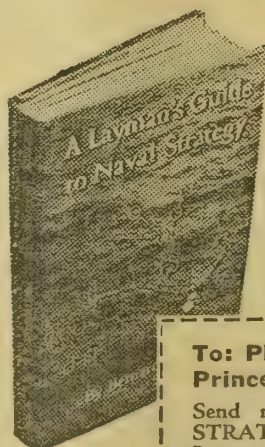
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Victor Hugo's mind received its first impressions from a world almost as tragically disjointed as our own. After the disastrous sacrifice of several generations of men on the battlefields of Europe, after two humiliating invasions of French soil by foreign armies, the youth of that day found themselves bewildered in the midst of a disintegrating social order, with nearly all support from respected past ideals irretrievably swept away. For almost two score years these victims of circumstance strove pathetically, groping their way out of a swamp of unending moral distress, sustained only in their efforts by a longing for some far-away dreamland of peace, for some harmonious, if utopian, solution of their perplexities.

Hugo himself went through all the devastating moral pangs of a lost, despairing generation, and he remained up to the very end a divided, anxious, and profoundly tormented soul. The incredibly rich, intense, variegated hues coloring the whole pattern of his life proceed, to a large extent, from the confused struggle of forces which disrupted all accepted values in France during the early part of his life. Hugo contrived eventually, it is true, somehow to attain a measure of outward balance and calm. His inner life, however, continued to be a center of storm where violently opposed elements constantly met and clashed. The poetical fulgurations which illumine all his work bear witness to the tremendous power and influence of his underlying mystic and emotional conflicts.

In presence of such a complex, enigmatic, tumultuous, often incoherent personality, the staid, realistic method used by Mr. Josephson appears inadequate. His casual, matter-of-fact account of outside events and his picturesque anecdotes do not convey at any time the impression of getting close to the soul of Hugo the man, still less of disembroiling the tangled skein of his emotions, aspirations, and moods.

In spite of the foregoing strictures, the present biography is not without serious merits. Mr. Josephson is evidently well acquainted with most of the scholarly works treating the various phases of his subject's life. Out of heavy, ponderous material he has made a fluent and extremely readable narrative. He does not, of course, go far beneath the surface, but the surface is easy, pleasant, and smooth. The reader's attention hardly ever flags, and, if at the end of the volume he has not succeeded in establishing a true contact with the great French poet, he has been, at least, entertained and amused.

Further, there is on the part of Mr. Josephson a most creditable attempt to deal with Hugo impartially and honestly. Hugo's fate at the hands of many modern critics has been, in this regard, extremely singular. During the last part of his life Hugo took a vigorous stand in favor of democratic ideas. These ideas aroused then, in certain French quarters, the most virulent antagonism. Soon it became almost a fashion among conservative critics to revile on every occasion the man who had identified himself completely with the cause they hated. Since many of these critics were truly outstanding in their own field, they succeeded in swinging a large part of public opinion to their side, and while conceding the value of Hugo as a writer, they managed to create against his person and his opinions a strong and lasting prejudice. Even an André Gide, after acknowledging



that Victor Hugo was the greatest French poet, felt obliged to add apologetically "Alas!" Mr. Josephson has no ax to grind. No systematic disparagement, no undue glorification is to be found in his book; and it must be admitted that if the realistic method proves disappointing when it comes to puzzling out the intricacies of a poet's soul, it offers the advantage of insuring, on the part of a conscientious author like Mr. Josephson, an attitude of most commendable fairness and objectivity.

The only important blemish in Mr. Josephson's work is its factual inaccuracy. I am not referring to occasional slips, which would come out in rather large number if the book were passed through the fine comb of pedantic, meticulous criticism, but to very grave mistakes in the presentation of the nineteenth-century French historical background. Hugo's life was so closely associated with the political developments of his time that his biographer has, willy-nilly, also to delve into history. Mr. Josephson, who as a rule knows the facts of Hugo's life well, shows himself poorly informed when he attempts to place him in his environment. In particular, the pictures of the Second Republic, of the Roman question, and of the Second Empire present glaring errors which could have been avoided through simple research in easily accessible books of reference. The layman will of course never notice these many distortions, which come not from any discernible bias but from inadequate documentation. The integrity of the book, however, is somewhat marred by this unaccountable insufficiency.

On the whole Mr. Josephson's work can be called, in the best and worst sense of the word, a popular book. It will appeal to the large public through its superficiality and its entertaining liveliness. It is commendably impartial and fair. A most regrettable ignorance of essential historical facts, however, makes it fall below the standard previously set by Mr. Josephson in his study of Zola.

GEORGES LEMAITRE

## The Correspondent's Book

**WHAT ABOUT GERMANY?** By Louis P. Lochner. Dodd, Mead and Company. \$3.

**THIS IS THE ENEMY.** By Frederick Oechsner with the United Press Staff. Little, Brown and Company. \$3.

**THE SELF-BETRAYED: GLORY AND DOOM OF THE GERMAN GENERALS.** By Curt Riess. G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$3.

WERE there a score, a hundred, or a thousand American journalists working in Germany before the war? Only the publishers know. But so far as diversity or originality in their work is concerned, there might have been only one Arch-Correspondent, sitting in the Adlon bar amid a haze of smoke and smooth-boy information. For to judge by their books the foreign correspondents resembled one another as closely as the journalists in Hollywood films. They were diligent and dogged, shrewd though sometimes slightly touched by romanticism, unlearned in the social sciences, rather boring and rarely conscious of the real problems that confront governments and peoples. There is little in their books that we have not read in their columns, and almost

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nothing that we have not read in the works of the scholars, the men of purpose, and the well equipped exiles. They write more popularly than the scholars, of course; that is to say, they garble things to suit the common taste. They stuff their long-winded manuscripts with the selfsame time-worn facts, critical banalities, small-scale learning, unrevealing revelations, and hearsay conjectures. There was perhaps a need for one good correspondent's book a year—Mr. Shirer's in 1941 and Howard K. Smith's in 1942. Unfortunately all the publishers had the same idea.

Mr. Lochner, chief of the Associated Press in Berlin, begins his lengthy effort with a sort of revelation. At least, had he published it in August, 1939, it would have been slightly sensational. Mr. Lochner enjoyed the confidence of a highly placed informant. A week before Hitler's invasion of Poland this man gave Mr. Lochner what purported to be a three-page report of a speech delivered by Hitler to his generals on August 22, 1939. This document, which contained a rough outline of Hitler's projected campaigns, was taken by Mr. Lochner to the American embassy, which refused to accept it because it was dynamite. Later his informant told the A. P.'s chief the exact zero hour of the assault on Crete. Having thus suggested that he really was in the know, Mr. Lochner then lets us down. Chiefly he rewrites his articles. For the rest he does little more than arrange his informational bric-a-brac around the central idea that we are fighting a powerful and unscrupulous enemy who does not respect democracy. If you are in any doubt about this truth and think one more book may help you, Mr. Lochner's will do.

Or, spurning the A. P., you might favor the United Press. "This Is the Enemy" has been compiled by the five members of the U. P.'s Berlin staff. It is a better book than the A. P.'s, being briefer and better written and having less of personal reaction in it. It contains among other things a fairly useful account of German military technique and perhaps fifty new facts that will make your cocktail partner nod his head in acceptance. But it is very uneven and sometimes infuriating. Hitler's sweetheart was a lass named Eva Braun, God bless her. One of the U. P.'s men "learned on reliable authority that Hitler contemplated marrying" this Braun girl. The same foreign correspondent tells us that he doesn't know why Hitler did not do so. "Perhaps," the foreign correspondent suggests, "the opening up of new vistas in his 'historic mission' during these momentous years relegated marriage to its position of previous unimportance in his plans." There's prose for you—all to say the so-and-so reneged and went off to bomb Warsaw.

Then Mr. Riess. Mr. Riess is an anti-fascist exile. I accept his politics and reject his book. The central theme of "The Self-Betrayed" is that the German generals, in dealing with Hitler, have betrayed their caste. It is thus at oblique variance with Mr. Fried's scholarly and documented "Guilt of the German Army." Much of the material of the present book can be obtained elsewhere and is beyond question. But Mr. Riess's specialty is revelation. "The Self-Betrayed" is crammed with sensational accounts of private conversations and conspiracies between leading Nazis and soldiers of the Third Reich, reported as if Mr. Riess or his informants had been eyewitnesses. He provides "factual" explana-



tions of a quite Alexandrine complexity, set down with the finality of the "Cambridge Modern History." He will give you an inside version of the Blomberg affair, with the complete history of the movements and private thoughts of the participants, or he will recount the very details of an alleged plot, headed by Von Runstedt, to overthrow Hitler. Mr. Riess even knows the names of the S. S. officers who called on Reichenau half an hour before his mysterious death.

It is best to be frank. Mr. Riess may believe what his contacts tell him, but for my part I believe about one word of it. Obviously, Mr. Riess's informants are so close to the works that they ought to be able to tell us where Hitler will strike next. Whether it is believable or not, however, its verbosity, absence of logical order, and lack of selective discretion make the book a rococo horror for this reader. One admits that there is some diversion in it. The author is good on the love life of the insects. Former Big Shot Alfred Rosenberg plotted against the Soviet Union with the Ukrainian basileisk Skoropadsky and with certain hyphenated Red Army generals. Every time Producer Rosenberg and Director Skoropadsky went into a huddle over their invasion story, Herr Rosenberg's beautiful and brilliant mistress, Veta Schuster, was present, by permission of Warner Brothers. Too bad for Alfred! Mr. Riess will tell you why: "Intelligence officers of a Western power found out that Vera Schuster was an agent of the OGPU and had kept Moscow informed of everything Rosenberg and Skoropadsky were planning." Sure, that's what he says! I agree with the Hays office.

RALPH BATES

## The American Color

**CURRIER & IVES: PRINTMAKERS TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.** By Harry T. Peters. Doubleday, Doran and Company. \$5.

THE Currier and Ives prints represent the transition from the handicrafts to industrialism in popular graphic art, being the equivalent, perhaps, of the player-piano in music. They were run off in black and white from single stones on hand-operated presses and were colored by hand by a "staff of about twelve young women, all trained colorists and mostly of German descent. They worked at long tables from a model set up in the middle of the table. . . . Each colorist applied only one color, and when she had finished, passed the print on to the next worker, and so on until it was fully colored." A factor that shortened the career of the firm of Currier and Ives was its reluctance to adopt chromolithography, by which the print is colored directly from the block, until almost thirty years after its introduction into this country.

The text Mr. Peters supplies to his beautifully made book gives this information and much more—and excuses the apparent defects of some of the color plates: hand-coloring accounts for the discrepancies between different copies of the same print. Mr. Peters makes little attempt to discuss the aesthetic value of the prints, implying somehow, in spite of his love of them, that they are beneath it. That is a question. Anyhow, it is time someone examined the nineteenth-century mind through them, noting what an appeal to the

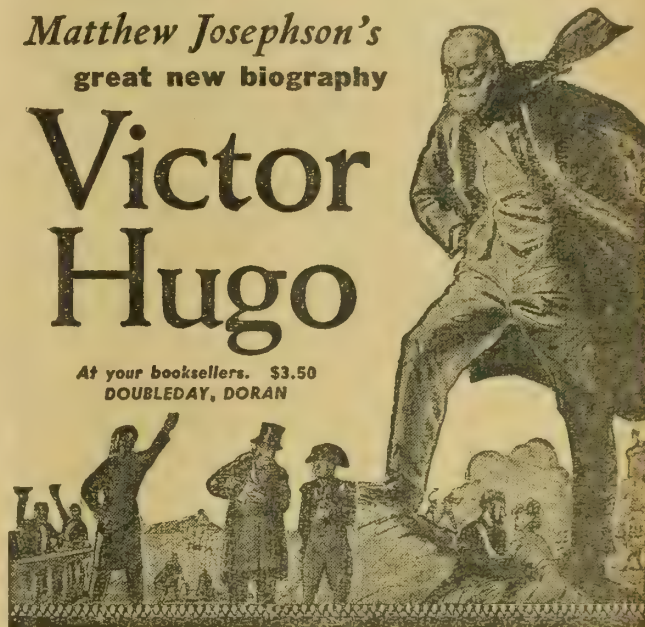
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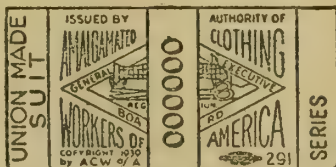
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The new Archbishop of Canterbury was appointed by Prime Minister Winston Churchill against the wishes of Tory reactionaries in Britain. A huge audience in the Albert Hall, London, heard the Archbishop declare for transference of taxes from productive equipment to ground values. (See *Christian Century*, October 7, 1942.) Churchill himself, in a volume recently issued in New York, says: "Who could have thought that it would be easier to produce by toil and skill all the most necessary or desirable commodities than it is to find consumers for them? It is certain that the economic problem with which we are now confronted is not adequately solved, indeed is not solved at all, by the teachings of the textbooks, however grand may be their logic, however illustrious may be their authority." Churchill is also for the taxation of ground rental values.

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American imagination the railroad once made and how sex managed to get into pictures of slaves being branded, sailors making rescues at sea, and anything in general combining violence with women.

The work of some of the most respected American painters of the time was reproduced by Currier and Ives, but it seems dull compared to the run-of-the-mill prints designed by the firm's staff artists. The latter may have been a little awkward or naive, but their product was almost always lively. Where the academicist, like Eastman Johnson, muffled recesses in shadow and dwelt upon the texture of a barn door, the staff illustrator put in additional details of interest and information or executed a neat decorative passage. Also the reviewer finds the stars of the Currier and Ives staff, such as the English-born sporting artist Arthur Fitzwilliam Tait, less stimulating than those who had practically the status of hacks, like Fanny Palmer, also English-born. Her want of the finish which Tait had was more than compensated for by her candor and her strong feeling for composition in depth. She specialized in landscape, panorama, and scenic effects, and filled in backgrounds and color in pictures by other artists. I never tire of admiring, in her famous "Rocky Mountains: Emigrants Crossing the Plains," the recession leading from the stream and tree in the right foreground corner through the groups of trees and winding of the stream in the middle distance to the cliffs and peaks in the farthest center background. The features of the landscape are largely imaginary, as Mrs. Palmer never saw the Rocky Mountains. It is too bad that the particular copy of this print reproduced in the book is so crudely colored.

Hardly anything is presumed to be more typically American than the Currier and Ives prints; yet of the six artists responsible for most of the better-known ones, only two were born here: Thomas Worth, cartoonist and limner of race horses, and George Henry Durrie, who so affectionately described New England farm life. Three of the four others—Tait, Mrs. Palmer, and Charles Parsons, the marine specialist—were born in England, where the first two lived until they were adults; while Louis Maurer, centenarian painter of horses and outdoor life and the father of the artist Alfred Maurer, was born and raised in Rhenish Germany. The good majority, too, of the principal lithographers of Currier and Ives were born abroad. The definitely American stamp of the work of these immigrants is to be explained, it seems, by the power of American environment to change quickly anything that comes within it. Not that it possesses this power any more than any other environment, but it is surprising that, never having had and still not having a marked national style, our country should have been able at all to distill such a pervasive and stubborn color of its own. There is nothing in the Currier and Ives prints which cannot be found, conceivably, in English, German, and French traditions of popular illustration; yet almost every one has a tone, a tempering, a shading, or a grain—sometimes no more than a hint—that is enough, quite apart from its subject matter, to distinguish it as American.

The prints were popular in Europe. One wonders how they were regarded there. Were they quaint and exotic in their *gaucherie*, or were they the latest bit of progress from America? Paradoxical as it may seem, there is something



glossy and packaged about them. After all, their mode of production was rationalized as far as possible, and the result was arranged and corrected with a view to its sales appeal to a public whose interest in art pertained only to incidentals.

CLEMENT GREENBERG

## The House of Fureno

**THE THREE BAMBOOS.** By Robert Standish. The Macmillan Company. \$2.75.

THE peoples of Europe have written about each other with sympathy, assurance, and perception for many years. When Frenchmen and Germans appear in our literature, they are not caricatures unless caricature is intended. But very little is written about the Orient in which the Oriental appears as a human being sympathetically understood and snugly fitted into an environment known to the reader. "The Three Bamboos" is one of the first novels about Japan which draws an acceptable picture of Japanese character and stems from a firm understanding of the economic and social environment of modern Japan.

"The Three Bamboos"—the title is taken from the sign of the House of Fureno—is based upon an important phenomenon in the rise of modern Japan—the growth of a financial oligarchy. The book might be a description of the rise of the House of Mitsui or Mitsubishi. It begins with the pre-Meiji period and shows how complicated were the factors bringing about the revolution. The elder Fureno is merely anti-Takugawa. He leads his sons in the pirating of a Takugawa treasure ship out of feudal ambitions; but the sons he sends abroad with this wealth to learn the secrets of the West return to Japan with other ambitions. From this very time begins the conflict between the older Samurai traditions of Japan, as represented in the novel by the elder Fureno, and the capitalist instincts of the great houses which together form the financial oligarchy. The invention of *bushido*, a doctrine which consolidates a position of considerable ambiguity, helps the capitalist-minded generals and the military-minded capitalists to bridge the gap between old and new Japan.

A good story, rapidly and subtly told, works out in the private lives of eminent Japanese the basic conflicts of Japanese society. This is a historical novel in the best sense of the word.

Against a strong structural background Mr. Standish can use quite safely those elements in Japanese life—ultra-nationalist societies, and secret assassination—which in the hands of others are often little more than melodrama. He keeps his feet on solid ground.

It would be a mortal error to assume that the Japanese are entirely vile, for nothing entirely vile could have survived, untouched by other influences for several thousand years. No creature that is brave is wholly bad. Common fairness, furthermore, demands that one admit that much of the vileness of modern Japan is of Western origin. That the Japanese seized it avidly is also beyond dispute.

As far as history goes, Mr. Standish begins much better than he ends. The destruction of the Furenos in a bomber at Pearl Harbor is artistically fitting. But the historian might well wonder whether, as Mr. Standish represents, the finan-

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cial oligarchy swallowed the military, or whether it was swallowed by the military. Assassination, used so skilfully by the last of the Furens against some of the older representatives of the Samurai tradition, was a weapon widely used by the new military against the financial oligarchy. Mr. Standish in his last chapters is truer to his characters than to history, but that perhaps is merely one of the difficulties of writing a historical novel.

Mr. Standish deserves high praise for writing an exciting story from such an eminently sane and objective point of view. He has contributed in this novel to our understanding of the Japanese ruling class. He has given little comfort to those who insist on making no distinction between that ruling class and the impoverished, exploited peasantry of the Island Empire.

GEORGE E. TAYLOR

## American Letters: A Restricted View

*AMERICAN HARVEST: TWENTY YEARS OF CREATIVE WRITING IN THE UNITED STATES.*

Edited by Allen Tate and John Peale Bishop. L. B. Fischer. \$3.50.

IN PUTTING this anthology together, Mr. Tate and Mr. Bishop are prepared to show that American writing between 1920 and 1940 constitutes—as it never did in any previous period, even when there were a few giants in the land—a real literature. A literature in the French sense of the word, they punctiliously add, which means in translation that between 1920 and 1940 enough serious-minded writers learned their trade to produce a real body of sound and accomplished writing. That some such thing is true almost no one would deny, though perhaps many people would offer somewhat different proof, and perhaps most people would feel that complete proof is impossible in an anthology restricted to the shorter forms of writing. A real literature, even on its technical side, must reveal a mastery of larger forms and more complex artistic problems than anything offered here. If it is to be more than a purely minor art, it must show a certain size and sustaining power as well as a certain skill.

I would not labor the matter if I didn't suspect that for Mr. Tate and Mr. Bishop a literature does tend to exist simply on the basis of skill. Mr. Tate and Mr. Bishop are among those American critics whose standards of judgment are severely aesthetic, who see literature as art or nothing, and who not only care passionately about form and craftsmanship, but refuse the name of literature to whatever does not have them. The extremism of their point of view is salutary and even valuable in a nation whose critics have for too long a time been over-concerned with mere content, or with the sociological and psychological implications of that content. Mr. Tate and Mr. Bishop are not interested in writing for what is tendentious or personally revealing about it, or for what is produced as a convulsive necessity of the *Zeitgeist*. They are interested in writing as an art—as a thing that endures when the conditions it arose out of have disappeared from view. In an absolute sense, they are of course dead right; in any relative sense, the matter is perhaps more debatable. For in any body of literature that is not wholly

first-rate—and few bodies are—it too often becomes necessary to choose between form without sufficient content and content without sufficient form. The choice, as a personal decision, will doubtless be a matter of temperament and taste; but as a critical one it may be influenced by the need to restore a balance. Certainly we have had enough of literature in the raw to feel that there is something special to be said, right now, for literature *sous cloche*.

But too much can be said for it, and I think that too much is said for it in the present anthology. "American Harvest," with its few lapses from skill and its many examples of adroitness, is proof enough of America's artistic coming-of-age. But it does not strike me as a wholly adequate or sufficiently rounded representation of the literature produced in America between 1920 and 1940. The omission of certain writers—and not merely Dreiser, Sinclair Lewis, and James Farrell, but equally Scott Fitzgerald, John O'Hara, Elizabeth Roberts, Ellen Glasgow, and, among the poets, Elinor Wylie—is decidedly worthy of comment; but it is more important that by no means all the included writers are represented by their most vital work; while it is most important of all that "American Harvest" is too single in tone and minor in tone, and falls short of that maturity of feeling and depth of insight that release literature, when it has done its job, back into life. Much, very much, of the prose in this book deals, for example, with nostalgic themes—the nostalgia for childhood, youth, far places, home: and even as we realize that there is no more natural or charming or fruitful impulse for art, we know too that there is none more facile or, at times, more escapist. The editors, in their introduction, have laid down a kind of critical canon, but the anthology itself, like almost all anthologies, is no more than a reflection of their taste. If it is very good taste, it is also very restricted. What we gain from its being fastidious we lose from its not being robust.

Much in "American Harvest" is, understandably, well known: such good stories as Hemingway's *The Undeclared*, Conrad Aiken's *Secret Snow*, Silent Snow, Lardner's *Haircut*, Katharine Anne Porter's *Flowering Judas*; such good essays as Edmund Wilson's *The Ambiguity of Henry James* and Eliot's *Tradition and the Individual Talent*. There are equally well-known things, like Faulkner's brilliant but tricky *A Rose for Emily*, which are less satisfactory; and some not well-known things, like Caroline Gordon's *The Captive*, which rank with the finest work in the book. The selections from Sherwood Anderson, Erskine Caldwell, and Willa Cather are particularly weak; and not all the poets are represented at their best or in the right proportions. But there is not a great deal to cavil at within the limits of the compilers' taste; it is rather those limits themselves that reduce the importance of the book, turning, as they do, the field of American literature, not to be sure into a hothouse, but into too trim and pretty a garden.

The book has also been published in Spanish and Portuguese for wide distribution in South America. It should make a popular missionary—one who woos the natives with beads rather than Bibles.

LOUIS KRONENBERGER

[Several reviews and a poem scheduled for this number but unavoidably omitted will appear in early issues of *The Nation*.]



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## DRAMA

### Philemon on Main Street

**T**HERE are, I am sure, a great many people who do not under any circumstances want to see a play about a man who planted himself in his own back yard and grew there into a very handsome tree.

A few of these people, namely, those whose taste was formed during the nineteen-thirties, will no doubt base their lack of interest on the fact that the hero of such a tale must be, as he actually is, an escapist of the most abandoned description and therefore outside the range of human sympathy. They may even go so far as to point out that the dendroid tendencies of Philemon and his spouse were involuntary rather than the result of any deliberate nay-saying to life; that even Daphne, though she was undoubtedly escaping from something, was nevertheless not an escapist in the technical sense of the word; and that a modern who deliberately plants himself is setting a very bad example to an age trying to develop a social conscience. An even larger group will, I suspect, base its

determination to stay away from "Mr. Sycamore" (Guild Theater) on rationalistic rather than moral grounds. The old saying that what is too silly to be said on the stage is sung, is, they will maintain, not strictly true. Sometimes it isn't even set to music. Instead, it is simply labeled "a Fantasia."

With either of these groups it is obviously not worth while to discuss the present play. Their members take their stand on the unassailable declaration "Even if it were good I wouldn't like it"; and I confess that their point of view can be understood. I myself approached the evening with considerable misgiving. Indeed, I am not even certain that a man who actually saw "Mr. Sycamore" and still remained unimpressed would completely forfeit my love and respect. But I did, nevertheless, find the play quite delightful in its own way, and I think that it can be recommended with some confidence to all not too firmly convinced in advance that they could not possibly like it.

Both the action and the theme of the piece are precisely those which this outline would suggest, and there is no pseudo-profundity, no attempt, after the manner of Russo-German non-realistic

plays, to imply some weighty significance that isn't there. Neither, for that matter, has either the author of the original short story or the author of the very skilful dramatization attempted to equal Mr. Saroyan's romantic arabesques. Instead, they have told quite simply the story of a village postman who is weary both of his own endless peregrinations and of the strife which seems to dominate the village almost as hopelessly as it does the international scene. Having always admired the peaceful, contemplative existence of trees and having heard from the village poetess about the sort of thing which seems to have been fairly frequent in Greece, he decides that what the ancients could do ought not to be beyond him. Despite the derision of his neighbors, he stands in a hole in his own back yard until the roots begin to sprout and the leafy twigs emerge from the ends of his fingers. When we last see him he is spreading his protective branches over his loving wife, who is seated, as he hoped she would be, beneath them. And when she inquires concerning his happiness, he shakes his leaves in a most contented fashion.

The overtones of satire and irony are pleasantly struck without being pretentious, labored, or in any way overdone, with the result that the play goes off in the pleasantest fashion imaginable. On the whole, the tendency is to emphasize the fun; the sentiment, which might easily have been mawkish, is very discreetly underplayed, with plenty of attention to the skeptical village wits who make the inevitable jokes about the danger of termites and the indignities likely to be offered by wandering dogs. Instead of striving to make the whole credible by subdued lighting, either literally or metaphorically, action is made to take place in plain daylight, and we believe as much as we need to because everything is so concrete and so matter of fact. The result demonstrates once again that nine times out of ten the method of Defoe works better than the method of Maeterlinck and that nothing is more likely to make us doubt than too obvious an effort to be eerie and portentous. Add to the good writing equally good directing and acting, all harmoniously in the same key, and you get a production which is obviously not "important" but very agreeable indeed. Stuart Erwin plays the postman with exactly the right mixture of gentle stubbornness and single-minded faith. Lillian Gish is also excellent as the loving wife who begins

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by being greatly concerned lest her husband catch his death of cold and ends by deciding, as good wives should, that though men want strange things they ought, once it is clearly established that they do want them, to be helped toward even the strangest of goals.

Somewhat belatedly I should report that "The Damask Cheek" (The Playhouse) is a thoroughly artificial but literate comedy about how an admirable but unobtrusive woman had to maneuver before she could attract the attention of a man back in 1909—though I must say that the time was not, so far as I can remember, quite such an age of innocence as it is here represented. The authors, John Van Druten and Lloyd Morris, handle the story well, and so does a cast in which the accomplished Flora Robson is the star. "The Damask Cheek" is not going to tax anyone's mind and neither is it going to raise anyone's blood pressure, but it furnishes an agreeable evening.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

## MUSIC

WHEREAS Mussorgsky's "Boris Godunov" was a completely achieved masterpiece which nobody had any right to tamper with in the ways that Rimsky-Korsakov and now Shostakovich have tampered with it, his "Fair at Sorochinsk" was left a collection of sketches and composed fragments which had to be filled out into some complete form before it could be given on the stage. For the New Opera Company's production the conductor Emil Cooper has combined part of the Tcherepnine version with material of his own composed on themes by Mussorgsky; and the result sounds as though it had been done by Rimsky-Korsakov—which is to say that the music is individual and beautiful and moving in the way that even Rimsky's revision of Mussorgsky's music is, though not in the way that Mussorgsky's original is. As for the production, excellent conducting and staging achieve an over-all style which creates musico-dramatic illusion and impressiveness where these might have been destroyed by the youthful appearance, the unauthoritative presence and movement of most of the singers, and by the English words that clash with the music when they are intelligible.

Offenbach's "Vie parisienne," the company's greatest success last year, suffers this year from lack of precision and assurance in the performance of the

music, and from several disadvantageous changes in cast: Paul Reed works ten times as hard as George Rasely, in the role of the trainer, to achieve one-tenth of the humor; the engagingly youthful Hugh Thompson plays the elderly father with the insufficient help of a little cornstarch and a mustache. What saves the production is the staging, which in the Café Anglais scene is nothing less than brilliant.

"The Fair at Sorochinsk" was preceded, after the opening night, by Balanchine's "Ballet Imperial," one of the works that he created for the South American tour of the American Ballet in 1941. It is composed to the music of Tchaikovsky's Piano Concerto No. 2, which I have not heard since Yolanda Mero played it in the early twenties, but which is vastly superior to the popular Concerto No. 1, and is in fact one of Tchaikovsky's best works. And Balanchine's choreography is a superb illustration of what Lincoln Kirstein—who has written so discerningly about Balanchine—describes as "his mastery of the poetry of dance pattern in a symphonic form. I do not mean by his utilizing the symphonies of Brahms or Tchaikovsky, but in his orchestrating dancers to move in his given space, as sounds exist in their given time in a symphony." But this orchestrating of movement in space produces textures and patterns of constantly moving points, lines, groups that are highly complex and not easily followed even when executed with precision. And in these performances they were executed by an insufficiently trained or rehearsed group with lack of precision that smudged what needed to be clean and sharp.

Schnabel's first New York appearance of the season was made in a recital at the Frick Collection. There was no mistaking the fact that a great musician

was playing, even though there was no mistaking the fact also that much of the time he was playing badly—with over-emphasis that was hard on the ear and the mind in so small a room, and occasionally with a curious loss of rhythmic control that sent the music skidding for a few measures. I am speaking of what happened in the performances of Beethoven's Sonata Op. 7 and the Mozart A minor; but in Mozart's D major (K. 576) there were the poised clarity and sharpness of outline, the coherent proportions of Schnabel's playing at its best; and even with its excesses the performance of Beethoven's Op. 109 retained its greatness as an interpretive achievement.

On December 6 Webster Aitken will play Bach's "Goldberg" Variations at the Frick Collection; on January 3 the Budapest Quartet is to play. The first hour of the concerts is broadcast by WNYC. Also, on November 28 and December 12 at Town Hall Kurt Applebaum, in whose playing one hears the operation of a first-rate musical intelligence, will give the remaining two of his series of recitals of Beethoven sonatas. I did not like the over-emphasis and plastic distortion of his performance of Op. 57 at the first recital; but the performances of Op. 14 No. 1 and Op. 78 were those of a man whom you would do well to hear.

Columbia's December list offers the long-awaited set (526, \$4.73) of Mozart's great G minor Quintet for strings performed by the Budapest Quartet and M. Katims. The performance is a superb statement of the work in living sound; but as reproduced by the records the sound is muffled in its lower and middle range, and nasal and cutting in its upper range.

B. H. HAGGIN

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# Letters to the Editors

## England and Russia

### After the War

*Dear Sirs:* May I add a note to Ralph Bates's review of "Europe, Russia, and the Future" by G. D. H. Cole? Cole starts from the assumption that after Hitler's defeat a return to the old status quo in Europe will be impossible, since the revolutions after this war will be much more widespread than they were after the First World War. I agree that there can be no return to the status quo, but it will be chiefly because instead of four great powers in Europe—Germany, Italy, France, and Soviet Russia—there will be but one, Soviet Russia. English foreign policy before the First World War and in the period between the two wars was directed toward maintaining the balance of power in Europe. Hitler destroyed this balance, but his defeat will not mean that it can be restored. England will be unable to take up its former role because there will be no approximately equal forces in balance. Soviet Russia will be the sole great power in continental Europe.

Whatever developments may take place later, Germany at first will be disarmed and occupied, and it will have no voice in Europe's affairs. Italy is neither militarily nor industrially a great power—if further proof were needed this war has furnished it—and in an age of mass-production it cannot become one. France is now only a medium-great power; by a process that has been going on for a generation it has lost its position of hegemony.

Before the war the population of the Soviet Union was 170,000,000; the annexation of parts of Poland and Rumania brought it up to 200,000,000. Other states with predominantly Slav populations will be drawn into the Russian orbit after the collapse of Nazi Germany. Agrarian revolutions may be expected all over Eastern Europe and the Balkans, and the regimes subsequently set up will be more strongly inclined toward the Soviet regime than toward any other in Europe. Half the people of the Continent, a Continent without any other leading power, will be in Soviet Russia. This fact, according to Cole, will determine Europe's future development. (In view of this fact it is extremely important, though it may not be decisive, that the Soviet Union at the

present time is placing greater emphasis on nationalism than on socialism, or revolution, and that immediately after the war it will have its hands full feeding its people and repairing the worst of the war's ravages.)

Moreover, the position of England, independent of European developments, will be fundamentally changed. Before the First World War England's foreign investments were as large as those of the rest of the world put together. After the war it was still a creditor country, but it shared its position with the United States. After the present war England will probably have lost most of its foreign investments, and the United States will be the leading capitalist power in the world. Further, whatever India's status during the war, its independence cannot be held up for long after the war is over. Thus England, having lost the greater part of its foreign investments and having learned that it cannot continue its colonial imperialism, will stand before two possible courses: it must become more than ever a European power, or it must play second fiddle in an American-English alliance.

To what extent the future of Europe will be determined by American-English interference is a question Cole leaves open. In England, he emphasizes, all positions of real power will still be in the hands of the Tories. It is significant that though Labor holds many Cabinet posts, no representative of the party accompanied Churchill to either Washington or Moscow. The party lacks, he believes, the unconquerable will to power—and he may be right. Perhaps this will develop only after the war, when the great dislocations in the whole English body politic become more visible than they are today.

But even if the Labor Party is not now a decisive political force in England, its weight may turn the scales when Continental issues are to be decided. Before and after the First World War the party was certainly weaker than it is today, but even then it was strong enough more than once to block intervention against the Soviet Union. Perhaps after the Second World War English Labor will play the same role in relation to Europe that it played in relation to Russia after the First.

FRITZ STERNBERG

Washington, November 12

## A Fear Well Founded

*Dear Sirs:* I opened your issue which reached me last Friday with a curious interest to see whether you, unlike most of the other critics of the State Department's Vichy policy, had been frank enough to admit that the American and British offensive in Northwest Africa had proved that you had been mistaken and the department amply justified. But I found no such admission; on the contrary, I read your shrewish attempts to defend your attacks on the department and your somewhat imperious warnings to Mr. Hull and his associates that they should follow your recommendations in their attitude toward the Fighting French movement.

And now that General Eisenhower, doubtless for military reasons which are convincing to him and his superiors, has recognized Admiral Darlan's authority in French North Africa, we can, I fear, anticipate a new campaign by *The Nation* against Mr. Hull and his colleagues. I venture to suggest that aspersions on the motives of members of the State Department are unworthy of *The Nation*. JAMES G. McDONALD  
New York, November 19

## Write to George Norris!

*Dear Sirs:* The unwarranted defeat of Senator George W. Norris at the polls in Nebraska is cause for sorrow on the part of every liberal in America. His post-election statement indicates that he believes his defeat to be a repudiation of his forty years of public service.

George Norris has given his whole life to fighting privilege, bossism, and corruption. Whenever civil liberties were abrogated or minority rights threatened, the friends of liberty always could depend upon the Senator from Nebraska. From the beginning of his long career in Congress to the hour of his defeat, he was a foe of reaction and retained a youthful zeal for political and economic reform. Party lines never affected his determination to serve the people according to the dictates of his own mind and conscience.

Every liberal in America should write a letter to Senator Norris expressing gratitude for his long years of devotion to the very highest ideals of public service. J. OWEN GRUNDY

Jersey City, N. J., November 16



# THE *Nation*

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## *The Shape of Things*

A MAJOR CABINET SHUFFLE, THE FIRST IN ten years of Roosevelt's Administration, is at least a possibility as we go to press. The plan calls for Secretary of the Interior Ickes to head a revitalized Labor Department, enlarged by the inclusion of the man-power program within its jurisdiction. With the disappearance of the independent War Manpower Commission, Paul V. McNutt would succeed Ickes in the Interior Department and Frances Perkins would take over the Federal Security Administration. The two main divisions of organized labor, as well as the chairmen of the five Congressional committees working on man-power legislation, support the proposed shift, which would satisfactorily settle a number of pressing problems. The man-power program should from the start have had the advantages of an established agency headed by an official of Cabinet rank. The President obviously did not feel that Secretary Perkins could cope with the task—one of the most exacting in the whole war effort—and improvised the new agency out of sheer reluctance to part with her services. This duplication in agencies has become a common device in Washington, and while it has its diplomatic uses it does not make for administrative efficiency. If the man-power program is to be rescued from the threat of military control, and if it is to be conducted with an eye to its far-reaching social implications, it should be headed by a Cabinet member who is also a fighter, a thinker, and a good administrator. Harold Ickes answers the specifications better than any other man in Washington. If necessary, he should be drafted.

★

THE UNITED NATIONS ARE ENJOYING THE refreshing experience of offensive action on all fronts, but optimism is only justified so long as it acts as a spur to greater effort. In Russia the ability of the Red Army to seize the initiative in two widely separated sectors, after standing up to heavy punishment all the summer, is truly impressive. It must be remembered, however, that the elasticity of defense afforded by the vast Russian spaces is now benefiting the Germans, and that recapture of territory is not decisive in itself. To some extent the advances of the Red Army may have been facilitated



by Nazi withdrawals to prepared winter positions. Last year's bitter experiences have probably enabled the Germans to make better preparations for sub-zero warfare this time, and the Red Army is likely to find itself tested by a perfected "porcupine" defense system. On the other hand, this year Hitler has another front to worry about—a front, too, making heavy demands on his air transport, which played so important a part on the eastern front last winter. Reports from Africa are encouraging, but again the achievement of immediate objectives will not necessarily produce decisive effects. Tunis may well have fallen by the time this issue appears; Bizerte will almost certainly prove a tougher nut to crack. And while the Axis forces fight a delaying action there we must expect Hitler to make an effort to regain the initiative. Where is he likely to strike? A winter campaign in Turkey seems improbable; an air-borne attack on Syria would require a heavy drain on the overworked *Luftwaffe*. The omens, therefore, point toward Spain, torn between its fascist obligations and its fears of Allied victory.

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WITH THE SHIFT IN THE TIDE OF BATTLE have come the first responsible, if tentative, gropings toward the peace. In Toronto Wendell Willkie hurled the challenge: "We cannot fight this war in silence, whatever our experts say. Because if we fight in silence, those same experts in the end, even winning the war, win nothing but blood and ashes." And in London Winston Churchill picked up the gage: "Certainly the most painful experiences would lie before us . . . if we fell to quarreling about what we should do with our victory before that victory had been won." But these were only the outside limits of the debaters' respective positions. Within them the protagonists edged cautiously toward an area of compromise. Willkie conceded the existence of "details which cannot be judiciously worked out under the pressure of war," and asked only that we "know what our line of solution will be." This seems to us a far greater concession than Mr. Churchill's. The British Prime Minister merely hazarded the guess that the war in Europe would come to an end before the war in Asia and suggested that while Britain and the United States then proceeded to finish off Japan, they could at the same time, and in conjunction with the other United Nations, be "shaping the international instruments and national settlements" of a free Europe. We are glad to hear Mr. Churchill use such terminology, at least with respect to Europe, but presumably he would leave the shaping of instruments and settlements for a free Asia until the end of the struggle against Japan. In that case peace plans for both Asia and Europe would have waited on the cessation of hostilities. We believe with Mr. Willkie that we can win in the future peace only what we consciously set out to win in the war. We hope President Roosevelt

shares this view and that he will not much longer allow himself to be outdistanced by his Republican critic in this vital area of discussion.

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IF CHURCHILL'S SPEECH HEDGED ON THE peace, it was both ringing and realistic with regard to the war. For anyone who is inclined to sit back and breathe easy we prescribe the sentence: "I know of nothing that has happened yet which justifies the hope that the war will not be long or that bitter and bloody years do not lie ahead." Despite this brake on runaway optimism, the speech was buoyant in tone and frank in its outline of things to come. Africa is not to be regarded as a stable front, but merely as a "springboard." Italy is to feel the full brunt of the United Nations' air power, which already far exceeds that of the Axis—unless its people contrive to rid themselves of the regime that has brought them only "measureless calamities." What has already happened to Genoa, Turin, and Milan "is only a foretaste." Even while Churchill spoke, Turin was being blasted by four-ton bombs and a hundred thousand incendiaries. Nevertheless, Italy's elimination from the war would seem to be a long way off, not because of what the Italian radio describes as the "stoic calm" of its people, but because Italy is already an occupied country. Since November 15 five German divisions have streamed through the Brenner Pass, and the total strength of the occupying force is now reliably estimated at 300,000 men, not counting some 90,000 Gestapo agents and civil administrators.

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THE PRESIDENT'S REQUEST FOR EMERGENCY powers to suspend any provisions of the tariff and immigration acts that interfere with effective prosecution of the war has met with unjustifiable delay in both the House and the Senate. No one seems to question the necessity for prompt action in giving the President power to conclude special trade agreements with Latin America to speed the delivery of vital war materials or in cutting down the red tape in admitting foreign troops or persons engaged in behind-the-lines activities against the Axis in Europe, Asia, or Africa. But there is a substantial minority in Congress which is opposed to giving the Chief Executive additional war-time powers as a matter of "principle," regardless of the war. *Newsweek* points out, moreover, that behind the scenes "the ugly truth is that anti-Semitism was a definite factor in the bitter opposition to the President's request." Some House members have expressed fear of a large influx of refugees from Europe. It is unlikely that the President, in view of the State Department's notorious reluctance to facilitate the escape of European refugees, has any intention of pushing the door wide open, but it would be folly not to avail ourselves of the knowledge and experience of the



men and women who have risked their lives fighting Hitler within Europe, and it would be inhuman not to give them sanctuary.

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WE BELIEVE THAT CIVILIAN CONTROL OF the war program must be maintained for sound social reasons as well as for reasons of efficiency; but the civilians who run war-production agencies must inspire confidence, and we find it easy to understand why the armed forces are hostile to the WPB under Donald M. Nelson. Like its predecessors, the WPB has never had any real influence over procurement, although there were areas in which it had both power and responsibility—in the curtailment of civilian output, conversion to war production, and the rationalization of production to insure maximum results—and in each of these fields the steps taken by the WPB were belated and inadequate. The record of the armed services in their own sphere is no better. The bungling of priorities by the Army and Navy Munitions Board is one example of their inefficiency; another is the chaotic situation in production scheduling. The armed services ought not to be burdened with the problems of industrial mobilization. But they will be doubly reluctant to give up their powers over procurement until we have civilian agencies that can deliver the goods. The struggle between military and civilian agencies dramatizes the need for passage of the Pepper-Tolan-Kilgore War Mobilization bill. Nelson may swing to support of the bill in the hope of emerging as head of the civilian supply ministry it proposes to establish. It would be a pity if the kite of so poor a candidate were to be tied to so excellent a bill. Nelson must be supported in his attempt to establish civilian control, but the fact that he is on the right side in this dispute ought not to distract attention from the fact that in failing to do a good job he has given the military a strong argument.

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ALTHOUGH THE STATE DEPARTMENT SAID formally on November 23 that the question of Martinique and other French possessions in the Caribbean had been settled by an agreement with Admiral Georges Robert, the Martinique radio continues to send out pro-Axis propaganda. On November 26 it used a dispatch from Tangier painting this gloomy picture of the situation in Algiers following the American occupation: "Algiers finds itself in the midst of an economic, military, financial, political, and social crisis. The port is almost entirely destroyed. . . . There is no more train service. . . . The markets have no food to sell, the stores are empty. Two young naval officers were executed for an attempt to kill General Giraud. . . . Many persons have been sent to concentration camps. . . ." On the same broadcast a Bordeaux item quoted a Moslem spokesman as exposing "the leading part played by the Jews in the treason of the principal leaders who were charged with

the defense of the empire." Said he, "North Africans now turn to France for aid from a legion of patriots [Laval's African Phalanx] who will free them from the yoke of foreign domination." Will such obviously Nazi-dictated "news" continue to be broadcast to the French Antilles, Guiana, and Haiti with the tacit approval of the State Department?

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GASOLINE RATIONING HAS BECOME effective throughout the country, despite the ill-considered efforts of a Congressional minority to block it. Rubber Director Jeffers, Price Administrator Henderson, and the President deserve credit for standing firm in the face of unsavory political pressure from the anti-rationing group. Henderson in particular has been singled out for Congressional attack because he had the courage to put the country's interests ahead of short-time political considerations. The attitude of the Middle West Congressmen is difficult to understand in view of the fact that their constituents, and the American people as a whole, have accepted gasoline rationing as being in their own interest. And while a few persons may have felt that they were already being as careful as possible in the use of their tires, these same persons are likely to be pleasantly surprised at the further savings made under gasoline rationing. In the East, where the amount of gasoline available for an A coupon has recently been cut from four to three gallons, the only complaints are against loopholes that permit a small minority to abuse their privileges.

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A BRITISH SEA CAPTAIN MUST "NEVER NEVER swear with a *d*," according to the Hays office, which is seeking to purify the British moving picture "In Which We Serve," due for release shortly. Some of *The Nation's* editors have had the privilege of attending a preview of this film, and they can testify emphatically that this is a case where Mr. Hays should forget his shears. "In Which We Serve" is the story of a heroine—a British destroyer—and some 200 heroes—her crew. Although fictional in form, it is essentially a documentary picture, giving a grimly realistic account of the life of a fighting navy in which a sprinkling of the milder sailor oaths figures quite naturally. But it is ridiculous even to raise irrelevant charges of blasphemy about a work of art which, more than any other war film we have seen, provides a deep emotional experience. We associate Noel Coward, who in addition to writing the dialogue, composing the music, and directing, plays the chief role, with more frivolous themes, but on this occasion he has dedicated his technical brilliance to the service of democracy. He plays the part of the captain superbly, but his emphasis is not on the individual but on the democratically led team—the force which is going to break the totalitarian team. This picture should help to dispel the illusion fostered by our enemies that our British comrades-in-



arms are spiritless proletarians officered by simpering aristocrats. Any interference with its showing would be sabotage.

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A YEAR AND A HALF AGO THE PRESIDENT set up the Committee on Fair Employment Practices and charged it with investigating discrimination in war industries. Its authority was limited by its inability to punish offenders, but it carried the prestige of the President's name, and it did as good a job as could be expected under the circumstances. When the War Manpower Commission was created last summer, however, the CFEP was made responsible to Paul V. McNutt, who does not seem greatly interested in that phase of the manpower problem. According to A. Philip Randolph, no agency is now doing anything effective to check discrimination, which is consequently on the increase. The CFEP has had to wait four months for action to be taken on a small appropriation. And now that it has funds, it is in the difficult position of having to investigate an agency of which it is a part, since the McNutt office, or any that supersedes it, will direct employment policy for all war industry. It would seem necessary, as Mr. Randolph says, to restore the CFEP to independent status and to strengthen it.

## *France After Toulon*

SUNK beneath the waters of Toulon Harbor, along with the French navy, is a myth that bedeviled our foreign policy for more than two years—the myth that it was necessary for the United States to play ball with Vichy in order to keep the French fleet out of Hitler's hands. We know now that orders to destroy the ships rather than let them be employed to fight for the Axis were issued when France fell. It was the only order that could have been given, for if the majority of French naval officers were bitterly anti-British, the rank and file were no less anti-German. Thus the fleet could not be used by either side; it could only fight if attacked and commit suicide if its position became hopeless.

In the meantime, however, it was valuable as a phony trump card in the Vichy hand. It could be used against the Germans in an attempt to make "collaboration" a little more a matter of partnership, a little less a state of vassalage. It could be used against the British and Americans as a threat to tilt the scales of sea power in the Mediterranean against them. Once North Africa was invaded, with the support of an Allied armada strong enough to overwhelm the French fleet, the game was up. Darlan knew it and ratted. Hitler knew it and postponed his occupation of Toulon only long enough to complete his arrangements to prevent all possibilities of flight. Suicide was the only way out, and the French sailors faced that bitter fact calmly and courageously.

With its fleet sunk, its army disbanded, and the whole country occupied, the Vichy regime has lost the last shreds of legitimacy. The whole administrative structure of France is disintegrating visibly. While Laval's special police carry out the orders of the Gestapo, the army is melting away without waiting to be demobilized, and civil officials are leaving their posts. Laval stands revealed as a complete Quisling, shaking in his shoes for fear the Nazis will hold him responsible for their disappointment at Toulon. Pétain, the toothless symbol, seems more likely to be retained on his shadow throne. So long as Darlan professes to rule Africa in his name, he has some value as a political pawn whose name can be used to promote disunity and foster confusion among the French people.

Darlan's own position has perhaps been weakened by the scuttling, since his alleged influence over the fleet proved powerless to persuade it to attempt a break from Toulon. But by virtue of our support he is consolidating his hold on North Africa as head of the civil administration and chief of the French armed forces. The French have a saying that there is nothing so lasting as the provisional, and the De Gaullists' fears that Darlan will prove hard to shift if he is allowed to dig in are far from baseless.

It is reported from London that General de Gaulle himself wishes to come to Washington for a frank discussion of the whole situation. We hope that no obstacles will be put in his way and that mean attempts which are being made in some quarters to belittle his status and influence will be silenced. We are aware that De Gaulle has at times proved a prickly ally and that some of his political judgments are questionable. The fact remains that he risked all by repudiating the armistice with Germany and raising the banner of Fighting France. He has brought to our side many French colonies which have proved immensely valuable to the war effort; he has attracted to his committee representatives of all parties in France; he has become the symbol of resistance to the Axis among democratic Frenchmen everywhere. Maybe these facts do not establish his "legitimacy" in the eyes of the State Department, but his claims to represent France are certainly more valid than those of Darlan, the repudiated heir of an illegitimate sovereign.

Our action in adopting Darlan was, it is said, based entirely on military considerations and has justified itself in those terms. Perhaps so, but we do not purge that action of political significance by professing lack of interest in French politics; nor can we rid ourselves of responsibility for its results. For willy-nilly we must intervene in politics when we choose our collaborators, today in North Africa, tomorrow in Italy. By accepting Darlan's price for a cease-firing order, the weight of American support was thrown to the reactionary group he represents—to the men whose cry was "Rather Hitler



than Blum," to the small but powerful faction who sold France, hoping to keep their great possessions.

We cannot in this manner promote unity among the French; rather we insure the outbreak of civil war when the Axis is overthrown. As Walter Lippmann pointed out recently, we must be prepared "to choose correctly and swiftly, as territories are liberated, the authority which the great powers will back to restore order and negotiate the peace." In making these choices, he continues, "what we have to build on are those elements in each country who have proved by their actions that they have the character and strength to remain true to their country's institutions and to its engagements, and to have cared more for honor and loyalty and freedom than for their lives and their fortunes." If we are to adopt this farsighted principle, we shall have to find means of scuttling Darlan.

## *Is China Forgotten?*

THE recent victories in the Solomons and the gradual progress of Australian and American soldiers against the Japanese base at Buna in New Guinea have made a good many of us optimistic about the war in the Pacific. For months Japanese troops have been held to a standstill along the vast Pacific front. In the past few weeks they have been forced back. This turn in the tide in the Pacific, coupled with the dramatic developments in North Africa and Russia, have all but convinced the man on the street that victory is just around the corner.

A realistic appraisal of the situation in the Pacific is, however, by no means so encouraging. When the Allied gains in the Solomons and New Guinea, achieved after months of fighting and at great cost, are viewed in relation to the tremendous areas overrun by the Japanese in the first few months of the war, they appear wholly insignificant. At the rate that progress is being made in the island-by-island campaign of reconquest, the war could last for decades, and there would be little hope that any of us now alive would see the liberation of the Philippines. To make matters worse, the Japanese are threatening a drive on Yunnan province in southwestern China which, if successful, would cut China off completely from the rest of the United Nations and probably result in its being forced out of the war.

Most military strategists recognize that the only way that Japan can possibly be defeated is by combined land and air operations from China. Undoubtedly our own High Command shares this view. Last week a dispatch from China quoted General Chennault as declaring that preparations have been under way for such operations for months. A great new airport is said to have been prepared—possibly one of those regained from the Japanese in August—for a direct attack on Japan. But the fact

remains that China has received very little in the way of air support from the United States; the few planes sent seem to have been largely of obsolete types. There have been no reports of the delivery of Flying Fortresses or other heavy bombers, although these are the types that could most easily be sent in from India. The remarkable achievements of the Flying Tigers and their successors in the American air force show what might be done if planes were rushed to China as they were to Australia or the Solomons. That they have not been sent on anything like a comparable scale cannot be attributed to the lack of importance of the Chinese front. Nor can it be blamed wholly on transport difficulties. Months elapsed after the outbreak of the war before the Burma road was closed. During that period planes were sent in vast numbers to almost every place but China. Moreover, many experts believe that if half the forces which were sent to Australia and New Zealand had been used in Burma, that country might have held and the transportation of supplies to China would not present the difficulties that it does today. Under the circumstances the Chinese cannot be blamed for wondering whether the color of their skin, rather than strategic considerations was the chief factor in the decision to defend Australia at the expense of China, and whether that same factor did not influence the decision to launch offensives in the Solomons and New Guinea rather than an early drive to retake Burma.

The recent arrival of Mme Chiang Kai-shek in this country is in all probability a reflection of concern over the present situation. The Chinese have long been adroit in combining politics and medical attention. Civilian morale in Free China is said to be lower than at any other time during the war. The food situation is extremely bad and has been aggravated by graft and speculation among officials. Leaders of known pro-Axis sympathies have taken advantage of the widespread disillusionment with Great Britain and the United States to press home a campaign against the pro-democratic elements within the government. It would be easy to overemphasize this trend. The situation is by no means hopeless. Cable reports indicate that the recent American naval victories in the Solomons and the successes in North Africa have had a tonic effect on Chinese public opinion. But they probably have only deepened the feeling that China is being treated as the country cousin among the United Nations. This feeling could be quickly counteracted by an offensive in Burma designed to reestablish an effective supply route between China and the Western world. But American prestige in Asia will be hopelessly shattered if we continue to devote our efforts exclusively to the recapture of a few minor Japanese bases in the South Pacific and allow our last tie with China to be severed by a Japanese offensive launched from Burma.



## Reunion Far from Vienna

IF THE farce of Otto had been invented by a master ironist it could not have exposed more effectively the dangers and confusions that lurk behind our government's appeasement policy. Just to recall the outline of the plot is to sense both its comic qualities and its sinister implications.

Our readers will remember the beginning of the story. An article by Freda Kirchwey published on October 24 disclosed the Hapsburg Archduke's plan to create a "Free" Austrian Legion to be headed by himself, and reported that informed persons believed the idea would "soon receive some sort of 'unofficial' approval in official Washington." The article went on to point out that "any indorsement of Otto—open or sub rosa—would be taken as an unfriendly act" by most of the governments-in-exile, especially those that once bore the Hapsburg yoke and including several of our fighting allies. This fact, the article concluded, is one that "should be considered by the pragmatists of the State Department before they decide on the resurrection of the Hapsburg dynasty."

Why should officials bother to deny facts which events are about to substantiate? A few days after the article appeared, a letter was addressed to its author by a busy official of high rank in Washington. Since it was marked "personal," its source will not be revealed here. Nor will the text be reproduced except for a few words which contribute to the humor and meaning of the story. Said the official, himself falling into the mood of irony: "In the same issue . . . you intimate that the State Department is backing a Hapsburg restoration! I have no objection to imaginative fiction; but circulation of it as news is rightly regarded as dishonorable." The official is known as a solemn fellow, and he may be excused for building a "restoration" out of the "resurrection" suggested by Miss Kirchwey. But since her comments were directed at the approval apparently about to be given Otto's plan for a legion, the story could hardly be dismissed as fiction.

For the plan devised by Otto and his monarchist followers *did* meet with favor in both the War and the State Department. And when the army decided to form an Austrian battalion, Otto's "military committee" was solemnly authorized in a letter from the Secretary of War to act as the official recruiting agency. That Mr. Stimson acted without any clear realization of political consequences is easy to believe. It is impossible to believe that the State Department was equally innocent. And the letter from Mr. Stimson—addressed to "Otto of Austria," as though the Archduke were, in fact, the ruler of his great-grand-uncle's unhappy empire—was approved by the State Department before it was dispatched.

The climax of the farce takes place in the Archduke's suite in Essex House in New York City. The occasion is the Pretender's birthday; he is thirty. Around him are gathered his retinue, his lesser followers, and American hangers-on of royalty in exile. There are uniforms and medals. Toasts are drunk. (Remember the grand reception in "Reunion in Vienna"?) The future has suddenly begun to look more hopeful—nearer. For Otto, who has never for a moment accepted as permanent the collapse of the empire or the loss of the throne that would have been his if war and republicanism and dictators had not stood in his way—Otto read to the assembled guests the document which was his best birthday present, the letter from Secretary of War Stimson accepting his services in building the Free Austrian battalion.

No wonder Otto's ambitions soared above the paltry handful of Austrian monarchists who might enlist at his call. The statement he gave to the press describing his plans spoke of "10,000,000 Americans of Austrian descent" from whom recruits could be drawn, a figure which clearly included Americans of Yugoslav, Polish, Czech, Slovak, Hungarian, and Rumanian descent, numbering several million human beings whose countries repudiated Otto's family forever at just about the time Otto was celebrating his sixth birthday.

Poor Mr. Stimson, in indorsing Otto, had picked up a red-hot issue that he could easily have avoided. Protests came pouring in, as we had not too cleverly foreseen. Every ministry of every recognized succession state wanted to know the reason for this official collaboration with the Austrian monarchists. Every unrecognized free group from Central and Southern Europe protested. Mr. Hull, in a press conference, said Otto was only a refugee. But the State Department's approval of the Stimson letter robbed that brush-off of its intended effect.

And the sad part of it all is that no practical purpose whatever, no higher "expediency," was served by extending favors to the Archduke. For essentially Mr. Hull is right. Otto is just a refugee. He is not a leader, for he has no popular following. He was brought up in exile and so has shared none of his country's bitter vicissitudes. He is a monarchist and the aspirant to a throne that will never be restored. He is considered a symbol of "reaction and darkness," as a Yugoslav official expressed it, by every state that emerged from the demise of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Darlan at least had influence with Vichy officials and generals in North Africa. He was supposed to have power to command the French fleet. But Otto is all liability. And any favors shown him are interpreted in just one way by democratic public opinion; they are interpreted as another and even less excusable sign that some of our responsible officials, however violently they may deny it, are irresistibly attracted to representatives of upper-class reaction—preferably with clerical leanings.



# Brass-Hat Production

BY I. F. STONE

*Washington, November 29*

**A**S THIS is being written, the undercover struggle between military and civilian agencies for control of the war program is in the open again. Before the article appears, there will have been important announcements. The fighting is on two fronts. One is man-power; the other is production scheduling. I can offer some background observations which may help the reader to judge pending changes. These observations represent the sum total of talks with many officials.

1. The problem of man-power is somewhat simpler than that of production scheduling. The armed services, through Selective Service and enlistments, have grabbed man-power recklessly. Little thought has been given to the question of deferments, which are still regarded as somehow unpatriotic, although a skilled worker may be more useful at his machine than in uniform. There has been little planned training of replacements. Selective Service must be brought under civilian control. Any solution that compromises this basic point will prove to be no solution at all.

2. The man-power chief must be fighter enough to stand up and slug it out with the armed services. He must be satisfactory to labor, for an anti-labor man-power chief would be an unbearable irritant. Secretary Ickes, who has been offered the job, fills the bill on both scores, but it is not certain that he will take it. The Department of the Interior means a great deal to him. For at least two years he has been thinking of the contribution he might make to the war effort if the department were allowed to work on ways to expand the production of all mineral raw materials.

3. The problem of materials is more important than either man-power or production scheduling. Ferdinand Eberstadt, the WPB vice-chairman in charge of materials and the army's candidate to succeed Nelson, approaches the problem as a banker approaches a receivership. He sees his task as one of cutting down claims, pro rata, to assets. The "assets" are what his materials branches tell him is the maximum possible output of steel, copper, and aluminum. Eberstadt's method is to cut the war-production program down to fit. There is some indication that the process of reduction has gone farther than necessary; trade journals are talking of more steel for civilian business while the WPB shuts down on power projects, tank arsenals, and armorplate pools. Eberstadt's basic estimates come from materials branches dominated by the big concerns and monopolies in their respective

fields. These companies are restrained in their pioneering; new methods may easily upset old investments. There is need for an independent metals and minerals administrator to develop new ways of getting more aluminum, magnesium, copper, iron, and steel. This idea is already bubbling in Congress and helps explain the reluctance of Ickes to take the labor-man-power post.

4. Production scheduling is necessary if there is to be effective control of materials. This means scheduling the output of planes, tanks, and other armament so that parts and gadgets come along the national assembly line at the right time and in the right quantities. Neither a plane nor a tank can be used until it is complete, though it may serve to pad production figures in the meantime. At the same time there is no sense in making 10,000 of one particular part of a plane if you plan to assemble only 2,000 planes. Synchronizing the flow of parts and components is not an easy job because rates of production tend to change unevenly. The British (civilian-controlled) Ministry of Supply has done an incomparably better job on this than our army.

5. Vice-Chairman C. E. Wilson, who is theoretically but not actually in charge of production, wants to take over production scheduling. Wilson is an able, progressive business man. Nelson, after many fits and starts, is backing him, but may relapse into compromise at any time. Here we have a typical civilian-military clash. What does it mean? The "military" is made up of big business men in uniform plus professional military men. The civilians are big business men plus a leavening of public servants and New Dealers. The latter combination is a little more efficient in this field than the former, and more susceptible to public pressure. From all I can learn, the armed services have been very sloppy as industrial managers, and able business men in uniform are often bulldozed by the brass hats. This is true in aircraft. In addition, in the matter of production scheduling the profit motive may run counter to efficiency in a war program. In a private business, if one produces 1,000 bumpers for only 500 cars, waste eats profit. But in a war it may be more profitable to keep on pouring out easily made gadgets and articles even though production is thereby unbalanced. The automobile industry shows this in its fondness for making trucks and jeeps. We probably have enough of both for several second fronts.

6. If the military win the production-scheduling fight, they win. If the civilians win, they still have a long way



to go. Production schedules cannot be rationalized without canceling some contracts, modifying others. But so long as the armed services sign the procurement contracts and checks, so long as the procurement power rests in their hands, theirs is the final control of war production and scheduling, whatever victories are won on paper by the civilians. This was demonstrated under the OPM when there were civilian tank and ordnance branches. Civilian and military instructions to contractors often clashed, and the latter were obeyed because the manufacturer was dependent on the military for payment and further contracts. I have recently had an opportunity to examine records which show how often the orders of the WPB's top committees and executives are ignored by its industry branches. How much more difficult for Nelson or Wilson to get their orders obeyed by men in uniform whom they have no power to reward or punish!

7. The President gave Nelson general power over procurement and production scheduling in the executive order establishing the WPB. Within a few weeks Nelson

signed these powers away and gave them back to the army. Now he wants to assume them again, but the President, though Commander-in-Chief, may hesitate fully to support him against the wishes of the armed services. For army-navy power over procurement stems from appropriation acts of Congress, and Congress might cause trouble.

8. The drift is toward further compromise. We may muddle through on the basis of the temporary improvements possible through a Cabinet shift and another patchwork agreement between military and civilian agencies. But such changes cannot provide a real overhauling of the war-production setup. The only change that will make a fundamental difference is one that will give us unity of command on the home front, co-ordinated civilian control of man-power and procurement, action to break the restrictions imposed on the output of materials by monopoly and conventional thinking, and democratic leavening of the war bureaucracy which must carry out the orders.

## *Dry Rot and New Life in Britain*

BY TOM WINTRINGHAM

*London, November 16*

THE defeat of General Rommel and the landing of American troops in North Africa will have a powerful effect on British politics. These military events set directly before us the problems of a European revolution against fascism and therefore the question of war aims, of what sort of world we are asking the people of Europe to join with us in building. Is it to be the kind of world we know—empire and unemployment, the rivalry of great monopolies and the clash of nations that will not yield any of their sovereign powers? Or is it to be a world of economic, ethnic, and educational democracy?

In my view the political struggle over these questions now released in Britain will not be resolved by British action alone; it will be resolved only if the forces leading the left in Britain link up with representatives of the peoples of America, Russia, India, and China. The United Nations can become really united only through a liberating revolution; for that revolution they need a new International.

The defeat of Rommel and the American invasion gave the British people almost their first taste of victory in this war. We might have expected as a result a feeling of satisfaction, a strengthening of the prestige of the Churchill government. In fact there are few signs of this; rather there are signs of the opposite, that a taste of

success may release the deep dissatisfaction of the bulk of the working and middle classes in this country. Any expression of that dissatisfaction in the political field has been held in check by a very real fear that disunity in Britain might lead to Hitler's victory. It is true that some of the critics of the government are silent now, or are even attempting to climb on the bandwagon. But these are critics from the conservative right or center, whose alliance with critics of the left in the House of Commons or in the press has made it difficult for the left critics to gain a national hearing or position. After Tobruk fell, in June of this year, the motion of censure for the government was moved and seconded by Tory critics of this sort, and the main feeling of the nation was that there would be no point in destroying Mr. Churchill's government only to put this motley crew in power.

Opposition to Mr. Churchill's government from individuals of the right has now largely disappeared. But if the feeling in the country is to have expression, a much stronger opposition from the left must appear. It will concern itself not only with war aims, the European revolution, Indian independence, and a closer unity of British policy with that of the other United Nations, but also with the key questions of post-war policy—nationalization, social security, and the like. This opposition from the left will face three main problems. The first is how to carry on effective political activity of any sort in a



country living under our war conditions. The second is how to get that political activity reflected in a Parliament for which no general elections are held. The third, and perhaps the most important, is how to link up with political forces outside Britain that have the same general aims.

How do we organize a political meeting in Britain now? This hall has been bombed. The next one has been taken over as a canteen for the forces. A third is occupied by auxiliary fire services and can only be used for political purposes if we can get the approval of bureaucrats whose connection with the government is close. A fourth would be available, but the restricted transport services mean that the audience would never get home—buses stop at 9 p. m. in most places now. The shortage of paper limits the use of posters or handbills to advertise our meeting; the uncertainty of war-time travel means that the speaker from London may arrive a couple of hours late. People are working three shifts and fire watching four nights a month, and they have the Home Guard and half a dozen other war activities to fill their spare time. There is practically no private motoring, and if a speaker opposed to the government manages to get a car for a speaking tour, the Tories ask ugly questions about it in Parliament.

Under these conditions normal political activity has fallen to zero. In half our towns it is almost impossible to find the Labor Party. In others there is a skeleton organization of tired old people, mainly trade unionists, supported by trade-union and cooperative funds. The Communists are alive and active, but not in opposition. Their larger meetings are held in alliance with Lord Beaverbrook or with the Ministry of Information. Their line has been one of support for the Churchill government combined with pressure to remove some of the members of that government; they have also been vociferous for the second front. But except for them there has been a blackout of progressive politics as complete as the darkening of our cities that prevents so many people from getting to committees or public meetings.

Americans, accustomed to the regular holding of elections, may find it hard to realize the British position. Our Parliament was elected more than seven years ago, in 1935, at the time of the Abyssinian war. It was elected largely on the Tory government's promise to support the League of Nations, enforce sanctions, and check fascism. A month or two after the elections came the Hoare-Laval pact. The British author of that pact is today our ambassador at the key post of Madrid. Most of the 400-odd Tory M. P.'s elected in 1935 gained their seats on the promise that they would keep the peaceful Mr. Baldwin in power and have nothing to do with that dangerous fellow Churchill. All of them supported Mr. Chamberlain and Munich. Even when the plain evidence of defeat in Norway led to a change, a majority of these

M. P.'s voted still for Chamberlain, and Churchill had to take him into his Cabinet. The Parliament dominated by these men renews itself—on the motion of a Labor minister—every year, and every year it becomes a more tired, more stale, more decrepit collection of men and women. I first saw the British House of Commons in 1916, and after a good look at it went straight off to join the army. I have had a look at it at intervals since then, but I have never seen it so pathetically unrepresentative as it is today. Yet it has been officially decided that there shall be no renewal of it during the war, except in so far as members die and are replaced at by-elections.

And even when this happens, the "political truce" implies that there shall be no contest between the old parties. If a Tory dies, some other Tory is nominated. If he is opposed by an independent, the Labor and Liberal parties support the Tory, somewhat tepidly. The Communists support him actively and noisily and in the interests of "national unity." They sometimes find this very difficult: during the period when their paper, the *Daily Worker*, was suppressed they had to support, at Wallasey, a Tory who openly stated he approved of the paper's suppression as against a Socialist independent who condemned the suppression. But they managed it. They have managed even more difficult things—for instance, support for the ex-members of the Anglo-German Fellowship, the Link, and other semi-fascist bodies, put up as by-election candidates by the Tory party machine. For this machine is still Chamberlainite or worse; of scores of Tory candidates put up at by-elections none have come from the progressive wing of the party and only a very few can even be considered supporters of Mr. Churchill within that party.

When a Labor M. P. dies he is usually replaced by the trade-union official next on the list to be pensioned off. The average age of the Labor members in Parliament is even higher than that of the Tories: it is nearly ten years above the average age of the Parliament of 1914, and that was above the age at which human beings cease normally to learn anything.

It is possible for America, Australia, New Zealand, and other countries to hold elections in war time. The actual disturbance to the war effort of holding an election in Britain would be small compared with its benefit if it made people feel that they were again democratically represented. But an election here is impossible—not for physical reasons but for psychological reasons. British politicians are hypnotized by the political truce. This truce as first agreed on in 1939 meant only that the older parties would not oppose each other at by-elections. Then when independents began to emerge and one or two got elected, it was held to mean that all three parties should actively support the government candidate. Now it has undergone another extension: the government has announced that no "controversial legislation" will be de-



bated. This means that no post-war planning is possible, even if, as in the case of coal, nationalization is clearly needed for the purposes of the war. An even more extraordinary extension of the truce occurred this month when the Labor Party through its normal machinery chose as its spokesman in the important debate on the King's speech a progressive member, John Parker, secretary of the Fabian Society. The Tories objected that to allow him to speak would be a breach of the political truce, and on Mr. Churchill's own intervention he was tamely replaced by an elderly gentleman acceptable to the Tories.

A general election might of course be sprung on us by those in power if the victories in Africa seemed considerable enough to wipe out the past from the minds of the people. Until this occurs there is no parliamentary outlet except through by-elections. And no Tory members of Parliament have died since May of this year. My friend Sir Richard Acland proposed in the House of Commons last month a "staggered election," a renewal of Parliament by gradual stages, so many M. P.'s retiring at stated intervals. Half the speeches made in the debate echoed the need for some form of renewal of Parliament, but the united party whips won and only seventeen members voted for it.

Under the conditions I have described, the formation of a new political movement is an enormous task. People are restless and frustrated; the feeling that a change is needed breaks out in all sorts of ways. There is a sudden rush of new members into the Fabian Society; all sorts of political pamphlets enjoy large sales; the most popular feature on our radio is the "Brains Trust," an

occasionally serious "any questions?" hour; the army is discussing current affairs. And in spite of all the difficulties a new movement, called Common Wealth, is getting on its feet to shape a left-wing movement outside and inside the old parties against the present government and the policy of keeping things as they are.

In *The Nation* for June 27, 1942, I described some of the hopes on which this new movement was founded. Fulfilment of many of these hopes is not yet within sight. A few months after its formation in July, 1942, J. B. Priestley dropped out of the organization and out of politics. The unusual longevity of the Tory M. P.'s has prevented the Common Wealth group from appearing at by-elections, for it has so far chosen not to oppose Labor candidates indorsed by the government. But it is gathering members and building up considerable support for an immediate policy that includes independence for India (with mediation by the United Nations), nationalization of coal and some armament industries, and a program for greater equality between soldiers and civilians, workers and owners.

This movement, though largely composed of people as insular as the average in Britain, is beginning to feel the need for contact with political forces tending in the same direction outside Britain, particularly in America. The peoples of the United Nations need a new International, a body outside the various governments that will unite the common people. If this war is in fact part of a revolution, the forces on the same side of the mental barricades need to work together. How far have you got toward this in America?

## *Jim Crow Goes Abroad*

BY JOSEPH JULIAN

THE Negro brigadier general, Benjamin O. Davis, was recently sent to England to investigate reports of trouble between white and Negro American troops stationed in the British Isles. After an inspection that lasted only a few days he issued a statement to the effect that the situation had been greatly exaggerated, that generally the boys were getting along fine together; occasionally a few social difficulties might arise, but so far as the army was concerned there was no problem—"white and colored troops are treated as equal, having exactly the same rights and privileges."

It is hard to reconcile General Davis's report with my own observations during my recent two months' stay in England or with what Negro soldiers told me. Technically, it is true about the equal rights and privileges, but prejudice never respects technicalities. Equality cannot

be created by a manual of army regulations; the men must feel it and think it and act it. The social difficulties mentioned by General Davis are not isolated cases and should not be considered of no concern to the army. Bad feeling between colored and white troops has military consequences.

Perhaps General Davis did not get around as much as he should have, or perhaps he did not consider it wise to make an issue of the matter at this time. An ugly and dangerous situation does exist, and it impairs the efficiency of the troops and depresses the morale of the entire American Negro population, already near the breaking-point.

It is particularly shocking to observe the Jim Crow bacillus being injected into England, a country without color prejudice, where the people regard Negroes not as



menials and comics but as human beings, and are guided in their relations with them by their natural reactions to them as individuals, not as Negroes. The prejudiced white American soldiers are not the only carriers of this germ. Sometimes it seems to have been introduced in England by order of the A. E. F. In a recent issue of the London *New Statesman and Nation* a correspondent writes:

... orders or requests have been issued by the American military authorities to the townspeople to the effect that white and colored troops should not be permitted in the same civilian canteens. In some cases the townspeople have refused to comply. Partly as a result of this the latter have become extremely annoyed at what is regarded as discrimination against the colored soldiers. As a further result scuffles between white and colored Americans have occurred when Negroes have entered, or tried to enter, dance halls or bars where the white Americans were already disporting themselves. Apparently in one case the white Americans remonstrated with a landlady for serving colored customers. The reply of the woman is significant: "Their money is as good as yours, and we like their company."

The average Briton appreciates the complexities of the Negro question but sees it as purely an American problem. He resents being told that he must develop prejudices.

One night I met an American Negro corporal in Piccadilly Circus, and after I left him jotted down our conversation almost verbatim. I think he simply and eloquently expressed the thoughts and feelings of the average Negro soldier with the A. E. F. in England. Our dialogue ran as follows:

"Got a light?"

"Here y'are."

"Thanks. You American?"

"Yeah."

"So am I. Where you from?"

"Pittsburgh. Where you from?"

"New York."

"I worked at the Savoy in Harlem for a while."

"Oh, I was up there just before I left."

(Brightening) "Yeah? Whose band was playin'?"

"I forget."

"They sent me first out to Oklahoma, an' then back to Fort Dix. I gotta gal out in Brooklyn I went to see one night, just before I come over here. I was a sergeant an' they busted me for it."

"Why?"

"A. W. O. L. She had a kid from me an' I wanted to see 'em both before I came over here. I didn't know if I'd ever come back again, so I wanted to see 'em. I made out an allotment to her."

"That's tough, being busted for that."

"Well, they gotta have rules in an army. I don't blame 'em. I'm a corporal now."

"How do you like it here?"

"Awright—'cept not many colored boys over here. Ya get lonesome sometimes."

"How do they treat you over here?"

"Who, the English?"

"Yes."

"Oh, hell, they treat ya fine. It's in the camp and around we get all the trouble and riots."

"You mean with American soldiers?"

"Yeah. We had three officers resign last week. They just didn't want nuthin' to do with us."

"White officers?"

"Yeah. Lot a them white boys still look at us like we ain't nuthin'—just to shine their shoes. They walk away from me when I walk down the street. They go out when I come into a pub for a drink. They change their seats when I sit down in a movie. Hell, sometimes I think maybe sometime one of these guys'll be needin' a drink from my flask—maybe lyin' wounded an' bleedin' and dyin'. I told one of my white officers that, and he growled at me and said, 'You just leave 'em there bleedin', don't touch 'em.' So I'll leave 'em. I'll leave 'em bleed and bleed till they die."

[At this moment two drunken white sailors staggered up to us. One of them plopped his arm on the Corporal's shoulder and said, "Darky, we're absolutely broke; could ya let us have something? We haven't a shilling t'our name." Without a moment's reflection he reached in his pocket, took out a half-crown, and put it in the sailor's hand.]

"I have a friend [he continued] came over here in 1936 with a band—white fellow—married an English girl. I was talkin' to them one day. He went across the street to get a paper. I stayed talkin' to his wife. Three white American soldiers come by—seen me talkin' to a white girl, and they ripped her fur piece off an' tore it up to pieces."

"Do you go into any of the American Service clubs here, Red Cross Club, and so forth?"

"I just keep by myself. I don't go lookin' for trouble no more. But sometimes when I have to stay in London overnight, see I drive a truck down here from where I'm stationed in Birmingham 'bout once a week, an' when I gotta stay over, I go over to the British soldiers' club an' they put me up. They treat you much better than at the American clubs. When the Americans do give you a bed, they make you feel they don't want to give it to you."

"How do most of you boys feel about the war?"

"I think most of us feel it don't matter much what happens. We just know we have to fight, so we fight."

"I know there's a lot more that has to be done, but don't you think some progress is being made? Negroes are being trained as pilots now, and many more branches of the services are open to them than ever before."

"Yeah, that's right, an', well, maybe after America gets a little messin' around, and gets bombed up some, it'll be better. They just been having it too easy, too much to eat an' everything. Maybe after they get messed up some, they'll begin to understand, maybe it'll come out awright."



"You feel much more comfortable with English soldiers than Americans?"

"Sure man, they drink with ya, they talk with ya. There ain't no difference with them. I'd like to stay here after the war, except the United States is still your home and you have a feelin' you wanna get back to your home no matter how bad things are there."

"Well, I hope it will work out better for you fellows. That's one thing this war's about—equal rights for all people. So long, soldier, I have to run along."

"So long."

It was the same story with each of the many Negro soldiers I talked to: "The English treat us fine—it's in the camp and around we get all the trouble and riots."

Apparently nothing is being done by the army or any other government agency to remedy the situation except some clumsy attempts at segregation. Instead of some

kind of educational program designed to eradicate the color bias by driving home to white soldiers how silly it is to talk about fighting for democracy when they don't mix with colored troops in their own ranks, official policy seems to be, "Keep them apart—as far apart as possible."

Both Russia and Germany have effectively used their ideological commissars to help build their powerful armies. Though we reject their systems of government, we could strengthen our own army tremendously by a similar technique of indoctrination. Let us have in our army commissars of "applied democracy" to keep our own ideology alive in the minds and hearts of soldiers. There is a vital need for such a department, not only as a means of overcoming Jim Crowism but generally to keep the original humane motives of our fighting men alive and integrated with their job of killing.

## *How Africa Changed the War*

BY HERBERT ROSINSKI

**A**LIGHTNING-LIKE transformation has been wrought in the strategic scene by the events of the past few weeks. Seldom in history has the course of a vast conflict been so dramatically changed by a single, judiciously applied blow. How was it possible that the limited, if brilliantly executed, operations in Africa, the defeat of a fraction of the enemy's forces in an outlying theater of war, could alter so radically the position of forces a hundred times greater than those engaged? The explanation lies in the peculiar strategic pattern of the war.

Viewed in its broadest perspective, the war is a struggle for the great centers of population and production in Europe, Russia, India, and China; for the areas connecting them—the Near East, Burma, and Australasia; and for the control of the sea lanes leading from Great Britain and the United States to their allies and the various sectors of the front. Of these three great objectives the first is obviously the most important. It is in the struggle for the great centers of population and production that both sides have used the bulk of their forces; it is here also that the Axis powers, thanks to the advantages of initiative and interior lines, have scored their main successes over their inadequately prepared and coordinated opponents. They have overrun large and valuable areas and been able temporarily to consolidate them under their rule and for their benefit. In a global war, however, these successes, imposing as they must appear, are less important than the fact that neither in Russia nor in China has the Axis been able to push its victories to a

decisive knockout and liquidate the struggle in that sector. As the Axis offensives have bogged down and the decision has been found unattainable in the main arenas, the struggle has tended to shift to the second group of objectives—the pivotal connecting region.

These are inferior in population and resources and offer fewer facilities for the deploying and maintenance of mass armies but have outstanding importance as links between the main areas. Whichever side controls them is more or less able to isolate its opponents in their home bases. To the Axis powers, their occupation has held out the prospect of cutting off Russia and China from outside support and, beyond that, of carrying out a gigantic pincers movement against the central bastion of India. For the Allies, retention of these pivotal areas is a vital necessity if they are to defeat Axis attempts upon the coherence of their front, keep the activities of the two parts of the Axis in separate spheres, and possess springboards for their own eventual counter-offensives.

In this struggle the odds against the Allies have been as heavy as in that for the main centers, for the extent and configuration of these areas have imposed upon the defenders a fatal dispersal of their forces of which the Axis powers have not been slow to avail themselves. In an analysis printed in this journal on November 9, 1940, I pointed out that the conclusion of the military pact between Germany and Japan clearly foreshadowed such developments and that a German offensive in the Near East would try to exploit the unavoidable dispersal of British defense in that area in conjunction with Japa-



nese operations against British positions in the Far East.

That despite these exceedingly favorable conditions Germany and Japan have failed to break up the central Allied position around the Indian Ocean must be ascribed mainly to the energy of the Viceroy of India, Lord Linlithgow, whose skilful statesmanship has not received the recognition due it. Whether the fall of Burma could have been prevented if his efforts for the construction of a strategic railway between Burma and India had met with better success it is difficult to say, but there can be no doubt that it was his acute realization of the danger and his energetic insistence upon prompt and adequate counter-measures which brought about the successful reduction of Axis-fomented intrigues in Iraq and Iran. Why Hitler failed to follow up his successes in the Balkans, Crete, and Libya by pushing on into the Near East, overwhelming the weak and badly shaken British defense, and isolating Russia on the south, before he launched his main offensive against Russia in the west, remains the greatest strategic mystery of this war.

Even so, Rommel's threat to Egypt and the possibility that the Axis main forces would drive down through Turkey or the Caucasus left the Allies in a most precarious position in the Near East. And the situation was made worse by the ascendancy established by Axis air power in the central Mediterranean, which seriously restricted any assistance that might be expected from the naval forces in the eastern Mediterranean. In addition, the closing of the Mediterranean to merchant shipping and the consequent necessity to use the route around the Cape imposed a heavy strain upon the Allies' already overburdened shipping facilities.

With this strategic framework of the war in mind, we can see clearly the significance of the new move. By eliminating the western arm of the Axis pincers menacing the Near East the Allies have finally secured their grip on that vital area. Once the Axis powers have lost their foothold on the southern shore of the Mediterranean, they will be in no position to attempt to regain it in the teeth of Allied sea and air superiority. Behind that safe moat all North Africa will become one huge Allied base. Moreover, the reopening of the direct route through the Mediterranean under an umbrella of Allied air power will release several million tons of shipping and speed up the reinforcement of the entire Indian Ocean sector. Thus reinforced and with their Western flank made safe, the armies in India will be able to prepare for the reconquest of the vital Burmese area.

By this consolidation of the central belt from Morocco to Burma the Allies will not only have secured themselves against the destructive strategy of the two Axis groups but have gained the power to turn that strategy against its authors with a vengeance. Safely based along the African shore and protected by adequate aerial support, Allied sea

power for the first time in this war will be able to pass to the offensive on a large and effective scale.

The advantages of the Mediterranean region over the Atlantic coastline of Europe for the launching of the Allied counter-offensive are not restricted to the absence of those formidable fortifications with which in the north access to all likely landing points has been barred to the invader; nor are they to be found in the less tenacious resistance to be expected from the Latin member of the Axis. They consist above all in the incomparably greater opportunities offered by the Inland Sea for the isolation and separate annihilation of the enemy's forces. In the north any major Allied offensive, wherever attempted, would run into a continuous block of enemy territory stretching from the Pyrenees to Norway, an area served by a most highly developed system of roads, railways, and waterways, permitting the enemy to concentrate greatly superior forces at any threatened point in a minimum time. In the Mediterranean area, on the other hand, communications between the various sectors of the enemy's front line are severely limited, owing in part to the deeply indented coastline and in part to the paucity of means of transportation. Conditions are favorable for the isolation and capture of a large number of important Axis positions—Sardinia, Sicily, the Peloponnesus, Crete—by the judicious exploitation of Allied naval and aerial superiority.

From the vantage-points thus gained it should prove not too difficult to extend the offensive to sections of the mainland and thus, step by step, to force the enemy back in a series of strictly limitable operations, without committing the outcome to a single, irretrievable action as would inevitably be the case in the north. Through these moves, plus the constant menace of an invasion from Great Britain, the enemy can be subjected to a continuous strategic squeeze play and shorn of the power of effective retaliation.

The military possibilities of thus turning the enemy's own methods against him are perhaps no greater than the psychological repercussions that may be expected. Of the effect on Italian morale few will entertain much doubt. In Germany too, although that country will be less immediately threatened, the memory of the sudden collapse of German resistance in the summer of 1918, when the imperial armies were still standing far in enemy territory, must haunt many millions, undermining their determination even though desperation makes them go on.

As the Allies advance in the Mediterranean and Axis defeat in the West becomes more and more imminent, the leaders of Japan will have to choose between preparing to sell their hides as dearly as possible or trying to reach a negotiated peace while they still have something to offer. The militarists at present in control are unlikely to decide on the latter alternative, but the situation must surely look different to the court circles, bureaucrats, and



representatives of big business who have been temporarily pushed into the background by the militarists. These groups retain sufficient influence to be able to step forward and reassume leadership in an emergency, and in the sacred person of the Emperor they would command the only authority capable of reconciling the Japanese people to the collapse of all their expectations.

While the perspectives opened up in every direction by the new development are great enough to justify the wave of enthusiasm which has swept over the United Nations, the road to victory will still be long and hard. What has happened is this: a fraction of the German-Italian forces, separated from the bulk of their strength by the Mediterranean and half-isolated by Allied sea and air power, has been overwhelmed and through the simultaneous landing of Allied forces in French North Africa threatened with complete annihilation or ejection. If this can be achieved, the Allies will have gained an excellent base for the launching of their main offensive against the bulk of the enemy's forces. Success here will offer them the opportunity to utilize their superior sea power to impose battle upon the enemy under disadvantageous conditions in a series of isolated or semi-isolated encounters. To follow up these advantages, however, and press them home against the enemy's main forces near the centers of his strength will require an effort incomparably larger than that of the present preparatory campaign, an effort that will tax the strength of the Allies to the utmost. The main task lies before us, and we should not forget that in war, until the final decision has been won, every success counts only in so far as it is exploited to secure the final victory.

## AUTONOMOUS

BY MARK VAN DOREN

In jealousy of cause and pride of plan  
He thinks he made himself, this happy man.  
He was the decider; picked a year,  
A womb to grow in, and a hemisphere;  
And when he walked was master of the choice  
Who fathered his first gait and tuned his voice.  
Of all earth's people to its oddest ends  
He summoned these few to be his natural friends;  
From out the mist of women he contrived  
The stepping forth of one whom then he wived;  
And now that sons repeat him it is skill  
Rewarded, it is accident of will.  
The maple where it stands is proof of seed.  
He knows it, and can measure by its need,  
Among so many neighbors, a trunk's tallness;  
And by its shade the after comer's smallness,  
Dwarf to its sire. Such things, he says, must be  
If soil decides. But he is not a tree;  
And thinks that he was present in the dark  
When skin was chosen over root and bark.

## In the Wind

A PETITION is being circulated in South Carolina requesting the state legislature to make the public display of a picture of Abraham Lincoln an offense punishable by a fine of \$50 or thirty days in prison. "You wouldn't hang a picture of Hitler or Tojo in a public building, would you?" asks the *Anderson Independent*, which favors the idea. "Any person guilty of such a thing would be tarred and feathered. But neither Tojo nor Hitler has done as much damage to the South as Abe Lincoln did." The man who started the petition, incidentally, is named Lynchfield.

FROM A LETTER in a recent issue of *Time*: "In the event of a Japanese invasion of the Pacific Coast what would be the effect in the occupied territory upon: (1) the titles of real estate; (2) equities of corporations in occupied territory; (3) United States currency and bank accounts?"

FERDINAND EBERSTADT, vice-chairman of the War Production Board, was urged to add some labor representatives to his staff. "I don't need to," he said. "If I want to know anything about labor, all I need to do is ask my old friend Matthew Woll."

MARSHALL FIELD'S *Chicago Sun* has not broken Colonel McCormick's hold over Chicago, but it is standing the gaff better than the *Tribune's* former competitors, all now extinct. The *Sun's* circulation is at present about 200,000, and it is rising at the rate of about 10,000 a month.

FROM AN ARTICLE in the *American Mercury* called Credo of an Old-Fashioned Conservative, by George Barton Cutten, ex-president of Colgate University: "I suppose if God had 'the open mind' and should become a radical instead of the conservative He is, the girl babies would now be born with hair-line eyebrows, purple fingernails, and crimson toenails. But no, the girl babies come along no different from what they were ten thousand years ago. . . . What a jaundiced muddle this world would be if God should cease to be conservative and permit acquired characteristics to be transmitted."

ACCORDING TO the *London News-Chronicle*, the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce is opposing a proposed municipal regulation because under it "women would be compelled to go out in the blackout and fight fires with strange men."

THE CHRISTIAN FRONT in Boston, one of the largest centers of Coughlinite agitation, became the Citizens' Constitutional Committee during the recent election and will carry on under that name. The Committee was set up chiefly to fight against a token resolution on world federation which was on the ballot in forty-two Massachusetts districts.

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of \$5 will be awarded each month for the best item.—EDITORS THE NATION.]



## *Crisis of Confidence*

**N**EARLY a month has passed since the democratic front found itself favored with the presence of Darlan as one of the new fighters for the Four Freedoms, and it is time to assay calmly the value of so hotly debated a maneuver. As in every operation of this kind, two aspects are involved: the military and the political. On military grounds the Eisenhower enthusiasts have been strongly supported by the facts. That Dakar and West Africa have come over to the bicephalic Admiral, who with one eye smiles at the Allies and with the other at Marshal Pétain, has given them an apparently unanswerable argument. Those who still see in the acquisition of Darlan some dark spots, even in the purely military field, have been overwhelmed by the fabulous record of thousands of square miles of ports and bases, of richness in ships and rubber and other raw materials—won overnight, without a single shot.

It might be claimed that the African campaign is not yet over, and that the difficulties ahead are considerable. A certain restraint might be justified in anticipation of new developments which may test severely the loyalty of the new allies. But we are not qualified to discuss this point. And it is not even our desire to try to moderate the joy of the generals whose job is to win a battle in the least possible time and with the fewest possible losses. Let us, therefore, assume for the sake of argument that from a military point of view the winning of Darlan was a master-stroke.

But if, in the military field, the apologists of the Darlan collaboration can cut down every critic with the testimony of the facts, in the political field the facts speak with equal eloquence on the other side. Wherever it has been possible to register popular reactions, the effect produced by the Darlan appointment has been calamitous. Perhaps the country in which the reaction has been least bad is the United States itself. This is a phenomenon worthy of a lengthy study, but one in which it is not difficult to perceive powerful reflections of isolationist thinking. People who on the eve of Pearl Harbor did not realize the danger coming from Japan can hardly be expected to realize today the danger involved in taking an undesirable like Darlan and investing him with superior authority.

Everywhere else depression and bewilderment have been dominant. A Council of Political War—had there been one—would have registered the tremendous damage already done to the cause of the United Nations in the occupied countries, in the few neutral countries still

left in Europe, in Great Britain, and in Latin America.

To measure accurately the political damage, we must take into account the fact that from the beginning the cause of the United Nations has carried the dead weight of a very deep mistrust in regard to the character and objectives of the present struggle. If that mistrust has not expressed itself more strongly, it is because the hate of Hitler and the clear conviction that to destroy him is a matter of life and death have restrained people from any criticism which could affect adversely the course of the war. But there are millions who greeted with enthusiasm the Atlantic Charter and the noble speeches of the President and of Vice-President Wallace, yet felt mercilessly shaken on the following day by all the contradictions which cloud the policy of the United Nations. For, as Mr. Willkie said in his Toronto speech, "this war is either a 'grand coalition' of peoples, fighting a common war for liberation, or it is nothing."

The truth must be courageously spoken. And the truth is that even today, in the midst of the struggle, millions of people are tortured by the idea that out of this war may come, not a better world than followed the last war, but perhaps a much worse one. They look around. They see men in the ministries, in the foreign offices, speaking publicly about democracy and enjoying the double game of collaborating with all the half-fascists while ignoring or discarding altogether proved anti-fascists.

For the cause of the democratic fight it was a great risk to leave such men, compromised by years of mistakes, hesitations, and, in some cases, pro-fascist inclinations, in prominent posts in the democratic front. But from the moment that those same men defied the democratic feeling of the peoples of the democratic nations by indulging in all kinds of small Metternich-like tricks, the crisis of confidence acquired the most disquieting proportions.

The war is not yet finished. The Allied troops are not yet nearing the German border. The moment has not been reached when the diplomatic technicians and the professional politicians can risk a cynical shrug as their only answer to the disappointment of the people. Difficult crises lie ahead of us in which the people will be needed quite as much as all the war materials that all the United Nations can produce. And for the people it will not be a Darlan, even as an occasional guest of the democracies, that will keep alive their enthusiasm and restore their confidence.

J. A. DEL V.



## Political Value of the German Emigration

*[There can be no serious talk of political war that does not take into account political war inside Germany. Information on Germany's internal situation is hard to check, but the consensus of opinion as to the likelihood of an effective opposition is most discouraging. It should be possible, however, to gauge the political value of the German emigration. We have asked a political refugee, at present not associated with any party, to present the problem and to formulate a few questions. Representatives of the various groups will be asked to reply.]*

HITLER'S war on his adversaries inside the German state has reproduced in exile the whole range of political creeds whose confusion speeded the downfall of the Weimar republic. In the ranks of the emigration are such diverse elements as early National Socialists who complain that Hitler has betrayed socialism and industrialists whose urge for conquest never went beyond the subjugation of the labor unions, Social Democrats who blame the fall of the republic on the Communists and Communists whose single criterion for any action is its effect on the Soviet Union, defenders of capitalist democracy and Catholics of the center who expounded democracy by decree.

It seems strange that in the turmoil of wars, invasions, surrenders, and escapes the original cleavages of these political groups should have been so little affected. All political emigrations are burdened with internal dissensions, but in most a strong common purpose acts as solvent; for citizens of the conquered countries the unifying element is the fight for national deliverance. Why is it, then, that the common hope of all German anti-Nazis—the collapse of Hitler's power—has proved so weak a bond?

In no other country is the national destiny so closely bound up with the solution of its social problems. Every German political émigré knows that the great social conflicts which the Weimar republic pretended to ignore—and which Hitler has pretended to resolve in his caricature of a people's state—will come to the fore again the moment the Nazi fiction of the *Volksgemeinschaft* breaks down. But the émigrés are preparing no answer. They refuse to recognize that the fight against Hitler is a fight on the issue of socialism. Having themselves no common social goal, they have no basis for common action.

To hope that from the ashes of the Third Reich there will arise a new Germany free from all links with the past is sheer romance. But to assume, on the other hand, that the German people are only awaiting the day when

they will again be led by the statesmen of the Weimar coalition is the privilege of political *rentiers* who see in the Hitler dictatorship nothing more than an unfortunate episode. Post-Hitler Germany will present in a most acute form all the problems that the reconstruction of Europe will have to face. That is why a mature political leadership in the German emigration could help to clear a way through the fog of ideologies and emotions to a saner future.

But instead of meeting the challenge with conviction and courage, the leading groups of the German emigration are playing the diplomatic game. Where they should speak of the social prerequisites of a German democracy they repeat the reactionary nonsense of foreign education for the German people. Their contribution to any real comprehension of the phenomenon of National Socialism is nil; whatever has been done in this field is the work of a few independent men who have freed themselves from the time-honored clichés.

The more tenuous the home ties of the émigré groups become, the more shadowy the remains of their political influence the more each one endeavors to win official recognition as the chosen representative of the new Germany. They do not seem to know that their future position will depend not on their good connections in foreign government offices but on the confidence which their activities inspire in the German masses.

Ten years have not effaced the memory of the ignominious capitulation of the leaders of German anti-fascism. Nothing will bring back what they lost save their own will to fight for it, and they can draw strength only from the support of the workers and soldiers of Germany.

It is not surprising that fear, need, and cynicism have warped the fighting fiber of anti-fascist refugees. Perhaps it is only human of them to choose to speak the language that will please official ears rather than run the risk of losing their last refuge. But a people's war cannot be won or a people's peace prepared by such tactics.

### FOUR QUESTIONS TO GERMANS

It might be profitable to invite discussion on certain basic questions which will have to be settled before the German left can hope to find a platform for political action. I suggest consideration of the following points:

1. What forces in Germany—besides the Nazi Party—do you consider a menace to the peace of the world and to the freedom of the German people? How would you propose to deal with these forces?
2. Are you for a unilateral disarming of Germany and the policing and reeducating of the German people from outside?
3. Are the German people responsible for the material damage caused by Hitler's armies in the occupied





DEMOCRACY'S NEW ALLIES



countries? Are they under moral obligation to make restitution?

4. What kind of relations do you advocate between post-Hitler Germany and the Soviet Union?

## Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

THERE is as yet nothing to indicate how the invasion of North Africa has affected the *Stimmung* in Germany—the mood and sentiments of the people. Internal propaganda shows a tendency to sheer away from the main point in peripheral arabesques. For instance, Herr Fritsche, the radio favorite, has thought up a fable in which the African campaign is linked to a dark money-making scheme. The English, according to this tale, arrived in Africa with billions of counterfeit French notes, secretly printed by the Bank of England. In some unexplained manner a quarrel will soon break out between Britain and the United States over whether French North Africa shall be joined to the pound bloc or the dollar bloc. Small fortunes will be made by the Algerian Jews, and of course great fortunes will be piled up in London and New York. This idiotic story gives an idea of what efforts are being made to conceal the character of the African dish with strange, highly spiced sauces.

When the present situation is touched on, the official theme is still the strength of the European fortress: it was planned to launch an invasion of Europe from Algeria, but the attempt was repulsed; the fortress has been proved impregnable. A new word has been coined to fit the case—South Wall, recalling the famous West Wall between Germany and France. By occupying the rest of France the Germans have erected an unassailable South Wall between the fortress of Europe and its would-be attackers. For the present it is impossible to say how well this not unskillfully elaborated thesis bolsters German spirits.

That the *Stimmung* is worse than ever before is certain. For if we have no concrete information about how the people took the news of the second phase of the African offensive, the American invasion, some interesting material is at hand showing how they reacted to the first phase, the British advance in Libya. The landings in Algeria and Morocco were made in November. Rommel was defeated some time before, in October. Now in October the Nazi press suddenly began to be filled with vehement attacks on the pessimists, the defeatists, the rumor-mongers. Analysis of a large number of newspapers shows that for every article of this kind printed in September, 4.2 such articles appeared in October.

For the most part the loose talk against which the articles were directed was not ordinary gossip about domestic matters, though that also came in for condemna-

tion. The *Thüringer Gauzeitung*, for example, on October 8 declaimed against the many "strictly confidential stories about the household and clothes of high-placed personages." And in the *Oldenburgischen Staatszeitung* of October 11 a district leader denounced the habit of casting aspersions on the Winter Aid. "People are always wondering," he said, "what is done with all the money that is collected; the wildest rumors concerning it are going around." More of the papers loosed their thunder against rumors about the war. To illustrate:

The *Freiheitskampf* devoted its lead article on October 8 to the "perverse human scum whose pitiful vestiges of gray matter have so shriveled away that the miserable cowards dare to make a joke of our victory."

In the *Rostocker Anzeiger* of October 6 the district leader published this announcement: "Irresponsible elements in Mecklenburg are circulating rumors which must be stopped at once. Those who spread them must be rebuked, and all loose talk must be suppressed."

The *Thüringer Zeitung* for October 8 said: "A great many people are talking too much about the *Stimmung* in Germany. They think that the final round of the war will be decided by the *Stimmung* in the various countries. They examine *Stimmung* barometers and discuss the trend with gloating thoroughness."

The *Oldenburgische Zeitung* of October 10 complained: "We know our people. We know how their credulousness was shamefully exploited before. Once more our enemies are trying to undermine our faith." The *Essener Nationalzeitung* of October 10 warned against the "borers" and those "who listen to the broadcasts from London." The *Rheinisch-Westfälische Zeitung* on the same day referred to the "contagious disease caught by persons who listen to the London radio."

The *Hakenkreuz-Banner* on October 25 contained an outburst against people who can always see more than appears on the surface. "When they get a letter from the front they draw all sorts of conclusions from it. When they read a newspaper they look for what is said between the lines. If rations are increased, they know it is only done to boost the *Stimmung*; therefore the situation must be serious. If rations are decreased, it is clear that affairs must have reached a critical pass. They hear that troops are going through to the east, and assume disaster; or to the west—that looks very bad too."

Such quotations could be continued for several columns. Yet in October no one in Germany had any presentiment of Algeria or Morocco or Tunisia; only in Libya had anything happened. Rommel's defeat, however, was enough to bring to the surface the underlying mood of doubt and pessimism in all classes. The quotations merely confirm what we have long known from other sources. It cannot be doubted that an increasingly large number of Germans suffer from chronic gloom about the war.



# Gandhi, Cripps, and Churchill

BY LOUIS FISCHER

[The following article is Mr. Fischer's rebuttal of the arguments advanced by Graham Spry in *The Nation* for November 14. These, in turn, were Mr. Spry's answer to Mr. Fischer's analysis of "Why Cripps Failed," which appeared in *The Nation* for September 19 and 26.]

GRAHAM SPRY'S reply is superficially clever but entirely unconvincing. Mr. Spry flatly denies my explanation of the failure of the Cripps mission to India in March-April, 1942. His denial was cabled from Sir Stafford Cripps's office in London to the British embassy in Washington, which submitted it to *The Nation*. Knowing that modern man is skeptical of official denials, Spry undertakes to prove his denial. That is where he fails.

Spry's chief point is that the Congress Party's rejection of the Cripps offer did not mention the promise of the Indian National Government, which I believe Cripps made and then withdrew. "This," Spry writes, "is itself conclusive that no promise was made at the beginning of the negotiations." It is in no sense conclusive. The Congress Party adopted its resolution rejecting the British War Cabinet's proposal on April 1 and gave the resolution to Cripps on April 3. The rejection was complete. Congress, nevertheless, suggested that the resolution remain unpublished and that the negotiations continue. But why should Congress have wished to continue the talks after having unconditionally rejected the offer which Cripps brought from London? Does this not show that Cripps had offered them something which was not in the London government's draft? The Congress resolution rejected the written draft, but it could not in the same resolution mention the promise of a National Government because it was not rejecting the promised government. It was going on with the negotiations because of that promise. On the part of Congress this was a very skilful way of conducting the negotiations: by rejecting the written proposals from London it indicated to Cripps that the success of his mission depended on his keeping the oral promise.

I hate to accuse Spry of disingenuousness, and I am not doing so. But he comes dangerously near it when he says: "The statements of the Congress resolution quite specifically deny Fischer's thesis. They read: 'The British War Cabinet's proposals are vague, altogether incomplete, and there would appear to be no vital changes in the present structure contemplated.'" This very text proves that Congress was criticizing and rejecting the British War Cabinet's written proposals and not the oral

promise which Cripps made in New Delhi to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, president of the Congress Party.

That promise was not made on March 25 when Azad first went to Cripps to receive the draft offer and, as Spry says, to listen to explanations. This was not a "talk." The conversations, according to Spry himself, came after this preliminary contact. First, on March 27, Gandhi saw Cripps. Gandhi, as he told me later, "found nothing good" in the written proposals and said so to Cripps. But he asked Cripps "to perform a miracle," to do something which would save the situation and lead to a settlement. Faced with the collapse of the mission to which he attached so much personal and political importance, Sir Stafford went beyond his written proposals and told Congress representatives that India could have a National Government which would function as a Cabinet and not be subject to the Viceroy's veto.

On March 29 Cripps gave his first interview to the Indian press. Scores of newspapermen were present, and a stenographic record of Cripps's statements was later given to the papers. All newspapers quoted Cripps as saying that India could have an immediate "Cabinet" government. Now especially in an Englishman's mouth, "Cabinet" means a responsible government of ministers and not an advisory council of men whose wishes the Viceroy might veto.

In the third paragraph of his reply, Spry asserts vehemently that "Cripps did not make, did not seek to make, to any Indian political leaders any promise of National or Cabinet government with full powers in the war period," and thereafter throughout his cabled article Spry stresses that there is no evidence of "a promise of full Cabinet government" having been made, that Congress leaders realized that "complete war-time powers had not been promised," "that Cabinet or National government with full powers was not under discussion." Is this what Spry is denying? He is wasting cable tolls. I never said anything about "full" or "complete" powers. Spry has set up a man of straw in order to knock him down. No Congress leader expects England to quit India during the war, and no Congress leader asked or expected a National Government with "full" powers. The entire course of the negotiations showed that. Congress negotiators said repeatedly, as Azad wrote to Cripps on April 10, that "the [British] commander-in-chief in India would have control of the armed forces and the conduct of operations and other matters connected therewith. . . . We have no desire to upset in the middle of the war the



present military organization or arrangements." In view of the wide scope of the commander-in-chief's activities, it is obvious that Congress never anticipated "full" powers for the Indian National Government. The prolonged talks about a defense formula sought to demarcate the separate functions of the Indian Defense Minister on the one hand and of the British commander-in-chief on the other. Then why does Spry talk about a promise of "full" powers? Just to deny a statement I never made?

Hoping to salvage his mission, thinking that the reactionary imperialists in England who are his enemies had been deflated and frightened by the severe British military reverses in the Far East, Cripps offered the Indians a National Government which would try to enlist Indians in support of the war. Then he was subjected to pressure from behind the scenes. The dichotomy which resulted becomes manifest in Cripps's letter of April 7 to Azad (published with other documents in the Congress "White Paper"). In this letter Cripps says he hopes "it will be possible for His Excellency the Viceroy to embark forthwith upon the task of forming the new National Government in consultation with the leaders of Indian opinion." That is the way national governments are formed in European democracies, by a constitutional chief executive consulting the party leaders. But in the same letter Cripps also speaks of "the Viceroy's Executive Council." An Executive Council is not a Cabinet. Cripps was being pulled in two directions. The next day matters were cleared up for him. Cripps had received a Congress defense formula which used the expression "National Cabinet." On April 8, according to Spry, Cripps "deleted the term 'National Cabinet' and made his own position once again clear beyond any possible doubt by inserting the words 'Executive Council.' . . ."

If Mr. Spry will reread his own article he will find that this assertion contains a serious inaccuracy. For he says farther on that "this formula had been originally drafted by the Viceroy. . . ." Of course the Viceroy did not want a National Government. We are now in the area of the cleavage between Cripps, who wanted to bring about a settlement, and others who opposed real concessions to the Indian independence movement. Incidentally, I never charged Cripps with bad faith. He did not withdraw his promise because he had made it without sincerity; he withdrew it because he was stabbed in the back by Englishmen who differed with him.

On April 9, Spry says, Congress accepted the defense formula, and it looked as if Cripps's mission was going to succeed. He tells of the rejoicing of Congress people over this success. Then why did the negotiations break down? This is what Spry never explains. He rejects my explanation. But where is his? He declares that on April 9 Azad and Nehru called on Cripps to "convey their acceptance of the defense formula. In this long interview they raised the whole issue of the powers of the

Viceroy and insisted that the Viceroy should act as constitutional monarch only." Naturally. Azad and Nehru explained that they were ready to defend India in cooperation with the British, but what about the National Government in which the Indian Defense Minister would function? In other words, they did not quite accept the Viceroy's defense formula. They accepted it provided there was a National Government. Then why did they rejoice? Because they had assumed that this would present no difficulties. Had not Cripps promised it to them? If Cripps had never spoken to them of a National Government and if they had all understood they were negotiating about their future roles in the Viceroy's Executive Council, how could the misunderstanding have arisen so late in the talks?

Among many reasons which I adduced in my original articles for believing that Cripps did promise India an immediate National Government, was that when Azad quoted that promise in his letter to Cripps of April 11, Cripps's letter in reply never denied the promise. Now Spry contends that Cripps's first letter of April 11—he wrote two letters to Azad that day—gave the reasons why a National Government was impossible. True. But it did not deny the promise. It merely explained why the promise could not be kept, and we are therefore entitled to think that Cripps had been convinced behind the scenes that he would not be allowed to keep it.

There are, then, two Azad letters to Cripps, dated April 10 and April 11. In both Azad quotes the exact words in which Cripps had promised an Indian National Government immune to the Viceroy's veto. Cripps answered both on April 11. In neither did he deny the promise.

In New Delhi, on May 24, I had a long conversation with Jawaharlal Nehru, a prince among men and a militant anti-fascist at a time when many members of the present British government—not Cripps, of course—were fawning on Hitler and Mussolini and appeasing Japan. Nehru said that Cripps, it seemed to him, "was not a free agent." Early in the conferences, Nehru told me, Cripps had spoken of a National Government with the Viceroy playing a role like that of the British King and not interfering in government affairs. "Later," Nehru continued, "Cripps withdrew this, I believe under threats of resignation which Wavell and the Viceroy telegraphed to Churchill."

In Wardha, on June 10, Azad said to me: "Cripps definitely told me that the new government would be a Cabinet with the Viceroy acting as the King did in England. We had not discussed the composition of the government, but we expected that the Viceroy would appoint it after consultation with the parties. Congress did not think it would have a majority in the Cabinet. When Cripps arrived in India, we asked him whether his proposals went beyond the Amery declaration of August,



1940, which promised an enlarged Viceroy's Executive Council, and Cripps replied: 'You don't believe I would have come all the way to India to bring you no more than that.' " Azad is the greatest authority on the Moslem religion in India.

In Bombay, on June 24, I interviewed Rajagopalachari, than whom there is no more honest man in Europe or Asia. He favored the acceptance of the Cripps proposals no matter how little they gave, and he differs so much with Gandhi that he is not supporting the current civil-disobedience campaign. He said to me: "Let me recapitulate the Cripps negotiations for you. He began by offering us a National Government."

I said: "Did you understand that Cripps was offering you a responsible Cabinet government not subject to the Viceroy's veto?"

Rajagopalachari: "Yes. We did not go into detail. Then we discussed defense. . . . When we returned to the question of the National Government, Cripps told us it would be subject to the Viceroy's veto. On this we broke."

Will Cripps say that Nehru, Azad, and Rajagopalachari lie? Do the documents lie? Did all the journalists who heard him say "Cabinet" government lie?

Spry contends that in war time it would have been impossible to introduce the constitutional changes necessitated by a responsible National Government. The Congress leaders would have preferred to see such changes, and they always cite Churchill's June, 1940, offer of union with France as contemplating a much more radical change. But they would have been satisfied with Cripps's own solution: at his March 29 press conference Cripps stated that "a good deal could be done by changing the conventions or adopting new ones—he particularly mentioned that the Executive Council could become a Cabinet." The constitution could remain unaltered for a while, but the Viceroy's veto would cease to exist. That would be the new convention. Why, Spry, was that Cripps suggestion not carried out?

Spry asserts that an Indian National Government would not have been a responsible government, since it could not have been overthrown or replaced. There is a difficulty here, but it is surmountable with British goodwill. The Cabinet might have been made responsible to the provincial legislatures of India, which are elected by popular vote. The Cabinet might have been made responsible to the several Indian political parties, and Cripps recognized the great influence of at least one of those parties—Congress—by conducting his key conferences in India with it. But to whom is the present British government of India responsible? Nobody in India. Who in India can remove it? And since when are the British in India so concerned about responsibility? Only a few weeks ago Mr. Allah Baksh, the Moslem Prime Minister of Sind, responsible to the popularly elected provincial

legislature of Sind, relinquished his honorary British titles and criticized the statements of Churchill and Amery on India. The British governor of Sind immediately removed Allah Baksh from office. (I take these facts from the London *New Statesman and Nation*, edited by my good friend Kingsley Martin, who is now on a visit to the United States. Apparently the British censor in India did not think that the whole truth about the Sind affair was fit for print in America.)

Graham Spry and Kingsley Martin are at pains to prove that the pacifism of Gandhi and the shortcomings of Congress are chiefly or partly to blame for the obstacles to a settlement in India. Is this so? Gandhi urged Cripps to settle the Indian problem. He said to me that he favored an Indian National Government consisting of the Princes, Moslems, and Congress, which would sign an alliance with England or the United Nations to help prosecute the war. He said he does not wish the Axis to win the war. He said if India gets a National Government it may go "war mad." Gandhi knows that Nehru, Azad, and Rajagopalachari are not pacifists and do not believe in non-violence. Rajagopalachari told Herbert L. Matthews the other day (see the *New York Times* of November 12) that "if Nehru were in a National Government he would not let Gandhi's pacifism get control. He would help win the war." Gandhi is more important than anybody in Congress, but he is not Congress, and if he were sure that India could get partial independence now as a first instalment on complete post-war liberty, I think that though he would not aid the war effort, he would not obstruct it. I believe that pacifists and ex-pacifists are prone to exaggerate Gandhi's readiness to let his pacifism intrude on practical politics.

No, if Sir Stafford Cripps wishes to find the primary difficulty in the Indian situation he does not have to look so far as India. He need merely look across Whitehall to 10 Downing Street, where Winston Churchill lives and works. On November 10 Churchill told an audience in London that England has no desire for more territory, but "we mean to hold our own." That applies to India. "I have not become the King's First Minister," Churchill continued, "in order to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire." That is really why Cripps failed.

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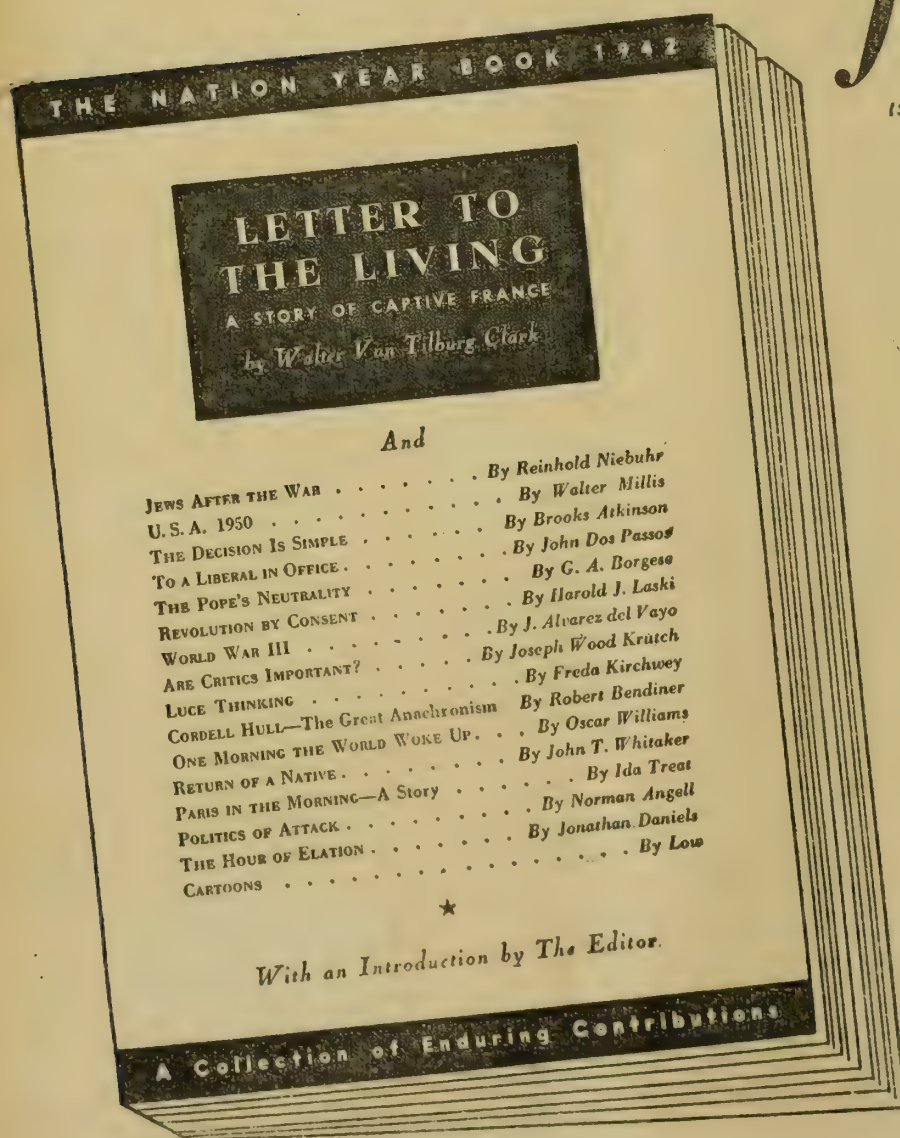
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# BOOKS *and the* ARTS

## Constitutional Practices vs. Constitutional Revolution

*A NEW CONSTITUTION NOW.* By Henry Hazlitt.  
Whittlesey House. \$2.50.

THIS is another "now" book, although it would seem that Mr. Hazlitt intends his title to be taken in a somewhat Pickwickian sense, inasmuch as he admits that his proposal, besides being revolutionary in itself, would require a virtual revolution to put it across—and revolutions, even in such revolutionary times as these, are apt to take time.

The proposal which Mr. Hazlitt urges is by no means a new one in its general outlines, but it has never before been advocated with quite such insistency or on this scale in terms of paper and ink. In brief, Mr. Hazlitt wishes to see our present "Presidential" or "Congressional" system (it is today the former rather than the latter) replaced by the British "Cabinet" system with some slight modifications. More in detail, our present Congress of two substantially equal chambers would be superseded by one in which the role of the Senate would be reduced to that of discussion and criticism; the President—except for certain ceremonial purposes, would give way to a "Premier" who would be elected by the House of Representatives and would have power, subject to the House's approval, to choose a Cabinet either from its membership or—in part at least—from the outside; the legislative initiative—today divided among the President, the numerous committees of Congress, and the members of the two houses—would be concentrated in the Premier, acting in consultation with his Cabinet; and finally, elections by the calendar, while not done away with, would become of secondary interest. The House would be chosen for four years, but would be subject to dissolution at any time by the Premier, who in turn would be subject to be thrown out of office at any time by an adverse vote of the House unless he was able, by appealing to the electorate, to secure a House which would support him.

What is Mr. Hazlitt's argument for his revolutionary proposal? In a few words it is that the tension which exists under our system of checks and balances between the President and Congress exposes us in normal times either to irresponsiveness to the public need for legislative reforms, when the President prefers the role of King Log, or to government by whim when he casts himself as King Stork, Congress being in either case unable to provide an effective leadership capable of commanding the backing of the country as a whole. And in times of crisis, such as the present, the situation becomes indefinitely worse, for then the country is constantly forced to choose between deadlock and dictatorship, and of course plumps for the latter, inevitably.

That there is an undesirable amount of truth to this arraignment of our constitutional system no candid and informed person would undertake to deny; and Mr. Hazlitt is able to point his argument by a telling reference in his Preface to the President's Labor Day address to Congress,

in which he informed that body that unless it repealed a certain statutory provision pronto, he would do the job himself—and Congress complied without a word of protest. At the same time, I remain unconvinced that the President's threat thus to suspend the Constitution for the duration ("When the war is won the powers under which I act automatically revert to the people—to whom they belong") was a necessary outcome of the Constitution's shortcomings. Rather, it seems to me to have been the result of some extremely bad advice.

Evaluating Mr. Hazlitt's brief for his proposal in the light of events of the past decade, I feel that it indulges in rather too much exaggeration to be as effective as it might have been. Thus his stock example of deadlock is the Senate's rejection of the Treaty of Versailles, although that was confirmed overwhelmingly by "a great and solemn referendum" of exactly the kind that would naturally have occurred had the system Mr. Hazlitt proposes been in operation. Likewise, he brings forward as a particularly black example of Presidential whim Mr. Roosevelt's court proposal of February 5, 1937—which was defeated! And the important changes which the "two-party system"—if there still is such a system—has undergone in both Great Britain and the United States in recent years, especially on account of the political consolidation of group and class interests, go practically ignored. Indeed, it seems to be assumed that this system functions in the United States today in precisely the same way as it did in the Britain of Disraeli and Gladstone.

But the book also advocates a number of less sweeping reforms, either as marking steps toward the greater consummation or as rendering life more livable under existing arrangements. One of these is that present methods of amending the Constitution ought to be replaced by a less cumbersome and more democratic method. Such a proposal would have had much greater significance two generations ago, when sectional differences were much more pronounced. Today an amendment which has back of it a majority of the electorate of the country as a whole is fairly likely to have a majority in a sufficient number of states to secure its adoption. The fact is that Mr. Hazlitt attaches undue importance to this method of adapting the Constitution to changed conditions, arguing that it is more "candid" than interpretation, the method which our constitutional practice has always preferred. Such a view is naive to say the least. Either constitutional provisions must be couched in terms which unavoidably leave considerable discretion to their official interpreters, or the Constitution must in time take on, as Marshall put it, "the prolixity of a code." Naive, too, is Mr. Hazlitt's further contention that the size of the Supreme Court ought to be frozen by constitutional amendment. On an early page of his volume Mr. Hazlitt stigmatizes that "strange form of national self-distrust" which tries "to protect ourselves against our own future knowledge." The proposal just mentioned is an apt, if unintentioned, illustration of this national shortcoming.



Mr. Hazlitt would also like to see treaties ratified by a majority vote of both House and Senate instead of by a two-thirds vote of the latter. The Joint Resolution of June, 1934, by which the President was authorized by a majority vote of the two houses to accept membership for the United States in the International Labor Organization, not to mention certain recent decisions of the court (see, for example, *United States v. Belmont*, 301 U. S. 324; 1937), seems to show that we are already well on the way to just that change in constitutional practice, and without the aid of constitutional amendment.

Yet another reform which Mr. Hazlitt advocates is the creation of a legislative council comprising members of both houses of Congress and of both the principal parties, and the submission to this body in the first instance of all important legislative proposals. An approximation to this commendably constructive suggestion is at this very moment being urged by certain members of Congress, and might easily carry with some encouragement from the White House. It is interesting to note, in further demonstration of what is possible under the Constitution as it exists today, that there is nothing to prevent a President from choosing his Cabinet from the membership of such a legislative council instead of, as today, from the heads of the great administrative departments.

The revolutionary program which Mr. Hazlitt wrote his book primarily to urge will hardly come about until constitutional practice under the present system shall have better paved the way for it, and in thus paving the way constitutional practice may render the more drastic change unnecessary. Meanwhile, Mr. Hazlitt has done a service in inviting his countrymen, or the section of them whose consideration of such things matters, to try to take some thought of our constitutional morrow. Once the war is won the need of doing this will be even more apparent than it is today.

I must add a word about the index. Its helpfulness is illustrated by the fact that under *P* "Pearl Harbor" is cited to five different passages in the book, while the word "President" is not even listed! EDWARD S. CORWIN

## Asides and Diversions

*NOTE BOOKS OF NIGHT.* By Edmund Wilson. San Francisco: The Colt Press. \$2.50.

IT IS to be expected that any book by Edmund Wilson will prove interesting, and "Note Books of Night," a handsomely printed volume from the Colt Press of San Francisco, does not disappoint such an expectation. The book, as its title suggests, is a miscellany, the literary asides and diversions, as it were, of a man whose central preoccupation is criticism, literary and social. We find here serious verse, satirical pieces in both verse and prose, parodies, two items which seem to be excerpts from a journal of travel, two others which are memories of the author's childhood, and one rather short prose piece, *The Moon in a Dream*, which is difficult to classify. The book, by its very nature, has no central line; we have here glimpses and snapshots, informal or intimate, of the critic whose public appearances have usually been of an entirely different and more reserved

temper. This means that a number of the snapshots are of interest to us because we have a prior, and more substantial, interest in the public appearances. In other words, part of our interest here is derivative and secondary, and the reader's concern, upon reflection, may be to distinguish the secondary from the primary interests in "Note Books of Night."

The serious verse is of uneven quality. In pieces like *Provincetown*, 1936, we find a sober, meticulous descriptive poetry which in *The Crows of March* achieves a considerable degree of vividness. In the pieces which are more subjective, such as *The Voice or Home to Town*, there are patches of very conventional and sentimental writing. For example:

I heard it, dulled with love upon your breast,  
I heard it in our peace of summer suns;  
I heard it when the long waves of the West  
Retard the dark with loud suspended guns.

Or:

And all the city love, intense and faint like you—  
The little drooping breasts, the cigarettes,  
The little cunning shadow between narrow thighs.  
They will get rid of cities—  
They will make themselves better bodies—  
But they will never have a girl so pale and blue-veined and  
quick and passionate as you.

In the first example, the image of the last two lines seems to be mere rhetorical decoration, only vaguely related to the business in hand, and the first two lines, in both phrase and rhythm, are merely conventional. The second example, I think, is equally conventional; only the convention has been changed from an old one to a new one. With two exceptions, *The Crows of March* and *Night in May*, the serious poems strike me as of secondary interest.

Some of the pieces of satirical verse, such as *Chorus of Stalin's Yes-Men*, are tied to vanished occasions, and their pungency has largely evaporated with the passage of even a little time. *Disloyal Lines to an Alumnus* who "complained in the *Alumni Weekly* that books by alumni authors were not being sufficiently praised by the reviews of that periodical" is high-grade farce; and "The Omelet of A. MacLeish," which is already well known, is a brilliant combination of parody and criticism and butchery. Both of these pieces will be fun for everybody except Struthers Burt and Archibald MacLeish, the two luckless gentlemen involved. In the prose section, *The Three Limperary Cripples* provides the fun, a Joycean satire on the New York literary scene.

All of the pieces in the prose section are expert, though now and then the expertness is a little too self-conscious, verging toward preciousness. For example, there is the last paragraph of *Return from Louisiana*, or this sentence from *Variations on a Landscape*: ". . . though the day was still luminous and full, it held already the tragic suggestion of the encroachments of the winter darkness which was clipping it closer every night." But I think that one can have little but praise for *Variations* and *At Laurelwood*, the pieces which seem to be parts of an autobiography. It is only to be hoped that these are not mere fragments but are parts of a work in progress. If there is such a work and if these are fair samples, then it will be a book of great distinction.

ROBERT PENN WARREN



## Epstein as Temperament and Artist

THE ART OF JACOB EPSTEIN. By Robert Black. The World Publishing Company. \$3.50.

THOUGH his "Adam" provoked a customary uproar as recently as 1939 and became a kind of touring circus attraction in England and America, the scandalous interest of Epstein's work has now receded sufficiently to permit a reasonable view of his talent. Such attention has in the past been as much obstructed by the sculptor's deliberate shock tactics and instability among his media as by alternating public excesses of prurient indignation and partisan apology. When a more astute criticism has approached his total achievement, it has tended to wariness or censorious contempt. The summary verdict of an American book on sculpture thirteen years ago—"In the last analysis Epstein is a good showman of negligible artistic interest"—is typical. This is scarcely reasonable. The exhibitionism implicit in Epstein's bolder conceptions does have an artistic interest, not only in relation to his own serious claims but with respect to the various efforts of modern sculptors to recover, at whatever expense of taste or erratic experimentation, the monumental quality and motivation which recent architecture has never really succeeded in encouraging in their art as a means of raising it from its fallen dignity as studio, museum, or minor social craftsmanship.

Epstein's long line of large-scale works, beginning with the Strand Statues in 1907, though the Wilde monument at Père Lachaise, the "Christ," "Consummatum Est," "Behold the Man," "Genesis," the Underground Building fig-

ures, "Primeval Man," the Hudson Memorial "Rima," and the "Adam," represent this effort at its most strenuous. Admittedly, it would take a greater plastic and structural power than Epstein has ever shown to harmonize this violence with anything recognizable as a subtle and precise sensibility. The sensibility—conceptual or poetic as well as structural—which men as different as Rodin, Maillol, Despiau, Lachaise, and Gaudier maintained or even enhanced in their larger works has always suffered when Epstein essayed the heroic or grandiose. The hiatus that exists between his early abstractions and his later portrait heads, and that reappears between these heads and his public monuments, is partially bridged by a certain consistency of temperament and vision but not by a fundamental unity of style or formal insight. This discontinuity in his talent may be partly explained, as Mr. Black hints, by the sculptor's divergence between his favorite pursuit of elemental forms and the practical requirements of portrait modeling. But it also ensues from the fact that he has been divided between a racial tendency toward religious, cultural, or ethnic abstraction and a personal, temperamental taste for character-reading and intimate emotion: between abstractions and images; between heroic or mythic symbolism and social naturalism. This contrast appears at once if one places the "Rima" or the "Adam" against the portraits of Einstein, Conrad, Shaw, Priestley, Hulme, and the Duke of Marlborough.

The "Rima," deriving from the Ludovisi Throne Aphrodite in design and rhythmic organization, and the "Adam," with its totem-like animism suggestive of Semitic and Egyptian ikon forms, represent an almost galvanic disturbance—less spontaneous than arbitrary—of the formal stasis which Epstein offered in an early abstraction like "Two Doves" or "Mother and Child" or in the recalcitrant "Sun God." Between these extremes is the simpler yet more compelling formal sincerity of the early Strand Statues, but that sincerity he seems to have sacrificed quite willingly for the monumental and symbolic eloquence which he hardly mastered in any genuine sense. In the first "Christ" figure, a beautifully intense realism and dramatic power quicken a basically inert columnar design. This seldom reappears in the later massive works. These show little of the nervous force that Gaudier—or Rodin or Maillol, for that matter—released from his larger blocks. They depend too greatly, for values both of structure and of symbolism, on the degree to which they derive from traditionally sacred subjects and primitive racial phantoms to take on the free life of created forms—this separating them also from the work of more single-minded abstractionists like Henry Moore.

His portrait work took Epstein into a truer personal element. Here he mastered a genuine emotion of character and society, something not only far beyond the hack fidelity of a Jo Davidson but stronger in its essential plasticity than the purer impressionism of Lehmbruch or Kolbe. Yet even here Epstein required an amenable type, a head adaptable to the hieratic stylization which alone sustains the heavily volcanic and instrumented surfaces which he cultivated to the point of mannerism. Such types as Shaw, Boas, Dewey, Einstein, MacDonald, and—ridiculously—Priestley amount either to caricatures or to sentimentalizations in his hands. But subjects like Van Dieren, Conrad, Hulme, Robeson,

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Cunninghame Graham, Jacob Kramer, Lady Gregory, Old Pinager, and—superbly—Marlborough invited the abstracting of mask-forms or racial types, and led to that balancing of individual traits with social or ethnic references that makes a sculptural portrait succeed. When Epstein pursued this balance to the point of making a head impersonal—as in the renderings of Nan, Dolores, Meum, Mrs. Epstein, and the baroque *putti*—he gave his excessive stylism a classic stamp and serenity, controlled, delicate, beautifully memorable. Here his fault of sacrificing the integrity of his forms to a species of explosive dynamism—a flaying of the clay which Rodin never risked, even when he was reacting most strongly against the runny suavities and *art nouveau* element that haunted his salon style—is subdued; the contours of his design take on their finest lightness and luminosity; a poetic archaism to compare with Despiau's or Maillol's, and well beyond the pedantry of Manship, Bourdelle, and Gill, arrives to give Epstein's work its subtlest point and beauty.

The problem of Epstein's work is the problem of personality. He presents one of the best cases among modern artists for the discipline of a superabundant energy and temperament by plastic and historical principles. Only when he arrives at the true balance of these elements does he produce work that is likely to endure. Incidentally, this problem was intelligently submitted and objectified by Epstein himself in his recent autobiography, "Let There Be Sculpture." It is *not* so submitted, discussed, or in any way intelligently dealt with in the present volume. The text is as inept an exposition as has appeared in any recent book of this sort, where the curator style's dullest ceremonies are the rule. The photographs are of all kinds, mostly museum prints, showing no control or appropriateness of lighting. Dimensions of the works are lacking; the works are not arranged in any apparent sequence; important sculptures like the "Genesis," "Consummatum Est," and most of the Strand Statues, though mentioned, are not among the plates; "Behold the Man" is shown only in what appears to be a newspaper print; errors in spelling are frequent; the catalogue of Epstein's works has several garbled passages. The format and price of the book are attractive, but it is a model neither of the historical survey nor of the critical treatment to which Epstein and his public are entitled.

MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL

The Middle Ground

THE TECHNIQUES OF DEMOCRACY. By Alfred M. Bingham. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. \$3.

ALFRED BINGHAM'S various studies of political and economic problems have won him an increasing respect among students who are not too bound to dogma to appreciate his unorthodox approach to the problems of modern democracy. His new book is a fresh elaboration of his general thesis that modern society is not confronted with simple "either-or" choices between collectivism and freedom. He is looking for a middle ground between a collectivism which would solve all problems by bringing economic life completely under political control and a laissez faire theory which equates democracy with unregulated economic enterprise.

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The new Archbishop of Canterbury was appointed by Prime Minister Winston Churchill against the wishes of Tory reactionaries in Britain. A huge audience in the Albert Hall, London, heard the Archbishop declare for transference of taxes from production equipment to ground values. (See *Christian Century*, October 7, 1942.) Churchill himself, in a volume recently issued in New York, says: "Who could have thought that it would be easier to produce by toll and skill all the most necessary or desirable commodities than it is to find consumers for them? It is certain that the economic problem with which we are now confronted is not adequately solved, indeed is not solved at all, by the teachings of the textbooks, however grand may be their logic, however illustrious may be their authors." Churchill is also for the taxation of ground rental values.

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Bingham is convinced that the "negative" state which acts only as an umpire in the economic sphere is a thing of the past, and that the totalitarian powers gained an advantage over us by their ability to act quickly and efficiently, not only in issues immediately related to the war, but in the organization of economic life. However, they could not do this without destroying all of the essential freedoms of democracy. He therefore rightly regards the problem of leadership as the paramount problem of democracy. The question is how the processes of democratic life can be given more adequate direction, how democratic action can be made more decisive, how political and economic processes can be synthesized and confusion and cross-purposes avoided, without unduly centralizing authority or making power irresponsible.

In answering that question he examines all the "techniques" of political and economic life—the relation of the executive to the legislative branch of government, the tendencies toward centralization and decentralization in both government and industry, and the necessities and limits of political control over economic life. He has great confidence in the possibilities of a scientific management in industry which learns how to gain "power with men" rather than "power over men." What he has to say upon this issue is usually wise and discriminating, though one wonders whether he fully recognizes the perennial character of the frictions and tensions that would exist in even the best possible democratic society.

Mr. Bingham's confidence in the efficacy of self-regulation in industry does not lead him to any uncritical espousal of

"free enterprise." He wants a positive rather than "do-nothing" state. He believes in "strategic" planning in order to prevent confusion in the economic sphere. Yet he would maintain the automatic balances and disciplines of the "free market" within the framework of strategic planning, convinced that no bureaucratic prevision is wise enough to anticipate all the complexities of economic life which are encountered and resolved in the free market. But Mr. Bingham disagrees with most of his colleagues in this school of thought in his approach to unions. He believes in the union shop. He regards the security for the union which it establishes as a "constitutional framework" for its effective function in the democracy of industry and sees no essential distinction between compulsory dues and compulsory taxation in political society. Mr. Bingham is, in other words, a wise and prudent guide amid the perplexities of our day, looking for a "middle way" with great sincerity and freedom from prejudice.

When he goes beyond the problem of "techniques" and discusses the underlying presuppositions of democracy he is not equally convincing. He thinks that democracy was "born in the Age of Reason," forgetting that Anglo-Saxon democracy was born not in the eighteenth but in the seventeenth century, in the age not of reason but of warring faiths, and rested upon the beneficent discovery that no point of view was so true and no claim to authority in the community so plausible as to have the right to maintain itself without allowing competing points of view to challenge it.

It is true, as he avers, that Nazi totalitarianism is based upon unreason. But Communist totalitarianism is based upon faith in reason, that is, upon the faith that reason can be purged of all ideological taint, of all class corruptions, and become absolutely pure. If this should be possible, if it should really be true that the proletarian perspective is the only untainted approach to social issues, it becomes quite logical to seek the suppression of all dissident points of view as being *ipso facto* "corrupted" by capitalist corruption. Democracy does, indeed, require some faith in man's rational capacity and moral inclination to consider interests other than his own. But it also rests upon a shrewd understanding of the corruption of interest in all points of view and the consequent necessity of allowing to no one a position of immunity to the challenge of opposition. If human nature is as good as Mr. Bingham thinks it is, he ought not to be so concerned as he seems to be to make power responsible and to check it with other forms of power. In that case we would merely have to look for Plato's philosopher-king and trust the purity of his reason to control his power.

A rather interesting example of Mr. Bingham's own rational optimism may be found in his discussion of international affairs. He thinks that "so long as there is a machine-gun anywhere in the world—outside of a museum—it is a permanent denial of the democratic belief in the dignity of man. . . . If the world community is to have a future it must shift from the rule of force to the rule of law." It must certainly shift from the rule of force without law. But can Mr. Bingham offer any examples in history of a rule of law without force, or any plausible reason for believing that life could ever be sufficiently devitalized to make law self-enforcing?

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

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## DRAMA

### As It Was in the Beginning

#### THE SKIN OF OUR TEETH,

Thornton Wilder's new play now current at the Plymouth, is said to have been enthusiastically rejected by many of the old-line producers. Most of them had probably been busy for a decade or more turning down other impressionistic, expressionistic, and non-representational plays, and none of them had had many occasions to regret his decisions—for old-line producers are not accustomed to lose much sleep when they discover that they have missed an opportunity to sponsor what the more adventurous critics find it possible to call "an interesting experiment." But "The Skin of Our Teeth" is an interesting experiment by any producer's definition. A few nights after it opened in New York the S. R. O. sign was out, and patrons were hanging over the rail at the rear of the auditorium. Something which looked to the best judges like a perfect example of what closes Saturday night, something which provoked audiences in the try-out towns to demand their money back, was, in Broadway's own language, a smash hit.

No doubt the personal following of Tallulah Bankhead and the delightful performance she is giving have something to do with the phenomenon. So, too, have the lesser but real followings of Fredric March and Florence Eldridge, the fine performances of all the large cast, which includes Florence Reed in a beautifully executed bit, and also Elia Kazan's skilful execution of a terribly difficult directorial job. But all these put together would certainly not serve if the public did not like the play, and yet that play is one by comparison with which most of the "interesting experiments" in stagecraft and dramatic method would look like mere pieces of timid sardouddledom. Meyerhold and Piscator, putting their heads together in the late twenties, could hardly have done such violence to conventional dramatic form. And yet the whole wild project comes off with astonishing success.

Mr. Wilder's story is concerned with nothing less than the History of Mankind as represented by the adventures of Mr. Antrobus and his family, whose story includes, among other things, the coming of the great Ice Age, Noah's flood, and all the great wars including the present one. Mr. Wilder's thesis is merely that from the beginning of time

Mr. Antrobus's existence has been a series of indescribable calamities from which he has managed, at the last minute and quite improbably, to escape by the skin of his teeth. Between calamities he grows unbelievably careless, improvident, and complacent. He pays no attention to the signs which are as plain as the nose on his face. But, then, when it is obviously too late it turns out to be really all but just that. Most of his companions perish in water or ice or gunpowder. His home is destroyed, his civilization all but forgotten. And then, at last, when the waters have receded or the fighters have all killed one another, Mr. Antrobus crawls back, raises the walls of his house once more, and drags up out of the cellar the tattered remains of the books, in which some thoughts to begin again with have remained legible. So it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end—unless of course Mr. Antrobus has been learning more than there seems any good reason for believing he has.

Now it is obvious that the history of mankind hardly fits very conveniently into the framework of the well-made play. But Mr. Wilder has made his problem easier by first making it harder. To tell the story chronologically as a series of eternally recurrent events would make it not only endless but also intolerably repetitious. Since it really is the same thing happening over and over again, why not tell the story not in time but in eternity, why not assume that all the ice ages, all the floods, and all the wars happened together? Accordingly when we first meet the Antrobuses they are living in a suburban house in New Jersey; but it is also at the time of the great Ice Age, and Mr. Antrobus, though he works in a New York office and sends his wife singing telegrams, has also just invented the wheel—thereby practically completing the art of mechanics—and is finishing up the alphabet. Accordingly, also, Noah's flood catches him some thousands of years later during one of those periods of silliness between calamities when he has just been elected president of the Fraternal Order of Mammals and is celebrating at Atlantic City. And similarly, the great war which is just concluding at the end of the last act is all wars at once. The troublesome son with a scar on his forehead can hardly be other than Cain; but he also talks remarkably like Hitler.

Doubtless all this sounds quite impossible as a play, but I can only assure

you that it isn't and note, for example, one little incident: the disregarded storm warning on the beach which flashes "storm," "hurricane," and finally "end of the world" while no one notices it is as effective as anything I have seen on the stage in a long, long time. One naturally wonders why Mr. Wilder has been so triumphantly successful with a method which has so seldom got beyond the "interesting experiment" stage—at least since Aristophanes, who did, after all, precede Meyerhold and the Federal Theater, last used it. Possibly one answer has something to do with the fact that Mr. Wilder has given it a more imaginative, less merely neurotic, tone than most of the Russian or German experimenters. In any event he has somehow managed to be always serious but never solemn and has kept the whole, though grimly and ironically humorous, humorous nevertheless. And to one who has always held to the old-fashioned idea that art must please if it is to be art at all, it is a very gratifying fact that "The Skin of Our Teeth" pleases quite as much as it admonishes or instructs.

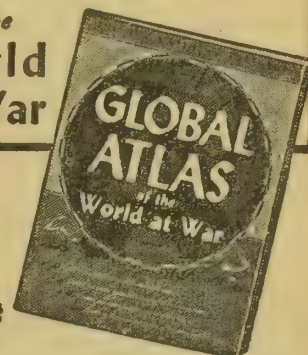
After such a play a merely well-made drama including nothing more exciting

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than the capture of a German spy and an air raid on the New England coast is no doubt bound to seem pretty tame. In any event "Yankee Point" (Longacre Theater), despite very competent if very conventional writing, and despite the pleasing presence of Edna Best and John Cromwell, does seem less than world-shaking. Perhaps the fact that not the spy or the air raid but the performance of Elizabeth Patterson as a cantankerously comic old lady got most favorable attention from the critics means something.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

## RECORDS

### Outstanding Releases of 1942

[V stands for Victor; C for Columbia; O for Okeh; D for Decca.]

*Bach*: Sonata No. 3 for violin and piano; Yehudi and Hephzibah Menuhin (imperfect performance); V Set 887, \$2.63.

*Beethoven*: Quartet Op. 135; Budapest Quartet (badly recorded); C Set 489, \$3.68. Quartet Op. 95; Budapest Quartet (poorly recorded); C Set 519, \$3.68. Quartet Op. 59 No. 3; Budapest Quartet (badly recorded); C Set 510, \$4.73. Quartet Op. 59 No. 2; Coolidge Quartet; V Set 919, \$4.73. Grand Fugue Op. 133; Busch Chamber Players; C Set X-221, \$2.63. Sonata Op. 47 ("Kreutzer") for violin and piano; Busch and Serkin; C Set 496, \$4.73. Sonata Op. 5 No. 1 for cello and piano—only for Casals's performance with Horszowski; V Set 843, \$3.68. Sonata Op. 81a for piano; Artur Schnabel (performance a little Chopinesque); V Set 858, \$2.63. Variations Op. 35 ("Eroica") and Op. 34 for piano; Arrau; V Set 892, \$4.73. Symphony No. 8; Toscanini and N.B.C. Symphony; V Set 908, \$3.68.

*Berlioz*: Symphonie Fantastique; Rodzinski and Cleveland Orchestra (rattly and gritty with light pickups); C Set 488, \$6.83.

*Brahms*: Symphony No. 2; Weingartner and London Philharmonic; C Set 493, \$5.78. Symphony No. 1—only for Toscanini's performance with the N. B. C. Symphony; V Set 875, \$5.78. Trio Op. 8 for piano, violin, and cello—only for the Rubinstein-Heifetz-Feuermann performance (recording afflicted with occasional rattles); V Set 883, \$4.73.

*Chabrier*: Trois Valses romantiques; Gaby and Robert Casadesus (perfunctory performance, rattly recording); C Set X-209, \$2.63.

*Chopin*: Etudes Op. 25; Kilenyi (performances fair, recording occasionally not clear); C Set 473, \$3.68.

*Debussy*: "Iberia"; Reiner and Pittsburgh Symphony (recording enveloped in acoustic deadness and occasionally incorrect in volume level); C Set 491, \$3.68.

*Dvorák*: Quartet Op. 51; Busch Quartet; C Set 480, \$4.73.

*Fauré*: Requiem; Pelletier and Montreal Festivals Orchestra, etc.; V Set 844, \$5.78.

*Frank*: Symphony—for Beecham's performance with the London Philharmonic (C Set 479, \$5.78) or Monteux's with the San Francisco Symphony (V Set 840, \$5.78).

*Gluck*: "Che puro ciel" and "Che faro senza Euridice" from "Orfeo ed Euridice"; Risé Stevens; C 71365-D, \$1.05.

*Haydn*: Quartet Op. 54 No. 1; Budapest Quartet; V Set 869, \$2.63.

*Mendelssohn*: Music for "Midsummer Night's Dream"; Rodzinski and Cleveland Orchestra; C Set 504, \$4.73.

*Mozart*: Symphony K.504 ("Prague"); Beecham and London Philharmonic; C Set 509, \$3.68. Quintet in G minor for strings; Budapest Quartet (poorly recorded); C Set 526, \$4.73. Sonatas K.576 and 283 for piano; Arrau; V Set 842, \$3.68. Agnus Dei from Mass in C minor; Pelletier and Montreal Festivals Orchestra, etc.; V 18512, \$1.05. "Deh vieni non tardar" from "The Marriage of Figaro" (with "Caro nome" from Verdi's "Rigoletto"); Sayao; V 18496 \$1.05.

*Mussorgsky*: "Pictures at an Exhibition" for piano; Brailovsky (poor performance); V Set 861, \$4.73. "Within Four Walls" from "Sunless" cycle; Robeson; C 71367-D, \$1.05.

*Rossini*: Abridged version of "The Barber of Seville"; Bamboschek and Reggiani, Ramirez, Landi, etc. (uneven singing); V Set 898, \$8.93.

*Schubert*: Quintet in C major for strings; Budapest Quartet and B. Heifetz (badly recorded); C Set 497, \$6.83. Trio Op. 99 for piano, violin, and cello; Rubinstein, Heifetz, and Feuermann; V Set 923, \$4.73. Rondo Op. 70 for violin and piano; Yehudi and Hephzibah Menuhin; V Set 901, \$2.63. Sonata Op. 53 for piano; Artur Schnabel (uneven performance); V Set 888, \$5.78.

*Schumann*: "Dichterliebe" cycle; Lehmann and Bruno Walter (poorly recorded); C Set 486, \$4.20. Symphony No. 4; Walter and London Symphony; V Set 837, \$3.68.

*Sibelius*: Symphony No. 5; Rodzinski and Cleveland Orchestra (recording weak in bass); C Set 514, \$4.73.

*Smetana*: "Die Moldau"; Walter and New York Philharmonic-Symphony (recording not clean); C Set X-211, \$2.63.

*Strauss, Johann*: "Du und du" from "Die Fledermaus," and "Liebeslieder" and "Morgenblätter" Waltzes; Krauss, Kleiber, the Vienna Philharmonic; V Set 907, \$3.68. "Kaiserwalzer"; Walter and New York Philharmonic-Symphony; C 11854-D, \$1.05.

*Tchaikovsky*: Piano Concerto No. 1—for the performance of Toscanini with Horowitz and the N.B.C. Symphony (badly recorded); V Set 800, \$4.73.

*Verdi*: Duet from Act 1, Willow Song, and Ave Maria from "Otello"; Lemnitz and Ralf (sung in German); V Set 860, \$2.63. "Dio mi potevi scagliar" and "Niun mi

tema" from "Otello"; Melchior; C 71389-D, \$1.05.

*Vivaldi*: Concerto Grosso Op. 3 No. 11 (arranged by Siloti); Koussevitzky and Boston Symphony; V Set 886, \$2.63.

*Wagner*: Dawn, Rhine Journey, Siegfried's Death from "Die Götterdämmerung"—only for Toscanini's performance with the N. B. C. Symphony; V Set 853, \$3.68. Prelude to Act 3, Dance of the Apprentices, Procession of the Mastersingers from "Die Meistersinger"; Reiner and Pittsburgh Symphony; C Set X-218, \$2.63. "O König" from "Tristan und Isolde" (with the Prayer from "Rienzi"); Melchior; C 71388-D, \$1.05.

#### JAZZ: REISSUES

*Louis Armstrong* (with Earl Hines at the piano, 1927 and 1928): "West End Blues" and "Muggles"; C 36377.

*Johnny Dadds*: "Melancholy"; D 3864.

*Jimmy Noone*: "I Know That You Know" and Danny Polo: "Blue Murder"; D 3863.

#### JAZZ: NEW ISSUES

*Sidney Bechet*: "Texas Moaner"; V 27600. "Rose Room"; V 27707.

*Allen-Higginbotham Orchestra*: "Indiana"; O 6357.

*Cootie Williams*: "West End Blues"; O 6370.

Add to these one of the great sets of the year, just issued by Victor: Beethoven's Piano Concerto No. 4, played by Artur Schnabel with the Chicago Symphony under Stock (Set 930, \$4.73). The work is one of Beethoven's greatest; Schnabel's performance of the solo part remains incomparable; the orchestral part is admirably integrated with it; and the performance is reproduced with marvelously life-like fidelity and spaciousness, though with a weakness in the lower range that is evident, for example, in the sound of the solo cello accompanying the piano's first entrance in the finals, and in the lack of body and power in the bass of the piano throughout. The surfaces of my review copy are not as quiet as they should be; and a couple of them swish and scrape noisily.

This is a set to acquire if you haven't Schnabel's older one; if you have the older one hold on to it. Schnabel's playing in the new one, as I have said, is incomparable—except with his playing in the old one, in which there are even more wonderful contours and inflections of phrase, and these are produced with beautiful clarity and perfection of execution, as against his occasional blurring on the new records, his bad fumbles in the bass in the second movement. Moreover, the old performance is reproduced with astonishing fidelity, clarity, and balance, even if it hasn't the additional liveness and sharpness which the extended range of the recording gives to the sound of the new performance, and doesn't sound spaced out as in the concert hall but sounds compressed into a phonograph.

B. H. HAGGIN



# Letters to the Editors

## Needed: a Second Party

*Dear Sirs:* Much talk was heard in the last campaign, as in previous ones, about our two-party system of government. But nothing in history is a greater hoax than the assumption that "our system" of government is based on the existence of two parties only. The fact is that our two major parties, left to their own devices, would be content to behave merely as "ins" and "outs," with the "ins" dividing the spoils. Every major reform movement that has swept this country in the past has had its origin in a third party, not in either of the two major parties.

Examination of the issues raised by the Democrats and Republicans in previous campaigns shows that the standard bearer of the "outs" resorts to high-sounding phrases without introducing any ideas which differ basically from those of the opposition. Not until the appearance of Franklin D. Roosevelt with his New Deal did the Democratic Party present a program radically different from that of the Republicans. And the New Deal policies of the President did not at first get the full support of the Democratic Party. Most of the party hacks looked askance at the White House with its new-fangled theories of social legislation, of reform, and of sound international policies. They did not interpret Roosevelt's Administration as a new concept of government replacing Hooverism. To them, Roosevelt merely substituted a Democratic Administration for a Republican Administration.

The party that is out of power always cultivates leadership; the more articulate the spokesman, the better the party bosses like him, provided, of course, they believe they can manipulate him. Should they suspect that he is getting out of hand and may actually believe what he is saying, the chances of his being nominated are materially reduced. In time of peace such a routine could be tolerated and the country could muddle along in a hit-or-miss way. In a time of national emergency such methods are too costly.

Few persons understand that we have not had a two-party system of government but a one-party system, with the party divided into two sections. There

is room for a second party—a party that would give expression to the needs of the people. We need a party that will take the tenets of the New Deal and broaden them out and apply them. We need a party that will cut across superficial party lines, shake off the spoils system, and begin to think in terms of the present needs of our country, which has to wage a war and win a peace. Such a party must not be tied in any way to corrupt politicians without vision, courage, or program. The bosses know only one thing, and that is that their ward-healers have to be placated. They cannot produce national or international leadership; their kind of political immaturity cannot be tolerated in this critical period.

Independent, clear-thinking citizens in all walks of life, regardless of what political labels they inherited from their parents, should begin to think as mature citizens of a leading nation of this world who have to plan and mold a future civilization. Liberals should make common cause with organized labor and the underprivileged, and all of these together should build a party that will carry out a constructive program for our nation.

MURRAY GROSS

New York, November 25

## Nedich Is Hitler's Man

*Dear Sirs:* With the United Nations in control of most of North Africa, the Balkan states may again become a major battlefield. Hitler has sent reinforcements to Thrace, Dalmatia, and the Aegean coast; on our side experts are looking for invasion areas that offer possibilities from both the military and the political point of view. The Balkans, thanks largely to the people of Yugoslavia, whose guerrilla army has been in the field for a year and a half, may prove to be the most suitable place for a Continental second front.

In the light of this it is curious that a campaign to furbish up the reputation of General Milan Nedich, the Serbian Quisling, has recently begun in the American press. It started when the French journalist André Géraud, who uses the nom de plume Pertinax, wrote a story for the North American Newspaper Alliance hailing Nedich's "patri-

otism and heroism." Later, in a series of articles in the *New York Times*, Hanson Baldwin, the military analyst, said, on what authority it is hard to guess, that "the Nedich government in puppet Serbia is classified by those who know it as a Pétain, not a Quisling, government." Ray Brock, *New York Times* correspondent in Ankara, and several other journalists and speakers have sought in one way or another to justify or condone Nedich and his regime.

Precisely why Mr. Baldwin or anyone else believes that it is better to be a Pétain than a Quisling, I cannot imagine. As a matter of fact, it might be argued that there is more moral integrity in an outright Quisling than in a Pétain. In any case, the fact is that the free and democratic government of Yugoslavia in London has put General Nedich on its list of pro-Axis criminals who should be tried after the war. Every report reaching Yugoslavian émigrés in this country indicates that General Nedich has been the Führer's faithful servant ever since he was made puppet governor of Serbia last year. And there is nothing to indicate that his role has since changed.

NICHOLAS MIRKOVICH

New York, November 24

## What Is the Opposition Doing?

*Dear Sirs:* The stifled voice of one of the great standard bearers for freedom has knelled in my ears for the past several weeks. Ever since Juan Negrín's message on Free Spain appeared in *The Nation* of October 17 I have been expecting an editorial, or better still an explanatory article from an authoritative source, which would explain his position in terms of the aims of liberty which we—and he—serve. Why must he write, "Let us devote ourselves to that [winning the war] and advise all our friends to do the same, serving where we can even if our collaboration is not asked for or is even avoided"; and then again, "The government [the last-elected Republican government] cannot, without abusing the hospitality that it is obliged to enjoy, act through its own proper apparatus in a way that is adequate to the political needs of Spain"?



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Is the stature of a Negrín so small, were his contributions so scanty, that he can be overlooked? Who avoids Juan Negrín and calls himself a fighter for freedom? Worse still, for this avoidance comes from high places, what peace can be expected from these world planners who have not the wit to want the collaboration of this great statesman? Is, then, Spain lost? Truly lost? Have "current attempts to restore the monarchy through diplomatic action" (I quote J. Alvarez del Vayo) been so successful that men high in the administrative offices of the United Nations find "the liberation of Spain and the reestablishment of the legal institutions which the nation created" (Negrín) the purpose of an enemy alien?

Not even burning indignation against treatment so callous would have led me to ask those questions if it were not for the encouraging "Reunion on the Left" described by Ralph Bates in your issue of October 31. Perhaps he or a Tom Wintringham can tell us what the Labor-Liberal opposition opposes—for Negrín cables from London. What, concretely, is the opposition doing to purify the high places? Does it supervise at all the relationships of the official government with the governments-in-exile? Does it attempt to influence the Foreign Office in its selection, recommendation, approval, or disapproval of members of these governments? Does it realize that after the war is over these governments will be in a position to secure great gifts of power within their national areas of jurisdiction? Is the democratic opposition in Great Britain cognizant of the fact that without generous labor and liberal representation within each government-in-exile, such gifts of power can easily become the arrogated privileges of new reactionary regimes on the Continent? Surely the Labor Party must realize that "when the post-war crisis inevitably arrives, the old parties and the trade

unions must once again become instruments of protest. If they do not, the movement for reform will collapse, and we shall sink into despair" (Ralph Bates in the article cited).

The current of victory runs strong. An Allied thrust over the Mediterranean, with bridgeheads in Greece and the promise of an Italian invasion, may quickly overrun the Balkans and beat upon the gates of Central Europe. Greece, which bled for democracy, Albania, which was sacrificed, Yugoslavia, which still fights, Bulgaria, Italy itself where the anti-freedom curse first fell, will need governments and administrators. Shall there be kings again, and potentates?

Could there be arranged an article, perhaps in the Political War section of your journal, dealing with the factual endeavors and concrete proposals of Labor and Liberal voices and with their influence on the foreign offices and programs of the major governments-in-exile? Many people would like to know what measures are being taken by the only free labor movements left in Europe to defeat the kind of diplomacy that is laying the groundwork for World War III.

ARNOLD GISNET

Harrisburg, Pa., November 18

## Memorial for Dr. Carver

Dear Sirs: Acquisition of the birthplace of the famous Negro scientist Dr. George Washington Carver of Tuskegee as the first federal memorial for any member of his race is called for by a bill now before the Public Lands Committees in both houses of Congress. Liberals all over the United States are being asked to help get the bills reported for a vote as a Christmas offering of good-will to our colored citizens.

Surely Dr. Carver's spectacular rise from slavery over every imaginable obstacle to become the creator of the new science of chemurgy, the founder of the now vital peanut-oil industry, and the "inventor of Ersatz" long before Hitler misused that science of substitutes should entitle him and his people to such a memorial.

This measure has been indorsed by both the N. A. A. C. P. and its Southern critics. Enthusiasm for it has been found even in the South, where the peanut crop this year is valued at half a billion dollars. We hope that Americans everywhere will rally behind a bill so expressive of war-time unity and racial good-will. RICHARD PILANT  
St. Louis, Mo., November 25

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MARY HOWARD ELLISON

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## *The Shape of Things*

ADMIRAL DARLAN HAS PROMOTED HIMSELF from Temporary Expedient to Chief of State. Apparently nothing can be done about this coup d'état because, according to Secretary of State Hull, "there is no time for consideration of politics." Moreover, says Mr. Hull, it is not up to us to choose leaders for the conquered states; when they are freed they can "select their own leaders and forms of government." Is the Secretary implying that "temporary" now means "for the duration"? It would seem so, since France is not likely to be freed short of a German defeat. In that case, if we have not expressly chosen Darlan as leader of the French, we have at any rate elected to give him an overwhelming head start. But for our deliberate choice, Darlan might for the remainder of the war be nothing more than a prisoner of the United Nations. Instead, the day of the armistice will probably find him in command of a large and well-equipped army, which, says the London *Sunday Express*, "will have as its basis men who until now have been training in Pétainist youth camps and are well inculcated with fascist theories." He will have under him a de facto government of Vichy generals which has already been recognized by the American High Command and which, like his army, will grow in strength and prestige with every passing day of cooperation on the part of the United Nations. That is a combination which a prostrate France will either swallow or expunge by civil war. In short, we have already plunged deep into French politics whether or not Mr. Hull thinks we have time for it. You can't escape politics in a political war.

★

DARLAN IS FAR FROM RETICENT ABOUT HIS ambitions. According to a dispatch from Frederick Kuh in *PM*, his self-elevation was accompanied by a note to General Eisenhower suggesting that President Roosevelt reconsider his remarks about the tentativeness of the present arrangement. The United States, he complained, was "treating him like a lemon—squeezing him dry with the intention of casting him away." Having picked a lemon, that would seem to be the logical thing for us to do. General Eisenhower has in fact squeezed to the extent of issuing a second order for the abolition of the Vichy regime's anti-Semitic laws in Algeria and Morocco.



The first order evidently didn't take. French and Arab fascists in the area protested the order to Darlan, whose spokesman promptly reassured them over the Algiers radio that the Allies would not intervene in the internal affairs of the North African countries. If the Allies don't intervene, they will be deliberately choosing Vichy law in preference to the laws of the Third Republic, of which the North African states are an integral part. The same issue arises in connection with the release of anti-Axis prisoners now held in concentration camps or condemned to forced labor on the trans-Sahara railway. It is by these tests that the conquered peoples of Europe will know whether the Americans are an army of liberation or whether their countries are doomed to some kind of fascism, Hitler or no Hitler.

✱

THE DIFFICULTIES NOW BEING MET BY the United Nations forces in Tunisia may be cited as absolute proof of the necessity of the Darlan deal, but they also emphasize its risks from the military point of view. On the one hand, the speed with which the Axis forces have consolidated their positions in the Bizerte-Tunis triangle and the problems of supply which General Eisenhower has to overcome underline the value of the early cessation of fighting between our forces and the French. On the other hand, as General Catroux, Fighting French commander in Syria, has pointed out, the safety of communications between our bases in Morocco and Algeria and the front line depends on Darlan's trustworthiness—a tenuous thread indeed. If Hitler decides to attack through Spain, the Anglo-American expeditionary force will be assailed from east and west while Darlan remains in the middle. General Catroux, who has spent years in North Africa and held several important commands there, referred to the vulnerability of road and rail communications along the North African coast if subjected to guerrilla attacks; and in this connection he pointed to the large number of organized French fascists in North Africa belonging to Laval's Service d'Ordre Legionnaire and Doriot's Popular Party. We have heard of no effort by Darlan to suppress these groups. Meanwhile, heavy fighting continues in the neighborhood of Tebourba, from which the advance guard of General Anderson's First Army has been forced to withdraw. The problem of establishing air bases close enough to the front line for fighters to operate has evidently left the Axis with temporary air superiority. Until that handicap is overcome, our troops may have to remain on the defensive.

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FRANCO, DEMOCRACY'S PROSPECTIVE ALLY, looks more of an ally in the fine cartoon by Luis Quintanilla printed last week than he does in reality. In the cartoon he flaunted the flags of the United States and

Britain. In reality he sends Hitler telegrams of surprising warmth for a man who is supposed to be mobilizing for war against Germany. His message was reported in about an inch of type on page 37 of the *New York Herald Tribune* and similarly or not at all by the other newspapers. It ended with these expressive words, "May your arms triumph in the glorious undertaking of freeing Europe from the Bolshevik terror"—a strange sentiment on the part of a ruler who has been presented as a convert to our side. Again, in a speech on December 8 to the National Council of the Falange, Franco cited Mussolini as "a leader who has given justice to the Italian people"—evidently a counter-thrust to Churchill's recent attack on the badly deflated Duce. Further, parroting Goebbels, he declared that "when the war ends, the old Europe will be dead, with its capitalism, imperialism, and plutocracy." Opinions such as these will be hard for American admirers of Franco to take or explain away. But they do much to complete the series of facts presented in the Political War section of this issue, as well as the report that reaches us at the moment of going to press, according to which all the troops mobilized by Franco since the total occupation of France by Germany have been sent, not to the French-Spanish frontier, where the Nazis have installed themselves, but to Spanish Morocco, close to the areas where our own armies are now operating.

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THE "HATE WILLKIE" REPUBLICANS, IT seems, are going to have to swallow their prejudice and rally to the greatest vote-getter they have had since Calvin Coolidge, just as their Democratic counterparts have for ten years endured Roosevelt though the mere thought gagged them. Wendell Willkie brought the G. O. P. some 22,000,000 votes in 1940, a million more than Hoover won with in 1928. These exciting figures must have danced before the eyes of the national committeemen who met in St. Louis last Monday to elect a new chairman. The anti-Willkie forces had united behind the candidacy of Werner W. Schroeder, an extreme isolationist and a favorite of the *Chicago Tribune*. Schroeder was the one candidate openly opposed by Willkie, but intoxicated by victories in the hapless proceedings of last November 3, the isolationists insisted on forcing the test. Schroeder failed to receive even a plurality on the first ballot, much less a majority, and his backers quickly surrendered. The new chairman is Harrison E. Spangler of Iowa, a compromise candidate of no great promise. Willkie's victory lies not in the election of Spangler but in the defeat of Schroeder, and even more perhaps in the adoption of a war resolution which reaffirmed the declaration forced through the National Republican Committee last April by Willkie over the strenuous objections of Senator Robert A. Taft. Ironically, it was Taft who was selected to offer the resolution at the St. Louis meeting.



THE NAVY'S REPORT OF PEARL HARBOR makes it abundantly clear why the full story of that incredible disaster could not be told at the time. It even justifies, to some extent, the deliberate distortion of the truth in the reports issued. For if the Japanese had known, as they apparently did not, that all the battle-ships in the Pacific fleet and practically all the army and navy planes stationed on the islands had been put out of action, they doubtless would have followed up the initial assault with a successful invasion of our great Hawaiian base. If they had known how incompetent our army and navy leaders actually were, they would probably have been encouraged to try a comparable assault on Dutch Harbor and possibly on the Panama Canal. But if they misjudged the situation, the Japanese did succeed in forcing us into a long cautious period of defensive warfare—which they exploited to the fullest. While we were anxiously reinforcing our position at Pearl Harbor, the Japanese took Wake Island and launched their attack on the Philippines and Singapore without opposition from what remained of our Pacific fleet. Our timidity during this period is clearly understandable in view of our losses, but as events turned out, Wake Island at least could have been held. It is a congenital optimist indeed who sees in Pearl Harbor only a missed opportunity for Japan.

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WE HOPE THE TELEGRAPH-MERGER BILL NOW before Congress will be blocked long enough at least to eliminate the House amendment permitting mergers in the foreign field. The navy successfully opposed this provision in the Senate on the ground that a merger between American and foreign communications systems involved the danger of foreign control. The American Communications Association, which has been fighting the bill, has released information to the press which indicates how genuine is the fear of Axis influence if mergers are permitted. The International Telegraph and Telephone, as the strongest company in the field, is likely to be dominant in any international combine. It has subsidiaries and affiliates in all the Axis and most of the Axis-dominated countries. It regained its Spanish properties when Franco won. It had enough "pull" with both the Nazi government and our own to negotiate a deal for the sale of its Rumanian properties at a time when Rumania was under Hitler's control and Rumanian funds in this country were frozen. Sosthenes Behn, head of the I. T. and T., was the first American big business man to be received at Berchtesgaden in 1933 after Hitler took power. In the British Empire, where a merger of cables and radio was permitted, development of radio was stifled because, as Rear Admiral Hooper said, "radio was going too fast to suit the cable stockowners in London." It would be both unfortunate and ironic if it were held back to suit the wishes of Berlin.

A WELCOME PREVIEW OF THE POST-WAR relations between Canada and the United States is provided in the recent exchange of notes between Secretary Hull and Leighton McCarthy, Canadian Minister in Washington. Both governments agree that tariffs and other trade barriers should be reduced, that all forms of discrimination should be removed from international commerce, and that trade between the two countries should be facilitated in accordance with the principles set forth in the Atlantic Charter. Details for achieving this goal remain to be worked out in negotiations between the two governments, but there seems no doubt that the preliminary agreement marks the end of discrimination against American exports such as had existed under the empire-preference arrangements signed in Ottawa in 1932. The agreement is also significant in that it is expected to serve as a model for a series of inter-American pacts now being worked out as part of our program for promoting hemispheric solidarity. It is specifically stated in the agreement that it is to be "open to participation by all other nations of like mind." It is hard to see, however, how its principles are to be reconciled with the practical procedures outlined in the recent trade treaty between the United States and Brazil, which sets up a rather complicated system of controls. Until this problem is settled, the vague and lofty phrases of the Atlantic Charter will continue to be difficult of interpretation.

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THE *MILITANT*, A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER published by the disciples of the late Leon Trotsky, has been barred from the mails since November 7. So far the postal authorities have refused to explain their action, but it was undoubtedly the paper's opposition to the war as "an imperialist blood bath" that got it into trouble. It might be argued that those who approved the suppression of *Social Justice* should not object to the ban on the Trotskyite journal, but there are important differences. *Social Justice* hindered the war effort not by forthright opposition to it but by the dissemination of pro-Axis propaganda, including anti-Semitism and deliberate lies. However wrong the *Militant* may be, it stands on its own argument and is not pro-German. Its position is more directly comparable to that of the legitimate pacifist groups which the government has wisely ignored.

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THE PRINCIPLE OF EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL work for men and women has been upheld by the War Labor Board in a ruling allowing employers to make wage or salary adjustments bringing women's pay up to the level now paid to men. From now on women who have been refused the same pay as that given men may appeal to a regional office of the board and obtain an adjustment if they can prove their case. Just how



effective the ruling will be in equalizing the economic opportunities of men and women remains to be seen. It will be recalled that a similar ruling was made by the War Labor Board in World War I, and while progress has undoubtedly been made in the intervening years there are still comparatively few occupations in which women have attained full equality with men. In Great Britain a comparable issue has arisen in connection with the fixing of rates of compensation for war injuries. Protesting against the payment of a lower rate of compensation for women than men, a minority in the House of Commons, led by its women members, rolled up the largest vote against the government since the formation of the Churchill Cabinet. The government finally promised to set up a committee of inquiry to study the problem and report, if possible, before the Christmas recess. The battle for real equality between the sexes is far from won in either country, but it is encouraging to note that the women have seized and are holding the initiative.

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MANY OF OUR READERS HAVE EXPRESSED a lively curiosity about the identity of Argus, whose excellent weekly commentary appears in the Political War section. Unhappily we are not at liberty to divulge his real name. We can only say that Argus is the pseudonym of one of Europe's ablest journalists, a man thoroughly familiar with Nazi methods of propaganda and political warfare. We believe his column provides one of the best analyses of the German radio and press published in this country.

## *The Beveridge Report*

SIR WILLIAM BEVERIDGE'S proposals for a system of social security which will provide every Briton with protection from "the cradle to the grave" are not in any sense revolutionary. Based on well-established principles, they form an architectural blueprint for the completion of a structure the foundations of which were laid over thirty years ago. Every British government since, whatever its political complexion, has contributed bricks and mortar to that building, but there are still gaps to be filled in the walls and some new wings to be added.

Nevertheless, if the Beveridge Plan is not revolutionary in itself, it may be considered, perhaps, to mark the completion of a revolution in the social approach to the problems of poverty. It denotes the final overthrow of the Poor Law system; it repudiates the whole conception of pauperism and denies the hoary belief that poverty is both a divine dispensation and a punishable crime; it accepts the principle that society must make itself responsible for the abolition of want and insists that this end is within the means of a modern industrial economy.

There is no need here to repeat the detailed summaries

of the Beveridge Plan which have appeared in the daily press. In a radio speech its author described it as three-sided, comprising, first, a scheme of all-in insurance for cash benefits covering the hazards of sickness, accident, and unemployment and providing for old age; second, a general scheme of children's allowances irrespective of whether the responsible parent is earning a living; third, a scheme of medical treatment of every kind for everybody. The contribution of every individual toward the cost of his insurance will take the form of a single weekly premium.

Included in the benefits are special payments to women at marriage and at childbirth and provision for funeral benefits for everyone. The amounts proposed are not large, but they will be sufficient to assure that these vital occasions will not force people into debt. Unemployment and disability benefits and eventually pensions are to be on the same level. The rate, according to Sir William, "is designed to be high enough by itself to provide subsistence and to prevent want in all normal cases, and it will last as long as unemployment or disability lasts without diminishing."

This is a particularly important innovation. At present in Britain an unemployed man with wife and two children receives 38 shillings a week for 26 weeks, after which he must apply to a public-assistance board for a dole, the extent of which depends on a "means test." Under the Beveridge Plan he would receive, taking into account family allowances, 56 shillings a week as long as unemployment lasted, subject only to his reporting regularly at a labor exchange and after a certain period at a retraining center. This provision does much to meet the problem of technological unemployment, and should help to reduce trade-union resistance to labor-saving devices. Men who lose their jobs because their skills have become outmoded or because their factory has been rendered obsolete will know that their families will be provided for while they are assisted to learn a new trade. This emphasis on retraining is an obvious reflection of British war-time experience.

The introduction of allowances for children after the first, whether their parent or parents are employed or unemployed, rich or poor, is perhaps the biggest step forward proposed by Sir William Beveridge. It has to be considered in the light of the rapidly falling birth rate in Britain and the near approach of an absolute decline in population there. There is no doubt that this phenomenon is the direct result of a growing sense of responsibility in parents which induces them to limit their families to the one or two children they will be able to bring up on a satisfactory standard.

The Beveridge Plan, to which, it must be remembered, the government is not committed, is likely to command very widespread popular support of a non-partisan nature. It can be taken for granted that the Labor Party will give



the proposals its active backing, and they appear to commend themselves to many Conservatives. Undoubtedly, however, when the report is considered by Parliament the plan will encounter powerful opposition. It is certain to be attacked by the insurance companies, which have reaped huge profits from industrial policies—a business which in Britain, as in this country, has always been economically wasteful and often no better than a legal racket. Conservative financiers will condemn the plan on the ground of its cost, both to employers and the taxpayers, who between them will shoulder about 75 per cent of the total. Actually the sums involved, though huge, are not so great as might have been expected in relation to the existing commitment of the national Exchequer on account of social security. In brief, the financing of the scheme requires the retransfer of about 11 per cent of the national income—not a prohibitive price if the objective of “a national minimum over which prosperity can grow” is achieved.

The Beveridge Plan may be said to aim at a partial socialization of distribution within an economic system in which private enterprise remains paramount. But its author fully realizes that its success depends on an improved organization of production as well as the peaceful development of world trade. The actuarial calculations on which its cost is based assume a rate of unemployment lower than the average in Britain between 1919 and 1939, and a new cyclical depression of the 1929 variety might well prove fatal to it.

Sir William Beveridge, however, presents his proposals not merely as a scientific method of abolishing want but as an act of faith in the ability of his countrymen to attack the problems of reconstruction as courageously as they have accepted the challenge of Nazism. “Want,” he writes, “could have been abolished in Britain before the war. It can be abolished after the present war unless the British people prove less productive than they and their fathers have always been.” This bold rejection of economic defeatism in a country facing post-war problems even more desperate than those that confront America rebukes the feeble spirits of our Cassandra and will inspire all those who look forward to the achievement of a more just and fruitful social system.

## *McNutt and Wickard*

IN EXTENDING Paul V. McNutt's powers as manpower coordinator and appointing Claude B. Wickard as Food Administrator, the President has taken two important steps toward placing this country on a total-war footing. It has been plain to most observers for months that drastic action was necessary with respect to both manpower and food. The chief question now is whether this latest reorganization will suffice.

There can be no doubt of the wisdom of placing Selective Service under the control of the War Manpower Commission. The military and civilian aspects of the man-power problem are so closely interrelated that their separation could only lead to friction and confusion. Despite contrary directives from Selective Service headquarters, tens of thousands of key men in war industries have been drafted into the army. Other tens of thousands have enlisted voluntarily. The prohibition of enlistments, the exemption of men more than thirty-eight years old, and the placing of control over inductions in civilian rather than military hands should check the pirating of essential labor by the armed services. It must be noted, however, that the new arrangement does not strike at the heart of the problem, namely, the matter of balancing our man-power resources between military and civilian needs. The army and navy retain the right to decide how many men shall be inducted each month. It is true that they are required to consult with the head of the War Manpower Commission, but the final decision rests with the armed forces. With this important exception, the new set-up appears generally satisfactory as a solution of the military aspects of the man-power problem.

For solving the equally vital but far more controversial problem of allocating civilian man-power as effectively as possible for the war effort, the changes outlined in the President's order appear far less satisfactory. Two important steps were taken. Mr. McNutt is authorized (1) to require that all workers be hired through the United States Employment Service, and (2) to set up rules that would forbid any employer to retain any worker whose services are more urgently required elsewhere. Rigidly enforced, this order would give Mr. McNutt sweeping powers over civilian employment. While the War Manpower Commission is not given the power to compel a man or women to take a war job in the same way that it can compel a man to enter military service, it can, under the order, see to it that he or she does not work elsewhere.

In the hands of a resolute administrator, this might be all the power needed. Unfortunately, there is little in Mr. McNutt's record to suggest that he has the vision or the courage to make the utmost use of this power. Most observers agree that Mr. McNutt is a capable administrator. His record in the Federal Security Agency has been so satisfactory that many people have forgotten his anti-labor bias as governor of Indiana. No one will question his political astuteness. But his political ambitions are probably his biggest handicap in tackling the man-power job. His seven months' record as chairman of the Manpower Commission is anything but impressive. When the commission was set up, it was understood that the chairman was to have almost unlimited powers in coordinating man-power requirements. To be



sure these powers were general rather than specific. They could not be exercised unless Mr. McNutt was willing to fight not only the armed services but a number of other agencies that were jealous of their prerogatives. Mr. McNutt did not fight; good politician that he is, he offended no one and accomplished almost nothing. He did not even formulate a program consistent with the needs of total war until nearly six months of vital time had elapsed. Much as we would prefer to have it otherwise, we find it difficult to believe that he will suddenly blossom forth as the vigorous administrator needed in the present crisis.

We have no such reservations about the appointment of Secretary Wickard as Food Administrator. A single administrator was necessary in order to have over-all planning in the production and allocation of agricultural products. While some persons may feel that Mr. Henderson should have retained control over the entire rationing program, a very convincing case may be made out for placing the rationing of farm products under Mr. Wickard and leaving the control of prices in the hands of Mr. Henderson. Under the new arrangement it is obvious that the two men will have to work very closely together, but there is every indication that they will be able to do so without friction. The choice of Mr. Wickard to manage the food program is a logical one not only because of his position as Secretary of Agriculture in control of the machinery of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration but also on the basis of his record as a non-political and efficient administrator. There is every reason to believe that this part of our war program will be well handled.

## *Still Muddling Through*

**D**ESPITE newspaper reports to the contrary, the row between military and civilian authorities over production scheduling is not yet over. The long-awaited statement from Donald M. Nelson, chairman of the WPB, was so ambiguous that part of the press interpreted it as a victory for the military, part as a victory for the civilians. The statement was ambiguous for two reasons. One is that the conflict was still undecided at the time the statement was issued, and the other is that Nelson was not too anxious to have the fact realized. Vice-Chairman C. E. Wilson has been given what he already had—general supervision over production scheduling. The extent of his supervision is yet to be determined. An administrative order must be issued by Nelson to fix Wilson's precise power and responsibility, but this had not yet been signed as we went to press. Nelson seemed to have difficulty in making up his mind not only on how much power he would try to give Wilson over the military but also how he would divide power at the

WPB itself between Wilson and Vice-Chairman Ferdinand Eberstadt, who now has so much that there is little left for Wilson. Virtually all the operating machinery of the WPB is under Eberstadt, including that of "program determination," although the Nelson statement indicates that Wilson is to "determine" programs as well as production scheduling.

These terms are vague and shadowy, but so is the quarrel itself. The substance of power, whatever Nelson does, remains with the military as long as they retain the statutory authority to place the actual contracts. Nelson, if he were a strong character, might possibly use the executive order setting up the WPB to override the armed services and force better scheduling of production. But Nelson shows no more firmness of purpose and strength of will in dealing with the military than he did earlier in the year in dealing with industrialists fighting conversion. Better scheduling of production, like the curtailment of business as usual, is likely to be achieved through the grim necessities of raw-material shortages. This is a wasteful and dilatory method of organizing war production, but there is little prospect that we shall move on to a better under the present system of divided control. What makes divided control particularly bad is that it is divided between military and civilian agencies equally flabby in dealing with big business because both are dominated by it.

It is this which lies at the bottom of our failure to meet the "victory program." The Office of War Information, which is fighting hard to maintain as much truth as possible in government releases, admits that the programs for planes, tanks, and anti-aircraft guns have fallen short of the President's goals; only merchant shipping is ahead of schedule. The actual production figures for 1942 as given out are, of course, enormous: 49,000 planes, 32,000 tanks and self-propelled artillery, and 17,000 anti-aircraft guns. But these figures, notably in aircraft, leave many questions unanswered. How many of these are combat and not training planes? How many will actually be completed and ready to fly into battle by the end of the year, and how many will still be waiting for missing parts?

The President's victory program, huge as it was, might have been achieved if the WPB had not dawdled for more than six months after Pearl Harbor in organizing our production system for war. The victory program, which is steadily being cut down, could still be achieved. It requires tightening up raw-material production, spreading arms work to idle facilities in smaller business, forcing the adoption of new production methods like those Kaiser is using in shipbuilding, and better scheduling of production. The greater the production the smaller the loss of life and the shorter the war. But for this something better than the present muddling through will be required.



# One Year After Pearl Harbor

BY I. F. STONE

*Washington, December 6*

LOOKING back across the year since Pearl Harbor, the President has much with which to be pleased. The task of mobilizing a fairly prosperous and contented capitalist democracy for war is like trying to drive a team of twenty mules, each stubbornly intent on having its own way. Only by continual compromise with the ornery critters is it possible to move forward at all. Examined closely, by the myopic eye of the perfectionist, Mr. Roosevelt's performance in every sphere has been faulty. Regarded in the perspective of his limited freedom of choice and the temper of the country, which has never really been warlike, the year's achievements have been extraordinary. The curtailment and conversion of civilian industry for war, the peaceful resolution of capital-labor difficulties, the preservation to a remarkable extent of both social gains and civil liberties, the great expansion of arms output, the successful launching of our first major offensive represent stupendous and back-breaking tasks. The President is only a man, with twenty-four hours a day at his disposal, and amid the clamor of criticism, much of it justified, it will not hurt to pause a moment in gratitude for his work in the service of our country.

Someone has said that politics is the art of the possible, and Mr. Roosevelt achieved what he did largely by taking the easiest route; the easiest was difficult enough. He let big business mobilize our economy for war pretty much on its own terms, and established what is in effect a government of coalition with the right. Just as King John had to sign on the dotted line for the barons before they would fight, so the President had to come to terms with the quasi-independent corporate sovereignties that control so much of our productive resources. In criticizing him for this, we must also in fairness criticize ourselves. Had labor and the middle-class progressives been better organized, politically more astute, less divided, more competently led, they would have exerted more pressure in the national tug-of-war. The last Congressional elections were an adequate if rough test of just how much influence the labor and liberal elements have in national and local politics. The things that count are not our speeches or our pieces in the paper but the votes we can muster in Congress in support of the measures we demand. It is easy to identify ourselves emotionally with "the people." At the moment the people are not identifying themselves with us.

The Attorney General is the first public official here

to say this publicly, at least by implication. "Is the sentiment of the public," Mr. Biddle asked despondently at Charlottesville last Friday, "really moved by the vision of a better world or is it merely disturbed by anxiety about increased taxation and the threat of unemployment after the war? Do the people of our land fight only to win the war and have it over—or to use the war for great and democratic ends?" The answer of big business had been given at the convention of the National Association of Manufacturers two days before, "I am not making guns or tanks," the president of the N. A. M. said, "to win a 'people's revolution' . . . I am not fighting for a quart of milk for every Hottentot or for a TVA on the Danube." In this the N. A. M. spoke also for the War Production Board and for most of our military-diplomatic bureaucracy. Is the answer of the people very different? The Attorney General made it clear that he is afraid that the dominant feeling toward fighting the war is to "get it over." Congress already reflects this desire for "normalcy."

The trend toward the right has gone to ugly extremes "on the hill." In executive committee sessions on the new War Powers bill, the principal objection to the measure was the fear that the President might use it to let in a lot of "non-Aryan" refugees after the war was over. The old slur about the Jew Deal has made a covert reappearance. Sumners of Texas on the floor of the House Wednesday attacked New Deal administrators as "this bunch of people who . . . do not much more than get into this country before they are trying to tell us how to run this government." It would be a mistake to identify "Send 'Em to the Electric Chair" Sumners with the voice of the American people, but there are enough like him in the Democratic Party and in Congress to cheer the Axis and bedevil the Administration. The one part of the war machine generously left to New Dealers is that in which they are certain to become unpopular—the political-suicide assignment of price control and rationing. Sumners and his kind are making the most of it to set the farmer against the New Deal. Wait till they get started on how Lehman is taking food from Americans to feed foreigners!

Coffee of Nebraska thought the Sumners speech "wonderful." Cox of Georgia rose to suggest that perhaps the time had come to break away from party lines in order to get rid of these "carpetbaggers." Rankin of Mississippi and Hoffman of Michigan joined in, unrebuked, though next day Hook of Michigan gave Hoff-



man a drubbing in debate. Hoffman suggested that Congress set up a new committee to investigate the Marshall Field publications, the left and liberal weeklies, and the *Washington Post* for attacking Congressmen of this odorous variety in the last campaign. Hook threw Hoffman into confusion by asking whether this meant that the latter had lost faith in the Dies committee. Hoffman replied lamely that Hook and others had criticized the Dies committee so much that "they now have too big a job on their hands to handle all this."

As Congress moves right, the Administration may move with it, if only out of necessity. The precarious course of the Panama agreement through the Senate last week showed how dependent the President and his party leaders are on right-wing Democrats. The debate and the vote were a foretaste of what is coming when we begin to make the peace. The power of a Cordell Hull, who can swing Southern votes, is likely to increase, that of a Henry Wallace to wane, as the drift continues. In a sense we are already losing the peace more rapidly

than we are winning the war, for the shape of our society is being determined by the undemocratic and monopolistic fashion in which it has been mobilized for war production. This trend will only be reversed if the Axis staying power proves much greater than, in the present optimistic mood, is now expected.

Is the outlook for the liberals hopeless? Not at all. The pendulum now swinging away from social reform will swing back. At present, in the full flush of boom employment, after twelve years of the New Deal, the country is ready for a change, and 1944 may see a right-wing Republican elected. The reaction is likely to go too far. Workers and farmers will not easily give up what they have won through Mr. Roosevelt since 1933. The idea of social security is too potent to be stifled. The Republicans must either submit to these currents or go under in trying to combat them. The immediate outlook for progressivism is dark, but it has been dark before, and it is some comfort to know that its future is nowhere near as bleak as Adolf Hitler's.

## Notes on America

BY KINGSLEY MARTIN

**A**RRIVING by magic carpet from Europe in what seemed to me still the bright lights of Fifth Avenue, I said to myself, "Nobody in this country could really feel that they were in the war that I have just left, let alone imagine for a moment that they might lose it. They couldn't lose it, of course, in the way the British could lose it; neither Germans nor Japanese have a chance of marching on their flat feet into Washington or flying their flags from the top of the Rockefeller Building. But Americans could lose the war by internal differences and by failing quickly enough to be part of the struggle for liberation in Europe."

Since these reflections the successful opening of the Mediterranean front has brought America decisively into the European struggle. The United States now occupies a position that is similar to Great Britain's in the nineteenth century. Technically, the Atlantic has dwindled into the equivalent of the English Channel, while the English Channel has become nothing more than a remarkably efficient tank trap. The psychology of the two nations will adjust itself accordingly. A European coming to America may one day feel some of the irritation that a Pole or Italian, fighting for national liberty a hundred years ago, used to feel when he escaped to Palmerston's England. Just as England used to decide whether or not it was involved in European affairs, or even went to war on the highest moral principles and was apt, in all good

faith, to find them coincident with the interests of Great Britain, so today the United States can preach very high-principled sermons from a bomb-proof pulpit between the Pacific and Atlantic oceans. The British, on the other hand, can no longer afford to muddle through. What did that famous phrase mean? Nothing but that they had more money and more ships and a safer position than other people; so that they could still win wars after making mistakes that would have been the ruin of a Continental nation. Today Britain is part of the Continent and its fate is bound up with that of the other Continental peoples. Instead of muddling through, we British shall have to abandon the boast that we live by instinct and not by intellect; we shall have to use our brains like any other threatened people. This means that one of the main reasons for British unpopularity in the world may disappear. We shall cease to be so irritatingly superior. The mantle of our superiority will fall on American shoulders.

The Englishman who arrives in America today does well to realize that America is a foreign country. He has been apt to take for granted a blood relationship which only in part represents the reality. Any Englishman who travels across the country, who talks and mixes with Americans outside hotels and official quarters, quickly discovers a more closely knit America than there has ever been in the past, composed of a combination of national-



ties of which Britain is only one constituent. If he begins to understand this he will see in the malicious columns of the *Chicago Tribune* not so much a pathological hatred of Britain—though that is there—as a dangerous repudiation by a small section of Americans of the principles on which the United States was founded. He will see the struggle here as part of the same struggle in which Europe is engaged, the struggle of the common people to share in the rights and privileges of civilized society. They are threatened in the United States just as they are threatened in Europe. He will find his solidarity with the mass of American people and must cease to judge what he sees by whether the comments made are “pro-British” or not. Once the British have reached this state of mind, they and the Americans may hope to live down a past which has not been wholly happy.

This friction between the two nations comes from many causes and shows itself in many ways. Psychologists and historians could write innumerable books about it. The British have been incurably ignorant and superior about the United States; the Americans, resentful and misinformed about Britain. The British know no American history at all; the Americans know something of British history, but in a distorted form. Some American history textbooks gravely misrepresent the eighteenth-century story of British blundering; the British, on the other hand, have quite forgotten that they ever made fools of themselves on the western side of the Atlantic. British writers and critics have made this situation worse ever since the days of Mrs. Trollope and Dickens. Again, there is always confusion about language. America is not a child of Britain but a parallel society which has sprung from European stock. Similarly the British language is not a highfaluting form of the American language, nor is the American a debased form of the English language. They are two parallel branches of speech that have developed from a common seventeenth-century stem. Today irritations that spring from a common but divergent inheritance have a new importance. Small in themselves, they perpetuate an unnecessary friction and give a handle to people who for interested reasons wish to keep the United Nations disunited. Obviously the real difficulties today spring from the underlying question of power. During the war we try to hide from ourselves and each other that capitalist rivalry tends not to disappear but to increase. Beneath the surface British business fears the inevitable expansion of American power, while Americans resent the tenacity of British imperialism.

Here we come to the word which is the present symbol of what Americans dislike about Britain. Everywhere I have been in the United States people have asked me about India and the British Empire, whether Britain was changing from a class society and so forth. An analysis of these questions shows no very clear logic, for nothing would alarm Americans more than to have the British

power collapse in the middle of the war. On this point American liberals are in a terrible muddle. If there is anything that they attack more than our failure to “quit India,” it is the speed with which we succeeded in quitting Burma.

I can hear a chorus of voices saying, quite truly, that I have myself led the way in criticizing the imperialist behavior of the British, the manner of our Blimpish defense which underestimated the importance of Chinese help and fails to find a solution for India. Certainly. But my point is that much American criticism of British imperialism proves on analysis to spring not from a dislike of imperialism or from an interest in equality for the colored people. Often today it seems to be just the form which American antagonism to traditional Britain takes at the present moment.

Let me explain. Almost all Americans, nurtured in this socially egalitarian atmosphere, dislike something which they particularly identify with Britain. They say the British look down their noses; they say we are class-ridden; they simply will not believe it when you mention the fact that the most advanced sentiments are often expressed by the handful of peers who are the effective members of the House of Lords. Many of them do not yet know the difference between the commonwealth and the empire. I have met Americans who are sure you are lying when you tell them that Canada, Australia, and South Africa are not subject states. They blandly ask you why Canada pays taxes to Britain, and the retort that, on the contrary, Britain pays Canada for all it buys and that British purchases from India are wiping out India's public debt just leaves them skeptical. But it is not this misinformation, which is after all no more aggravating to an Englishman than British ignorance of any American figures except George Washington and Abraham Lincoln is to Americans, that I am now worrying about. My point is that much of this criticism of Britain has nothing to do with facts: it is dislike of a picture of the English ruling-class man, who is supposed to be out-of-date, effete, useless, and yet somehow all-powerful and always successful in outwitting the simple-minded American in spite of the fact that America is now the most powerful, intelligent, moral, and magnificently efficient country in the world.

Whenever I ask about English speakers and visitors to the United States I am told the same thing. Americans like direct, extrovert Englishmen and do not often meet them. Herbert Hodge, the taxi driver who wrote “It's Draughty in Front,” is the sort of person who many Americans feared did not exist in England. They are quite excited when they hear him speak. “Why,” they say, “after all, the English people really must be quite like Americans.”

In the same way a well-known trade unionist in the United States asked me why we did not more often send



to this country trade unionists like the members of his own union. "We get the impression," he said—this conversation took place before the visit of Jack Tanner and others to the United States—"that the British trade unionists are like Sir Walter Citrine." This was not a personal criticism of Citrine, but a reference to his title. A title of any sort is a serious barrier to successful contact with American labor, indeed, with the whole American public. I have also had people say to me that it was refreshing to meet Englishmen who did not turn out to agree with Winston Churchill about India. Only a critic of British imperialism can successfully discuss that subject in America. No one pays attention to official spokesmen, whether Indians or British, who go around making an uncritical defense of Britain. There is much ignorance in America about the British war effort and the British cause and British society—though not more than the ignorance in Britain about American history and American society. But if this ignorance is to be remedied, the correction must come from those who are dissatisfied with Britain and its record and whose aspirations for change make them acceptable to the American public.

But is England changing? Americans constantly ask.

Official Britain answers unconvincingly and sometimes disingenuously. Official Britain is far too much impressed by the seeming importance of the wealthy and prominent people who are terrified of socialism. Official Britain, indeed, gets all hot and bothered by this question. Apparently Americans want Britain to change, but if we say that under the strain of war and the influence of bombing we are making important social strides, we are at once accused of the terrible crime of socialism. We mustn't be feudal; we must move very rapidly, apparently to the left; and yet under no circumstances must we become in the least "red." This is a difficult pattern to which to conform, and the truth is the British would do much better in America if they worried less about what Important People thought and bluntly refused to appease those who are in any case dubious friends of Britain and not by any means certainly the future rulers of the United States. The Englishman who is disliked by most Americans represents a scarcely higher proportion of British people than the similar class represents in the United States. A Welshman who knows America intimately remarked to me the other day that the official spokesmen of England, the men who manage to appear



STOP THOSE IMPOSTORS



to govern it, really come from a very small group and live in a very restricted area. "There is," he remarked, "a section around Oxford and Cambridge and in London and the home counties which arrogates to itself the title of British and which I and all my friends from Scotland, Wales, and the provinces of Britain dislike just as much as the average American dislikes it."

In a word, the friction between America and Britain is aggravated by trivialities that spring from history and tradition, but the real conflict is exactly that which now divides the world. It is not a simple conflict; it is at one and the same time a struggle between established ruling classes and a struggle against them by common people in each country. Henry Wallace had a word for it.

## *Pity the Federal Employee*

BY JERRY KLUTTZ

*Washington, December 1*

THE federal employee used to be envied as one who had a secure job and a sinecure. Today he is to be pitied. He and his work are misrepresented by men in high places. He is harassed on all sides. He is told that he is a slacker and a draft-dodger, that he is a thumb-twiddler. His loyalty is impugned by investigations. He is the target of a double-barreled Congressional inquiry. He is discriminated against in the matter of overtime pay. He has watched the government raise the wages of his colleagues in industry while it refuses any increase to persons in its own service.

Many federal workers have quit their jobs to go into private industry. The turnover rate has become enormous. In the District of Columbia it is running around 83 per cent; outside the District it is somewhat less, about 65 per cent. Washington is alarmed. It believes that unless steps are taken immediately to improve the relations between the government and its employees, the government will suffer.

Low-salaried employees can barely eke out an existence in Washington. The basic rates of pay have not been changed in years despite the increase in living costs, especially since the war. And on January 1 the 5 per cent victory tax will be deducted from the federal employee's pay check along with 10 per cent for war bonds and 5 per cent for retirement, a total of 20 per cent. Washington is about the most expensive of all cities to live in, and the men and women in the low salary brackets will leave the city in droves unless Congress puts up more money.

After all, they can go back to their home towns and find good jobs in war industries with pay and a half for overtime. Only 60 per cent of federal workers are paid overtime, though the President has repeatedly urged Congress to pass a uniform law on the subject.

After an attack on government employees as draft-dodgers, led by Senator Tydings of Maryland, the President canceled all draft deferments for them. The workers reacted by volunteering for military service by the thousand. Production in government shipyards and arsenals

was threatened. Key administrators of draft age were ready to resign. Apparently the President realized his error, for he modified the order somewhat by instructing the army and navy not to give commissions to "essential" federal workers or accept them as volunteers. Selective Service, however, can still order the induction of any federal employee. The vast majority of those who have been deferred are in industrial plants; they are the skilled workers, technicians, architects, scientists, and engineers who would be deferred if they were working for Henry Ford or United States Steel. There may have been abuses of the deferment privilege in government, but probably no more than in industry.

The case against federal workers is based in part on their enormous number. In World War I the high-water mark was 917,000; today the War Department alone has more than 1,200,000 civilian employees and the Navy Department more than 500,000. In all, more than 2,600,000 civilians, according to the Civil Service Commission, work for Uncle Sam, and the number is increasing hourly. Moreover, the employees themselves complain of lack of work, duplication, and general mismanagement.

A tested friend of the federal worker, Representative Robert Ramspeck of Georgia, chairman of the House Civil Service Committee, heads a House committee that will investigate the government's personnel policies. The inquiry is expected to be constructive; Ramspeck promises he won't conduct a witch-hunt. A New Dealer and the majority whip of the House, he has the confidence of both Congress and the President. He has pushed through the House every important reform bill passed to improve the status of civil-service employees in the last ten years. It is fortunate for the Administration that the investigation will be in his friendly hands. For, after all, the Civil Service Commission and the War Manpower Commission have publicly acknowledged that the federal government has wasted the abilities of thousands of its employees and that federal agencies "pirate" workers from one another.

Ramspeck attributes much of the confusion and mis-



understanding in Washington to that natural ailment, growing pains. The government has taken on about a million civilian workers in the first full year of war, many of them untrained. Confusion and inefficiency have been aggravated, he believes, by the low level of supervisors. He will try to help the agencies to straighten out a bad situation rather than carry on his investigation in the newspapers. He has been necessarily slow in starting his inquiry because of the heavy Republican gains in the House, which will change the membership of his Civil Service Committee.

Meanwhile, Senator Byrd of Virginia has sensationally recommended that a third of the government's civilian employees should be fired. And it does in fact appear as if a large block could be dismissed without hampering the war effort. The most ardent New Dealers agree with the reactionaries about the existence of mass idleness and wasted effort. But the question remains, Which employees should be fired? If Senator Byrd's quota of dismissals is to be reached, either drastic cuts must be made in the War and Navy departments or practically all other federal agencies must be wiped out.

Senator Byrd and his followers probably do not realize to what an extent the war has forced the government to move in and take over. The civil-service figure of 2,600,000 has very little real meaning today. There are tens of thousands of persons now working solely for the government, under government supervision and direction, for salaries paid from the United States Treasury,

who are not federal workers in the strict sense of the term. The War Department, for example, requires war plants to maintain a staff of civilian guards against sabotage. The number is a military secret, but it runs into thousands. Though the department reimburses the plants for the wages of these men, it does not employ them. The government has also taken over ships, docks, and warehouses but considers many of the crews that man them to be private employees. The same thing is true of the workers in the scores of hotels the government has taken over. If all these people were classified as federal employees, the total figure might soar to 5,000,000.

On the other hand, the government could change its policy and whittle down the number of civilian employees. Civilians today are building airfields and shore stations inside and outside the country; civilians are working in the cantonments and training centers at everything from laundering to the provision of utilities. These jobs and many thousands more could be filled by soldiers and sailors, and the civilians could be fired. But in that case we should need a larger army and navy.

Thus the figure of 2,600,000 that Senator Byrd says would so shock the people is a paper figure that could be changed overnight by a paper transaction. Federal workers could perhaps be cut a third, but the cost to the taxpayers might be even greater than it is now.

The private war worker is praised on all sides. The federal worker is urged to continue his job in the name of patriotism and to help win the war. But he gets no glory.

## Life with Kaiser

BY BERNARD TAPER

*Richmond, Cal., November 16*

I'VE just finished working on a 10,500-ton cargo ship called the Robert E. Peary which was launched four days after the laying of the keel and outfitted ready for delivery two days after that. And on the seventh day, I presume, Henry J. Kaiser rested.

A lot of people reading about this record ship are now getting the idea that if there is a convoy for the Solomons gathering off San Francisco Bay that is lacking a ship or two, all it will have to do is wait around a week and let the Richmond Shipyards perform a couple of miracles. It doesn't quite work like that. A great deal of time went into prefabrication before this ship's keel could be laid. (I'll call it "Hull 440" rather than the Peary; during the weeks we lived with it that was the only name we knew it by, though we frequently added colorful adjectives of our own.)

In the old days when no work was done on a ship

before the keel was laid and when decks were built one at a time in simple progression, the period from the laying of the keel to the delivery of the ship could be regarded as the actual construction time; but nowadays there is a certain measure of hokum, verbal conjuring, or what you will involved in using the old yardsticks to measure construction speed records. For the laying of the keel is no longer a beginning, or even the end of a beginning, to use Churchill's phrase. For us workmen, who spend about a month putting together deckhouses, double bottoms, forepeaks, and the numerous other gigantic sections—some weighing over a hundred tons—which are ultimately hoisted on to the ship, the laying of the keel represents, in fact, the beginning of the end.

The rapidity with which Hull 440 was put together was nevertheless incredible to all of us. Within two hours after the laying of the keel at 12:01 Sunday morning the entire bottom shell—50 feet by 500 feet—was welded



into place. Six hours later we had put in all the amidships inner-bottom sections, the entire engine assembly, three great transverse bulkheads, two big shell sections, and a centerline bulkhead. By the end of the day the hull was shaped and half of its 2,900 tons of steel had been lifted into place. On that one day we did something like 18,000 feet of welding.

The second day we put in the rest of the bulkheads, the sheer strakes, the fan tail, the fresh-water tanks, and the midship deckhouse. By the end of the day the upper deck was completed.

On the third day all of the superstructure—the deckhouses, the masts, and the windlass—went on. The huge rudder went on then, too, a day ahead of schedule. And also the anti-aircraft guns.

And on the fourth and last day we finished up—the welding, riveting, electrical wiring, and the painting. The last workers on the ship were a crew of laborers with brooms and dustpans, tidying it all up.

Despite rumors to the contrary Hull 440 was no empty hull. When it went down the skids, it was complete with lifebelts, electric clocks, coat hangers, desks, inkwells, and signs in all the toilets saying "Water Unfit for Drinking." As the deckhouse was hoisted through the air we half expected to see a captain—prefabricated, too, perhaps—already pacing the bridge, nervously keeping a sharp eye out for submarines.

For several days before the laying of the keel the shipway looked as though a giant jigsaw puzzle had been tipped out of its box—the front of the ship here, a pile of pipe there, shell plates over there, and double bottoms one on top of the other. Once the keel was laid, the appearance of the ship kept changing rapidly; if you left the scene for an hour during those first two days you found quite a different contour when you returned. Men swarmed all over the hull twenty-four hours of the day, like "maggots on a dead fish," as one of the welders put it. Piled all over the decks and bottoms and festooned over the staging were miles of welders' and burners' cables, intricately twisted. One felt even on the last day that it would take a full crew of men a week merely to untangle these cables. But imperceptibly the din of work diminished; crews of men completed their tasks and drifted over to the staging of the next shipway in order to watch the launching, trying to grasp the fact that the ship was all finished. It was as though someone had come when our backs were turned for a moment, had taken away Hull 440 that we were working on, and had sailed this Robert E. Peary—with its fine coat of gray paint, bunting flying from the masts, and hooded guns tilted skyward over the cement gun tubs—right up the way to the keel blocks. The christening went off without any of the untoward accidents that superstitious sailors fear, and the ship went down the skids. From where I was standing beside the launching platform it seemed to grow

larger as it slid away, a strange reversal of the laws of perspective due probably to the fact that its sweeping outlines had become perceptible for the first time.

As the twenty-five thousand spectators, still unbelieving, waited for Hull 440 to fill with water and slowly sink, a small section of the keel for the next ship was swung out and laid in place. Meanwhile the men from the outfitting dock were swarming upon Hull 440 to perform the numerous tests necessary before the ship is delivered to the Maritime Commission.

Our yards here in Richmond are laid out over a tremendous area compared to Eastern and European yards, which is one of the reasons why such an extensive pre-assembly system is possible. I don't know the exact amount of space these yards occupy—they form the largest shipbuilding unit in the world—but when you stand on the flying bridge of a ship in construction you look out over an enormous acreage of shipways along which are moving the "whirly" cranes, stretching their long necks with a kind of stiff solicitousness as they gingerly set down their loads. Between two of the yards is the huge prefabrication plant, resembling a dirigible hangar, where the deckhouses and boilers are constructed, to be carried on great trailers to the ships.

Improved methods of yard transportation, standardization of design, and mass production of parts are other vital factors in the speed with which we are building these ships. Another, paradoxically, is our lack of experience in shipbuilding. Most of the top men in the Richmond yards never worked on a ship before last year; they are old Coulee and Bonneville Dam men. The few men around the yards who did work on ships during the last war, like persons of Victorian morals who suddenly find themselves moving about with a racy set, seem always to have a slightly bewildered air at the unorthodox methods of procedure. A great many of the men in these yards are Middle Westerners who never saw the ocean until a few months ago. They have done strange—though not always illogical—things to traditional nautical terminology. "The hold," for instance, has become "the hole" even in writing; a ship is "corked" to make it watertight; and the place where all the pots and stoves are is called the "gallery."

Among the seventy thousand workers in the Richmond yards there are former cooks, clerks, mechanics, anthropologists, ballet dancers, and men of any other calling you can imagine. There are even some ship workers. Anybody who wants to work can have a job. The day I was hired I sat next to a man who some years ago had suffered a stroke which had paralyzed his left side; the personnel office was going to figure out some way to put his right side to work. There is a chipper working with me who is so old that he looks like John D. Rockefeller in his last weeks—and chipping is strenuous work.



The full piquant flavor of the general casting is something you slowly discover and relish long afterward. I asked one of the steamfitters how it happened that so many of his crewmates were anthropologists, half expecting some enlightening explanation about the comparative cranial measurements of steamfitters and anthropologists. But he said it was "purely a historical accident." One anthropologist had been hired as a steamfitter, and he later got some of his friends on. Then there is the crew of riggers made up, in the main, of ex-ballet dancers. Riggers are the men who deftly and fleetly clamber over staging, hooking and unhooking the crane loads. I've seen them leaping from two-by-fours to mast poles. And I've seen some who casually walk the two-inch top of the hold, which is some fifty feet deep. I would say that while not all ballet dancers possess the fearlessness necessary for rigging, nearly all riggers possess the grace and agility of dancers. All riggers are a delight to watch, this crew being merely more conscious of rigging as an art form. A girl who had done alteration work at Bonwit Tellers got a job through what might be called casting by verbal accident. She told the hiring office that her main experience had been as a fitter; so they hired her as a shipfitter—and she's doing very well, trimming bulkheads twenty feet high. But perhaps the most astute bit of personnel work was the hiring of a former wrestler as a flanger. The flangers are the men who beat, heat, shrink, pull, and twist unsatisfactory bulkheads into place; and there is not a better job for a wrestler in the whole shipbuilding industry.

The attitude of the workmen toward the record ship is an odd mixture of cynicism and pride, much as though they were saying, "Yeah, it's a kind of a phony record, but by God we're the ones that made it!" Resentment over working conditions which are more annoying and more hazardous than is normally the case alternate with curiosity and even enthusiasm. I know of one tank tester who voluntarily worked for nothing on his day off, though he went right on grumbling about "the god-awful madhouse." Men like to grumble as they work; ships are cursed, not nursed, to completion. This grumbling is without self-pity and couldn't possibly be mistaken for whining; usually it takes the form of irony. I found a typical expression of it in words chalked beside the narrow entrance to the double bottoms, a space used for storing oil and ballast water. The air here was foul and the heat almost unbearable, and many suffered welders' "flashes," a painful though rarely serious eye-burn. Someone had written at the entrance, "This way to Health Farm." Actually there were few serious accidents—not as many, I believe, as occur on the average ship, though it is difficult to see why.

Unlike large industries run along the lines of the automobile factory, shipyards seem to release the personality

of the individual rather than stifle it. The shipyard worker runs the machines instead of being run by them. Even the helpers seem to have a good knowledge of the way ships are put together and to understand numerous details outside of their own little job. You'll hear a man who has been employed only a month saying, seriously, "If I were running this place, I could have them turning out twice as many ships." And it is surprising how frequently his ideas turn out to be valuable. Hundreds of workmen's suggestions were used in the building of Hull 440, ranging from gigantic jigs that save weeks in the construction of inner bottoms to little clamps that hold girders firm while they are being welded. Without these workmen's inventions and suggestions Hull 440 would never have been a record job. The men are quite possessive about the yards and just about as paternalistic toward Kaiser as he is toward them, regarding him with a fond and fatherly incredulity.

Most of the men are proud of their particular craft. Painters are sure that paint is what holds the ship together. For a while I had the job of putting up temporary wooden strongbacks to support the bulkheads until they were welded. I didn't like that job because the temporary nature of the strongbacks prevented me from acquiring that pleasant sense of self-importance. Now I'm on the crew that lays out and puts up steel doors, and everything is fine. To us it is the doors that make a ship seaworthy. Beside a small and insignificant weld on the bridge deck, which must be at least fifty feet above the water line, one of the welders actually scribbled the words: "She is O. K. Put her on the pond now. She will float."

Hull 440 marks, without doubt, a turning-point in shipbuilding history—not because it was launched a few days after the laying of the keel, but because it demonstrated conclusively that the only way to build ships rapidly is to prefabricate them, and because it utilized hundreds of new inventions, devices, and techniques. It represents the real beginning of the mass production of ships. Hull 440 was 61 per cent prefabricated. Man hours—including the time spent in prefabrication—were cut 6 per cent. As a result of what was learned from Hull 440 the construction time of the ten next ships will be cut from an average of 40.6 days to 31.9 days. Next month our nineteen ways should launch nineteen ships. By the beginning of the year the full value of Hull 440 will be felt, as its lessons are modified and absorbed. Average time on the shipway will drop to 25 days per ship, and our two yards constructing Liberty ships will, it is estimated, launch 275 ships next year—about a hundred more than would have been launched at our old rate of construction. That record will mean considerably more to us than the fact that we were able to deliver one ship in less than a week.



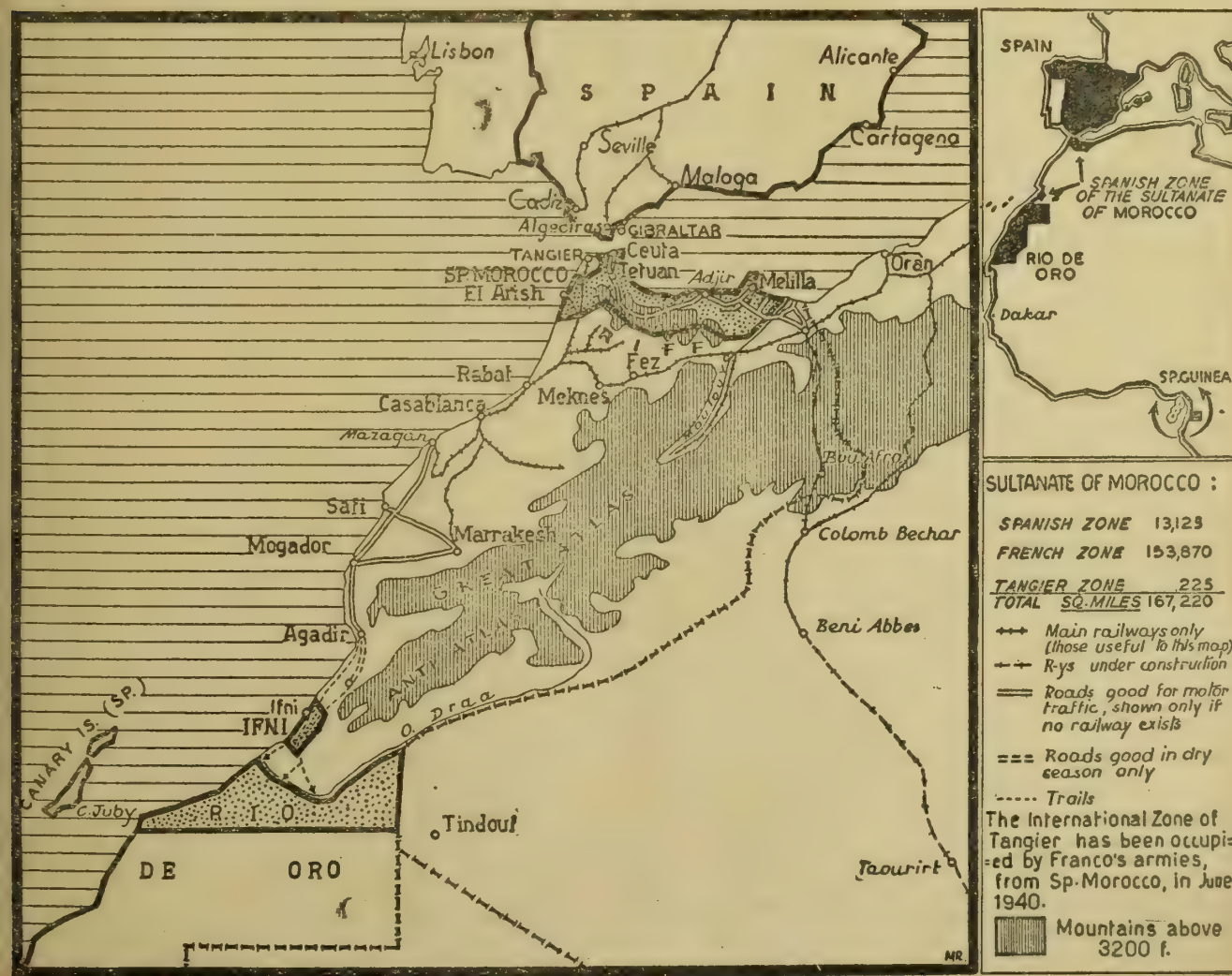
## Spain's Zero Hour?

OUTWARDLY, there is no sign of anything brewing in Spain. Press and radio give the impression that there is nothing to fear from that quarter. The mobilization order issued by the Cabinet three weeks ago has been interpreted as proof of Spain's determination to maintain the status quo. Since it was obvious that the British-American command had no intention of moving in the direction of the Spanish Peninsula or through the Moroccan protectorate, there was no question in the Allied capitals that the order was meant as a warning to Germany. Then came Franco's declaration that he would turn to either side for help if the other violated Spain's neutrality, and that apparently satisfied those still inclined to question.

In the past week, among people close to the sources of news, this confidence has begun to break down. For one thing, Hitler's good friend Serano Suñer has been reappointed to the Council of the Falange. Then there is

the recall of General Antonio Aranda Mata from his important post in the army, and his replacement by General Alfredo Kindelán. Aranda, the defender of Oviedo, has been regarded as the one truly pro-Ally general in Franco's army, while Kindelán is known to be as pro-Nazi as Suñer himself. Another disquieting fact is the distinctly anti-British and anti-American tone of the Valladolid Radio.

These are recent events. Other evidences of Franco's double-dealing must have been picked up by the Allied intelligence services long ago. For instance, it is no deep secret that German submarines have been going in and out of the port of Palos quite as if it were a German port. A submarine arrives as a pleasure craft, the captain disembarks to visit a friend, and while he enjoys a couple of glasses of *manzanilla* the crew fills her up with oil—and no doubt with ammunition too. The same thing has probably been going on along the Atlantic coast.





One need only glance at the map to appreciate the value that the Nazis attach to Spanish Morocco. Even before the First World War it was famous as a nest of German intrigue. Now, with the frontier between France and Spain entirely in Nazi hands, and with France held completely incommunicado, nothing could be easier for the Nazis—without their even having to risk a formal march through Spain—than to smuggle into Morocco a stream of technicians, artillerymen, and aviators, to say nothing of Gestapo agents and agitators.

If this is the information that is reaching official ears in Washington, a showdown on Spain cannot be far off.

J. A. DEL V.

## Britons on the Peace

*[Nowhere is public opinion more alert to the political side of the present struggle than in England. A good many people there seem determined not to allow this "war for democracy" to degenerate into just another test of strength between two opposing groups of powers. They of course want to see Hitler defeated. That is their first aim; all other considerations are relegated to a secondary plane. But at the same time they are fighting with great courage for a democratic conduct of the war and for a genuine People's Peace. In so doing they are not plagued by the fear that they may be impeding the smooth functioning of the government. On the contrary, they feel that they serve both the war and the peace by standing firm against the increasing tide of reaction which, with the improvement in the military situation, threatens to sweep the country. This is a most interesting aspect of Political War, and one to which we shall refer from time to time in this section. We print below quotations from the English press.]*

### THE SAME SONG IN LONDON

I am sorry to say it, but in many high quarters the outmoded nationalist idea still prevails that every [Italian] anti-Fascist is "a traitor to his country" and not quite a gentleman, certainly not to be encouraged. It is this idea which has blocked every attempt by free Italians to create a fighting force to help the Allied cause.

The quarters to which I refer are the same ones that entertain delusions about Badoglio and the Crown Prince staging an overthrow of Mussolini. They now realize that Mussolini must go, having committed "an error of judgment" on June 10, 1940; but they still hope that Grandi or some other "gentleman" can be stepped into his place.—IVOR THOMAS, M. P., in *Reynolds' News*.

### VATICAN PEACE

On the other hand, the Vatican would be concerned about the maintenance in Italy, no less than in Spain, of a political and social order that reflects the Catholic traditions of those countries.—*The Catholic Herald*.

### HOPE FOR HITLER

Now Hitler's is not the only brain in Europe. Sir William Beveridge has all his knowledge without his absurd collection of phobias. Mr. Churchill is not impervious to common sense and decency and feeling. He was the first English politician who dared to say that Lenin was a great man. He stood up against continuing the Black and Tan terror in Ireland. There is hope for him yet. There is hope even for Hitler's phobias. They began with Hapsburgphobia, which developed into Slavphobia, then into Jewphobia, Marxphobia, Social-Democrathobia, Polephobia, Czechphobia, and Bolshevikphobia. He admired us as Nordics. But he has found us out, and found out all the other Nordics as well. He has ended with a Mankindphobia from which only Central Germans are excepted. Perhaps he will find them out, too, presently; and then we shall see what we shall see.—BERNARD SHAW in *Central Europe*.

### WATCH THE "CONVERTS"!

The European underground movements have, in practice, already worked out some methods of a clear political selection. . . . It will be enough . . . to point to one illuminating instance. The French Socialists have laid down a whole set of rules for the readmission to their movement of those former Socialist deputies who did not vote against Pétain at the last session of the parliament.

Such members can be readmitted only in exceptional cases, when they have proved through hard and dangerous underground work against the enemy that their "conversion" has actually been sincere. Their readmission can be granted only at the request of the rank-and-file members of the underground organization.

The "convert" cannot occupy any leading post in the movement; and his readmission is on trial. Such a set of rules gives, no doubt, a good chance for a proper sifting of the political staff in question. It would, however, be encouraging to know that this kind of quarantine is being applied not only to former Socialist M. P.'s but also to some penitents from the fascist ranks.—*The Observer*.

### WHO ARE THE ALLIES?

It is always better to take a line and not try to please everybody (that is, unless you prefer the Goebbels technique). Now it is quite true, as various official persons have pointed out to me from time to time, that there are people abroad, to whom our propaganda is directed, who are afraid that we in Britain are drifting too far to the left. But such people are not worth comforting. They will never, in my view, make good allies against fascism. They are mostly potential Quislings. The hard core of resistance to fascism is never found among such people. Therefore, their existence is a poor excuse for not basing our propaganda upon positive democratic aims, for not talking straight to the common folk everywhere, who know very well that fascism is not some old-fashioned nationalistic nonsense but a gigantic attempt, on the part of power-crazy groups, to suppress and then wickedly to exploit the ordinary people.—J. B. PRIESTLEY, in the *Observer*.



# Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

ONE DAY toward the end of last March traffic in Paris was almost completely halted for a great parade of troops. The parade had been widely advertised, and the troops that marched in it bore a singular name: they were called *Waffen-S.S.*, which may be roughly translated "S.S.-at-arms." It took them eight hours to pass a given point. Two weeks later a film of this parade was shown in all the cinemas of Europe. In the words of a Stockholm newspaper, it pictured "thousands of new tanks and armored cars. All the equipment was new, and the artillery was of the most modern type." The S.S. pure and simple was well known—the Black Shirt army which under the command of the sinister Himmler served, together with the Gestapo, as a political police force. But what was this new *Waffen-S.S.*?

People who had followed developments closely were aware that the new organization had been founded in the fall of 1940 as an addition to the S.S. There was even an official document on the subject. On August 6, 1940, the Führer had laid down the "fundamental principles concerning the necessity of a *Waffen-S.S.*" On September 11 this statement of principles had been transmitted to the highest-ranking officers of the army, for their information. At that time the communication went only to the commanding generals and was marked "secret." But a few months later, on March 21, 1941, Headquarters again distributed the document, and this time to all officers down to battalion commanders and battalion adjutants. Thus when the British captured the staff of an artillery battalion in Libya, a copy of the order fell into their hands.

This edict of Hitler's provides us with an authentic account of the new organization. It begins: "It would be intolerable, in critical internal situations, to send German armed forces conscripted from the entire population into action against their fellow-citizens. Such a step would be the beginning of the end. A state that is compelled to resort to such measures . . . thereby abdicates." But if a conscript army may not be used against the people, another body of troops must be formed that will be "capable on any and every occasion of representing and asserting the authority of the Reich." This force must be made up of "men of the best German blood who unconditionally identify themselves with the *Weltanschauung* on which the Greater German Reich is based." Only such an organization will be capable of "resisting disruptive influences in critical times. Such a body will feel pride in its integrity and will therefore never fraternize with the proletariat or with that underworld which undermines our basic ideas."

There was another requirement: "In our German Reich

of the future a police force will possess the necessary authority in its relations with other citizens only if it has a soldierly character. Through their experience of glorious military events and their education by the National Socialist Party our people have acquired such a soldierly mentality that a sock-knitting police (as in 1848) or a bureaucratic police (as in 1918) can no longer assert authority. For this reason it is necessary for the state police, in its own closed units, to prove itself at the front in the same way and to make blood sacrifices to the same degree as any other unit of the armed forces." In the meantime—that is, until this new body is needed against its fellow-citizens—it can be used in the occupied regions against "national groups which are not per se and a priori well disposed toward the Reich."

Perhaps one should admire the foresight with which the Führer, at the height of his military triumphs, created additional machinery for dealing with future critical internal situations. Were, then, the existing means of control not enough—the regular police, plus the octopus of the old S.S., plus the Gestapo? Clearly they were not enough in the special circumstances of the war, when so many million men have weapons in their hands. They were not enough for those who had the 1918 situation in mind, as Hitler and his group have it constantly in mind. The Nazi government needs a better instrument than was available then; it needs an instrument which stands apart from and outside the people; above all, an instrument that can be used against wavering sections of the army, one that is equal or superior to the army in training, war experience, and arms.

The present strength of the *Waffen-S.S.* probably exceeds 750,000 men. There is a sinister significance in the fact that its recruiting appeals are addressed particularly to the very young. It prefers to enrol boys of seventeen, the low age limit. And as a few months in the so-called *Arbeitsdienst* are a prerequisite, even boys of sixteen can apply; if they are accepted they serve the rest of their sixteenth year in the *Arbeitsdienst* and on their seventeenth birthday join the *Waffen-S.S.* They are the "human material" which Hitler and Himmler seem to think most promising for their special purpose. These boys have never in their life seen or heard anything but Nazism; they can be expected to have the brutality that goes with a complete lack of human experience; and they have not yet developed any genuine or constant human relationships.

Those are facts to keep in mind when one speculates on whether the Germans are likely to revolt. At the moment they are certainly very, very far from it. And even if the impulse to revolt were present, or if it should develop, it is easier to speak the word, easier to cherish the wish, than to do the deed. The machinery that is being prepared to cope with such an eventuality is more powerful than any that has ever existed before.



## Article III

BY HENRI LAUGIER

ARTICLE III of the Atlantic Charter reads: "They [the signatories] respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them."

The wording of this statement has been sharply criticized, and justly so. For it appears to allow all peoples an unconditional right to whatever form of government they may choose—Fascist, Nazi, or any other, even one founded on the explicit denial of the rights of man or of the four freedoms proclaimed by President Roosevelt.

Men now know that fascism is the prime enemy of democracy and liberty; that the capital crime of the victorious nations in the period between the two wars was to tolerate the installation of a Fascist regime in Italy and of Nazi rule in Germany, to permit aggression against China and Ethiopia, and to stand aside while the forces of international totalitarianism reduced unhappy Spain to peonage.

Public opinion now demands that the chiefs of the United Nations assume the leadership of democracy throughout the world. Communists have always labored to make the whole world Communist; Nazis have worked with passion—and at what cost!—to Nazify us all. It remains for the democratic peoples to strive with all their might for universal democracy—social, political, and economic.

Fortunately, though the wording of the text of Article III is ambiguous, there is no real doubt about its spirit. In the minds of its authors it was not intended to sanction any betrayal of liberty; it was meant to convey that the governments of free nations must have the constant support of their peoples, freely given.

If such is the meaning of Article III, it is desirable to have a clarified text that will dissipate the ambiguities. It may appear bold to propose a new text for a section of the Atlantic Charter, but in reality it is in all humility that I submit one to the consideration of all democratic peoples. It is this: "They affirm the right of all peoples to choose, with the guaranty of complete liberty of decision, the form of government under which they will live; and they proclaim their faith in government of the people, by the people, and for the people. They intend to provide the restoration of sovereign rights and self-government to those who have been forcibly deprived of them. Limitations of national sovereignty should be imposed only in order to achieve an efficient international organization."

This new text appears to me to conform more closely to the general public will. I explain the various

### Hitler's New Role

*President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill may well warn people against assuming that Nazi defeat is now only a matter of months. With news of the first victories care took flight, and Washington correspondents began to report that bets were being laid on the date of the war's end—some putting their money on March, others on the middle of May, with the arrival of good weather. Let us be cheerful, let us smile, let us worry just a little about the last phase of the war and nothing at all about the peace. All our enemies will be beaten, and everything will come out all right. In harmony with this happy mood the most extraordinary stories have begun to circulate about the collapse of morale in the enemy ranks, about quarrels between the Führer and his generals, about the changed attitude of the Nazi leaders. The latest of these stories, reported by the Associated Press on November 30, says that Hitler has asked Hjalmar Schacht, his financial genius, to write a report "on what would occur if Germany were beaten." It shows Hitler in a new and chastened mood—not ready to set fire to besieged Europe before giving it up, not prepared to murder the last Jew and to kill resisting Christians by the million, but just thinking anxiously about the economic future of Germany. The next story will present him amiably sharing a glass of beer with Pastor Niemöller and discussing the foundations of eternal peace.*

changes as follows: (1) The words "with the guaranty of complete liberty of decision" denote free expression of the popular will without any deceptive phrases which might sanction a new "march on Rome" or false plebiscite. (2) A proclamation of faith in government of the people, by the people, and for the people, in the very text of their charter, commits the United Nations to fight for universal democracy. (3) The substitution of the words "they intend to provide" for "they wish to see" replaces an attitude of friendly observation with one of militant responsibility. (4) The final sentence of the new text provides that limitations of sovereignty may only be imposed for the sake of efficient international organization. This important addition paves the way for the possible limitations upon, or transfers of, sovereignty which might have to be imposed in order to transform nations now allied into nations truly united, an essential factor in the organization of a free world.

I do not presume to think that this new text will actually be substituted for the one now in force. But I am convinced that any discussion it may provoke will serve a useful purpose.



# The Turn Toward Victory

BY DONALD W. MITCHELL

THE war in Russia has at last reached a stage favorable to the United Nations. Last year six months of winter defensive fighting weakened Germany's fighting strength, impaired its morale, and forced it to give ground, but the *Wehrmacht* remained sufficiently strong to regain the initiative in the spring and administer a crushing defeat to its foes, capturing in the process areas of enormous strategic and economic value. These gains, however, like those of Russia's winter offensive, were partly illusory, for the Germans were never able to annihilate the Red Army or to cut off its supplies.

Monotonous communiqués stressing attacks and counter-attacks, with streets or villages won at high cost, obscured for a time a gradual change in the front. After Hitler's speech announcing that the Germans would take Stalingrad but at other points content themselves with holding ground already gained and repelling enemy attacks, the scale and energy of German offensives were markedly cut. By early November this was plainly noticeable, with official German communiqués reporting action by hundreds rather than thousands of troops. Clearly the German generals, not wanting a repetition of the 1941-42 winter, were preparing winter quarters and hoping to hold off the Russians until the main body of their troops could retire to prepared and easily defended positions. Meanwhile, in deference to Hitler, they continued the increasingly futile attacks at Stalingrad.

For the second time Hitler had failed to reach even his minimum objective. The German army, though still the most formidable weapon on earth, had clearly passed its stage of greatest threat. Gains of territory had been materially less than in the preceding year. Russian defensive prowess had become so marked that only a most unlooked-for break-through offered any hope of ending the war. At the same time the German victories, though smaller than last year, were still victories. The Russians had not yet demonstrated any capacity to carry out sustained drives of their own. Hence, unless very powerful intervention in the west changed the situation, the year 1942 was Hitler's.

A retreat to prepared positions, nevertheless, presents distinct dangers, since a reduced force may be assaulted at any time by an enemy at full strength. Such a withdrawal seems the most likely explanation of the huge early Russian gains at Stalingrad. For some months the Russians had been pressing from the north and south against the bases of the Stalingrad salient. Whether at first these attacks were purposely not pushed home, so

that the Germans would be lulled into a sense of security, or whether their sudden success was due to the weakening of the German flanks is a question which cannot yet be answered. Another mystery is how the signs of an imminent attack were concealed in a terrain utterly devoid of natural cover. The official Russian account of feints elsewhere is not entirely convincing. Why were the Germans so easily taken in? Was there a blackout in local leadership? The extremely large bag of prisoners, which was not duplicated in the offensives farther north, also demands explanation. If bad morale is the clue, as suggested in some quarters, we may be in a much better war position than anyone in authority has dared to assert.

At any rate, the present gains of the Soviets justify a definite though qualified optimism. The Germans have already lost heavily in man-power and material and are likely to lose more before they reach prepared positions. They have had to use reserves as support to prevent disaster and slow up the Russian advance. Thus against their will and with forces weakened by withdrawals, they are engaged in a war of movement, in which one observes with interest the absence of large German air forces and the comparative scarcity of tanks. Winter fighting, however, is materially different from fighting at other seasons of the year. Last year Russian announcements that various enemy units were being "surrounded" were not in most cases followed by announcements of their annihilation. At the moment of writing this is true at Stalingrad as well. In the first few days of the present offensive progress was extremely rapid, but the Russian war machine, judged by past performance in winter fighting, is more slow moving than that of the Germans and not always able to close the pincers quickly and forcibly enough to destroy enveloped forces.

Some observers have found the explanation for German weakness in Russia in the North African defeats. This is doubtful, since Hitler announced a defensive policy on this front before the rout of Rommel began. In other ways, however, the African campaign is likely to be of aid to Stalin. Russia's distrust of its allies visibly began to subside with the proof that they too were willing to fight to win the war. Diversion of German air power to Southern Europe has certainly made easier the delivery of supplies by the extraordinarily perilous Murmansk route. The now outnumbered Luftwaffe is spread very thin over an immense area. If the Anglo-American African offensive is pushed to a victorious conclusion in



the near future, shipment of supplies to Russia by the less dangerous Mediterranean route may soon become practicable.

And supplies will be vitally important in the months ahead. For the miracles accomplished by the Russians in transplanting whole industries to the interior should not obscure the heavy losses of food, manganese, iron, and other materials due to German conquests. These must be replaced from other sources if the Soviets are to be kept in full military efficiency for the campaigns in the spring and summer of 1943.

In the winter fighting, then, the tactical outlook, unless there is a dangerous shortage of supplies, is mainly favorable to Russia. The Germans are unquestionably better prepared to withstand the climate than they were last winter, and the generals are acting with greater caution. On the other hand, the initiative is now definitely in Russian hands. Heavy going slows down air and tank units and gives a decided advantage to the belligerent having the greatest weight of fire power and numbers. The Germans are almost sure to relinquish territory until they reach more stable defense lines than some they now hold.

In last winter's fighting the Germans were able to hold nearly all their main bases for attack largely because it proved impossible to bring up artillery of sufficient size to demolish their defenses. The Russians infiltrated around these positions, in some instances almost cutting them off, but could not reduce them. If an effective method of dealing with these strong points can now be worked out, there is more than a chance that the German retreat may become continuous. Whether or not Russian efforts are successful, the increased threat of an expanding Allied army in Africa and Europe will probably prevent maximum forces from being sent against the Soviets for a third successive year.

After more than three years in which the Axis has suffered only negative defeats, the balance of power is slowly passing to the Allies and with it the ability to press home the new attacks which alone can bring final victory. Analogy is sometimes dangerous, but it is perhaps correct to view the twin successes in Russia and North Africa as the Vicksburg and Gettysburg of World War II. The Civil War analogy may be pursued a step further. After the successes of July, 1863, nearly two years of intensely hard fighting were required to bring victory to the Union. Germany today, surrounded as it is by conquered buffer states, is in an enormously strong position to resist direct attack. It can, if necessary, retreat through those areas for hundreds of miles before being compelled to defend its own soil. Internal revolt in a country so rightly fearful of retribution as the Third Reich may be hoped for but should not be expected. Though we have apparently rounded the turn toward victory, the most difficult part lies ahead.

## Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

### Cash Savings and Taxes

THIS is not a "silk-shirt" era, and not merely because what little silk is left in the country is being made into parachutes and powder bags. Retail-sales figures, it is true, show that money is being spent freely, but a great deal is being saved too—much more than the rather disappointing war-bond totals would indicate. A few weeks ago the Securities and Exchange Commission released an analysis showing that in the third quarter of 1942 individuals' gross savings amounted to \$11.4 billion compared with \$9 billion in the second quarter. Purchases of government bonds accounted for \$2.8 billion of this sum, while the acquisition of automobiles, homes, and other durable goods absorbed \$2.3 billion. Reduction in personal debts, including those due on hire-purchase agreements, amounted to \$.8 billion, insurance to \$.6 billion, and saving in the form of government insurance, mostly through the social-security funds, to \$.7 billion.

The major form which savings took during the quarter, however, was one which has potentially harmful attributes and has caused some alarm—the increase in cash holdings and bank deposits. These rose by almost \$4 billion, making a total increase for the first nine months of the year of \$6.5 billion, in spite of the fact that between January and March there was a small net loss. Many economists look askance at such large and rapid gains in liquid assets. They fear the owners of these resources may suddenly divert them into the purchase of goods, producing an inflationary pressure on prices which it would be difficult to combat.

My personal opinion, however, is that this alarm can be exaggerated. If the price-control system breaks down for any cause and there is a sharp upward move in the cost of living, then people with cash resources might start a flight into goods. But since in that unfortunate event there would probably be a rush to turn government securities also into cash, the conversion of liquid savings into war bonds would not provide an adequate safeguard. Meanwhile the important point for the national war economy is that every dollar saved, no matter in what form, is a dollar *not spent* and to that extent helps to relieve pressure on our diminishing supply of goods.

Among the many limitations of statistics is the fact that while they give useful information about mass behavior they are seldom a clear guide to the motives that added together account for that behavior. Thus the mere fact that a large number of persons decide to hoard part of their incomes in the form of cash does not tell us anything about their reasons for this step. Yet its ulti-



mate economic results will vary greatly in accordance with the underlying motives of the hoarders. If, for the duration of the war, we all turned into misers and buried in our backyards every penny of our incomes beyond what we needed for barest subsistence, the problem of financing the war would be solved. The demand for civilian goods would then fall well below the supply, and the government could do all its financing through the banks. For there would be no harm in adding to the total volume of spending power so long as the propensity to spend was negligible.

It is unlikely, however, that much of the present currency hoarding is due to actual miserliness. Returns published by the Federal Reserve Board show that at the end of September currency in circulation totaled \$13,703 million, an increase of 37 per cent since August, 1941. Over \$10,000 million of this sum was accounted for by coins and bills of up to \$20 in value, representing a 41 per cent increase in thirteen months. This very striking expansion is probably in the main a reflection of the sharp advance of pay rolls during the period in question. Men who had been on relief for years drawing a few dollars a week are now earning good wages and naturally keep a much greater average amount of money in their pockets. Moreover, men in this position do not usually have bank accounts and are likely to put their savings in a teapot until they have enough to make possible a purchase of war bonds or to turn their thoughts to savings banks.

The lesser but still striking increase in the circulation of large bills is more difficult to account for. One commentator has noted that the figures in this category tend to expand around the first of each month, when bond-interest disbursements are made. This suggests hoarding of bills by timid *rentiers* and, perhaps, to some extent a growth of tax dodging. A safe-deposit box full of bills would be one way in which a wealthy man could bequeath sums to his heirs with reasonably good prospects of evading death duties.

The even larger recent increase of savings in the form of bank deposits must also be considered in the light of motives. Why are people accumulating money in bank accounts beyond current needs when they might earn a safe return by investing it in war bonds? One very simple answer is that people are saving to pay taxes. If this is so, the scare currently being worked up about the danger of wholesale tax defaults next March is wholly unwarranted. The chief piece of evidence offered to support this scare is a recent Gallup poll which found that most people have not yet made any provision to meet their increased tax liabilities next year. Presumably on the basis of this finding, Dr. Beardsley Ruml declared recently in a speech advocating his much-publicized "pay-as-you-go plan": "Nothing can be gained by arguing that people ought to have saved the tax on last year's income out of

last year's income. The fact is they did not do it and now they cannot do it."

It is hard to reconcile this flat statement with the SEC report indicating a rate of cash savings from April 1 to September 30 just about sufficient to meet taxes on income received during this period. Surely these savings cannot be credited to people not liable to tax? It is all very puzzling, but perhaps Dr. Ruml, whose brilliance as an economist is universally acknowledged in the press, can provide a satisfactory explanation.

## In the Wind

THE REIGN OF TERROR instituted by the Christian Front in certain sections of New York has not abated since Investigations Commissioner Herlands exposed it a few weeks ago. Synagogues are being desecrated, and air-raid wardens are manhandled as they make their rounds. A vigorous campaign against the pro-Nazi rowdies is being carried on by the Brooklyn *Daily Eagle*, the one paper, aside from the liberal *PM*, that has had the courage to name names and call for official action.

ON NOVEMBER 28 the Boston *Daily Record* ran a picture of American troops in Africa marching beside a high wall on which was a sign reading *Défense d'Afficher* (Post no Bills). The meaning of the phrase, according to the caption below the picture, is "Defense of Africa."

RUSSIAN WAR RELIEF in Philadelphia is auctioning the hat worn by Greta Garbo in "Ninotchka," the picture that satirized the Soviet Union.

FROM AN ARTICLE on Palestine in the *Pilot*, an anti-Semitic paper published in Minneapolis: "They [the Jews] have cultivated the tomato so assiduously that they send theirs to market a month earlier than do the Arab farmers. . . . Just like the Jew! In 1933, in spite of the two great American grapefruit areas, they sold to our Canadian cousins 400,000 cases of seedless Judean grapefruit, thus beating us at our own game. Just like the Jew!" The article, incidentally, is by Colonel F. J. Miles, secretary of the Russian Missionary Society in London, who is now writing and lecturing in this country.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENT in La Follette's *Progressive*: "Gift for the Children? A Book, 'The Little Red Hen and Her Cooperative,' by K. B. Stockton. . . ."

ON THE JANICULUM HILL in Rome stands a statue of Garibaldi astride a horse. According to a story in an English magazine, some Italian who remembered how the great patriot had helped drive the Austrians from Italy scrawled the words "Scendi, Peppine! Son tornati!" on the base of the statue. In other words, "Get down, Joe, they're here again."

[The \$5 prize for the best item received in November goes to S. D. of New York City for his story about the former fascist who was employed, and recently fired, by the Office of War Information, published November 28.]



# BOOKS and the ARTS

## The Microcosm of War

*LOVE AGAINST HATE.* By Karl Menninger. Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$3.50.

THE intellectual history of our times may some day be written in terms of the case for Freud versus the case for Marx. Or rather, to put it more accurately, Freud and Marx are more and more clearly emerging as typical representatives of the most significantly contrasting attempts to understand the human world in terms of two fundamental assumptions, each of which is more inclusive and more momentous than either Marxism or Freudianism considered as a specific doctrine. Perhaps it is not quite absolutely the case of the individual versus the group, or of consciousness versus the dialectic of external events beyond human control, for both admit that groups are composed of individuals, and all but the most absolute of Marxians talk and act as though there were some point in urging the workmen of the world to unite—which there would not be unless workmen *could* do something about uniting. But it is the fundamental question of cart and horse, of which end we should begin with in the attempt either to understand a phenomenon or, even more importantly, to control or modify it. The old cliché which affirms that all men are either Platonists or Aristotelians whether they know it or not is hardly more true than the statement that all are similarly either Marxians or Freudians—provided of course that these two philosophers are taken to represent, as the two ancient ones were, the most fundamental and inclusive of their respective premises.

It is, furthermore, worth remarking that Freudianism is, among other things, one of the last stands of free will, even though the concept of the subconscious may seem to be one more attack upon it. Freudianism certainly does tend to emphasize the difficulty man has in establishing his claim to be a reasoning animal. The Rational Will which some philosophers have imagined sitting in serene sovereignty inside the human skull is a sadly badgered monarch as Freud understands him. On too many—perhaps on most—of the occasions when he thinks he is giving orders, he is really following the insidiously whispered suggestions of the Subrational Will, which is itself so far from being free that all sorts of primitive drives and infantile conditionings dominate it. What, in other words, Aristotle calls the vegetative part of human nature is a far larger part than most who pin their faith on man's rationality like to admit. But even the Subrational Will is at least in some sense human; it has its seat in the human being and is not, like the dialectic of events, outside him. The subconscious, at least, is not a mere epi-phenomenon and hence merely an effect, not a cause, of anything. But this is not all, for even the Freudian therapeutic process comes finally to the point where it makes an appeal to the consciousness of the patient and bids him exercise his Rational Will to make a choice which will determine a line of conduct. Thus Freudianism in the end insists that man is, or at least sometimes may be, both a

rational animal and an animal which, by willing, can make some change both in himself and in the world he lives in.

Something of all this—or at least the starting-point of these reflections—is suggested in the first chapter of Dr. Menninger's book, which begins with a reference to the parlous state of the world and to the common assumption that either mechanical civilization is wrecking itself or a sick social system has produced sick men. Dr. Menninger then asks, apparently with full awareness how unpopular the implication of an affirmative answer would be, "Is it possible that human phenomena can all be related to human beings"; that "the disease of the world is the disease of the human personality"; that "the World War of today is a reflection of multiple miniature wars in the hearts of individuals"? And it would be, of course, possible to put his questions in an even more inclusive form. So far as the popular mind is concerned, Marxism may be said, I think, to have won the most crucial of its battles. Most of even the least philosophical of citizens probably now take it for granted that men are what they are because of the kind of society in which they live. But it is still at least possible to reverse the proposition, still at least possible to ask if society is not what it is because of the kind of men who make it.

I cannot but wish that Dr. Menninger had developed his implied thesis more fully. Perhaps he is interested merely in suggesting it as a justification for the more technical and minute investigation of certain aspects of the individual psyche with which his book is concerned. In any event he immediately proceeds to a series of largely self-contained chapters devoted to an analysis of the problems presented by the conflict between love and hate in the individual man. Freud, he points out, originally assumed that there was only one human drive, which he called the libido and which, despite all the popular misunderstanding, included vastly more than the mere physiological urge of sex. But Freud himself later replaced this monism by a dualism. The aggressive impulse, he declared, is as fundamental as the libido; love and hate are two equally primary and equally important emotions. Each has its function, but the adjustment between them is seldom perfect. Each is easily diverted from its proper objects. We love what from even the standpoint of individual biological advantage we ought not to love, and, similarly, hate can be so misdirected as to choose even the self as its object.

Dr. Menninger's chapters are concerned with various types of destructive conflict between love and hate in the individual and with the methods by which they may sometimes be resolved. And though a review can hardly hope even to summarize a discourse necessarily detailed and discursive, at least two things need to be said. Dr. Menninger finds the source of the conflicts to be often sexual and usually to arise out of childhood experiences. But he neither reduces all maladjustment to sexual maladjustment nor offers the simple solutions which Freudians are commonly charged with offering. JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH



## Angela Thirkell of Stalky & Co.

**MARLING HALL.** By Angela Thirkell. Alfred A. Knopf, \$2.50.

ANGELA THIRKELL, prolific chronicler of life in Barsetshire, continues her literary love affair with the English upper classes. Like the other volumes in her Barsetshire cycle, "Marling Hall" concentrates on a single household, but once again we meet the Grahams, Leslies, and Crawleys of Mrs. Thirkell's previous novels; her cast of characters is as familiar as her plots or her anatomy of good family. Here again are those sterling middle-aged women of such gentility and wisdom, so devoted to their families and the local choral society, and her men so strong on duty and the decencies; there is even the usual younger daughter with a morbid interest in pregnant cows. "Marling Hall" is Mrs. Thirkell's third novel since the war. The Marlings are making genuine sacrifices for their country: one son is in service, and a son-in-law has already been killed in action. But as might be expected, it is with the threats to security on the home front that Mrs. Thirkell is mainly concerned.

There are, for instance, the secretaries and typists in one of the local government offices of whom Oliver Marling marvels, "as so many others have marveled, at the gulf which was set between himself and his friends and what were at the present moment the actual pillars, if not the saviors, of society." Mrs. Thirkell complains that "the rationing of petrol, more stringent and rightly so, cut people off from most of their friends, while the 600 highly paid men and girls employed at the aeroplane reconditioning works . . . were driven in motor coaches to and from their work over distances varying from five hundred yards to a mile and a half every day, besides being driven over to Barchester to the cinema every week at their employers' expense." There are the Marling servants who insist upon roast beef for Sunday dinner while the family is reduced to pigeon. There are the evacuated, the war's sternest duty, of whose children Mrs. Thirkell writes:

"And that," said David, "is the Brave New World."

Mrs. John Leslie said it was so nice to have those poor bombed children at the class and it was a great thing for their own children to mix with all kinds while they were too young to know the difference.

"No, Mary," said David. "You may have married my elder brother, but as he is not here I am going to say that you are talking nonsense. If your children don't know the difference between those two girls and Clarissa, it's time you took them to a mental specialist."

Advertised as a pleasant bundle of froth, in reality Angela Thirkell is quite a grim little person. For all her gentle voice, she is one of the great haters of contemporary fiction. She hates sex, the movies, and the lower classes, except an occasional half-wit mechanic. The cousin of Rudyard Kipling, she hates "natives" and foreigners; she hates servants, except the governess who can frighten the grown son of a peer by asking him if his hands are clean. She hates writers, except the ubiquitous Mrs. Morland, created in her own image. Despite the fact that there runs through Mrs. Thirkell's books an amiable inanity—"daftness" is the word most recently used to describe it—which has be-

## *Especially for* *readers of "THE NATION"*

### THE AMERICAN SPIRIT

THE IDEA OF CIVILIZATION  
IN THE UNITED STATES

By Charles A. and Mary R. Beard

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come her trademark, she knows exactly where she stands and what she is about. Daftness is a characteristic only of the upper classes and a leit-motif for virtue, disguising but never hiding Mrs. Thirkell's opinions and prejudices; it is a disarming device for persuading us that a powerful class of grown men and women—England's upper middle class, gentry, and minor aristocracy—are lovable children. And of course, on the level of feeling, especially of sexual feeling, Mrs. Thirkell's characters are, heaven knows, childish enough. There is the older Marling girl, for example, whose husband has been killed before Dunkirk; assessing her bereavement, she remarks to her reflection in the mirror: "But there one is, alone, and it seems so silly to be a widow; the sort of thing other people are, not oneself. Oh, dear. Well, there it is"; to which Mrs. Thirkell adds, approving the good sense, "with which philosophy she went down to breakfast." On the level of conduct and opinion, however, so much retarded growth sounds a malign note.

In each of her novels Mrs. Thirkell hunts the current menace to the tranquillity of her heroes and heroines; plus an attenuated love story this usually constitutes her plot. The menace may be the Jew (the Warburys of "Cheerfulness Breaks In") or a pretty Irish girl (Miss Grey of "High Rising"); more often it is the intellectual, so easily identified by his bad manners and his fondness for Russia. In "Marling Hall" Mrs. Thirkell is stalking a young poet with long hair; at the end of the book the poet goes back where he came from—Bloomsbury—and civilization is once more safe in Barsetshire. Against the intellectual, whose books sell only in the hundreds, Mrs. Thirkell likes to set Mrs. Morland, whose books sell in the thousands.

And Angela Thirkell's own books sell in the thousands; no one will ever accuse her of being an intellectual. But perhaps it is just because she is so popular a writer, with a wide English audience and a growing audience in America, that she earns a certain social consideration beyond her literary merits.

DIANA TRILLING

## Rule by the Reichswehr

**WORLD IN TRANCE: FROM VERSAILLES TO PEARL HARBOR.** By Leopold Schwarzschild. Translated by Norbert Guterman. L. B. Fischer. \$3.50.

**L**IBERAL, cosmopolitan, and unimpressed by sacred cows, *Das Tagebuch* was one of the publications of the Weimar Republic which the Nazis had in mind when they spoke of *Kulturbolschewismus*. The term was hazy and therefore a favorite with the Nazis. What else could they have called *Das Tagebuch*? It was impossible to brand it as Socialist, Marxist, or something even worse because it obviously owed no allegiance to any party, organization, or dogma, and the talented pen of its editor, Leopold Schwarzschild, attacked with equal gusto the provincialism of the German left and the bad faith of the right. *Das Tagebuch* endeavored to make "good Europeans" out of the republic's intelligentsia and to teach them the political savoir faire of the Western world. It championed reconciliation with the Allies and political rapprochement with France; it believed in the capitalist system and hated militarism and reaction, particularly the German

variety. Taking seriously the right of democratic control over the nation's armed forces, it was a thorn in the side of the Reichswehr and its political protectors.

When Hitler moved into the Wilhelmstrasse, Schwarzschild moved to Paris and edited *Das Neue Tagebuch*. That he undertook the publication of a German weekly in exile reflects his hope for German democracy. Week after week *Das Neue Tagebuch* analyzed the progress of Hitler's feverish war preparations, warning and imploring the statesmen of France and England to act before it was too late.

From the shores of America, Schwarzschild, the good European, now looks back at the two accursed decades from Versailles to Pearl Harbor, takes stock, and decides that he has had enough. He is tired of pleading with the Germans to become democratic, he is equally fed up with the idealists, dreamers, and utopians of the Western world and with their fetishes—equal rights for all, self-determination, general disarmament, and democracy.

The thesis of his book, monumental in its simplicity, is that a group of German army officers and their satellites, superbly equipped, trained, and determined, really have ruled Germany whatever her political trimmings; that there never was democracy in Germany; that the Weimar Republic was put over on the Allies as a conspiracy of the whole nation to escape punishment; that the few clear-sighted statesmen at Versailles were steam-rolled by the lofty dreamers of a new era, dupes of German propaganda, who wasted the fruits of victory and frustrated all attempts to secure peace by eliminating the one and only cause of war. Once saved and still intact, Germany's superior resources of raw material and man-power, developed with the assistance of American capital and vigorously exploited by its militaristic rulers, were bound to change the European balance of power in its favor. France's fall was sealed long before the German divisions broke through its military defenses.

In Schwarzschild's guided tour through the long gallery of democratic leaders the pictures of two men dominate—Clemenceau and Poincaré. They knew then, as the author now knows, that the problem of peace was the problem of French security and that its solution demanded guaranties other than pacts and promises. Amputation of German territory, unrelenting watch over its demilitarization, compulsion whenever necessary to enforce the will of the victors, and superior military power—this was the rock on which to build a lasting house of peace. Wilson, the doctrinaire pacifist, spoiled their plans at the Peace Conference, and the naive visionaries of the decent countries forced their nations down the road to appeasement, weakness, and disaster.

Schwarzschild, a well-informed man and a keen analyst of political events, must have labored untiringly, selecting, omitting, and forgetting, before he had the history of these years stripped to the bone. He seems somewhat uneasy himself about his monolithic approach and tries to defend it by a set of philosophical premises which are, if nothing else, surprising in his mouth. "Mankind and human communities change their essential nature in the course of thousands of years as little as the wolf and the pack of wolves or the sheep or the herd of sheep change theirs." In "Mein Kampf" Hitler uses the same argument to discourage the hope of the German people for peace and international cooperation. The



Difference between Schwarzschild and Hitler is in the role they assign to the wolves and the sheep. The author also brushes aside all thought of a possible connection between economic, social, and political developments. In order to function well, the capitalist system needs political stability; and political stability makes for a smooth-running capitalist system. This is the only interdependence Schwarzschild would grant the social utopians. Peace and a strong hand to preserve it—and everything else can be solved.

Do not the experiences of the past bear him out? After years of fruitless negotiations Poincaré invaded the Ruhr and refused to budge in the face of British pressure and German passive resistance. Result: Stresemann had to capitulate and an era of prosperity opened for all, including Germany. "If the lesson had been understood and taken to heart, the relatively golden age that began immediately after the German capitulation in the Ruhr conflict and lasted for six years might have lasted for sixty." Again, when Brüning shook the political stability of Europe by negotiating the *Anschluss*, the resulting economic disasters were immediate and world-wide. "March, 1931: the customs union. May: the [bank] crash in Austria. July: the crash in Germany. September: the crash in England. The effect of the 'active revisionist policy' was the bankruptcy that circled the world, bringing confusion and disintegration." On an earlier page Schwarzschild also mentions casually that "one memorable day in October, 1929, the bottom dropped out of the New York Stock Exchange and the world was thrown into chaos."

It is easy but pointless to make a case, Schwarzschild vs. Schwarzschild, to oppose ideas expressed in *Das Tagebuch* to those in "World in Trance." The erstwhile spokesman for liberal Germans and their dupes in France, England, and America has found new hope in the company of Vansittart and his "Black Record."

KARL BILLINGER

## Success Story

**THE MAN WHO MADE NEWS: JAMES GORDON BENNETT.** By Oliver Carlson. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. \$3.50.

MR. CARLSON'S life of the founder of the New York *Herald* illustrates very well how difficult it is for us to have outstanding men as we would like them to be. To E. L. Godkin, James Gordon Bennett was a "Scotch black-guard." At the same time, as Mr. Carlson relates, Henry J. Raymond of the New York *Times* "expressed the feelings of all his fellow editors when he remarked, 'It would be worth my while, sir, to give a million dollars, if the Devil would come and tell me every evening, as he does Bennett, what the people of New York would like to read about next morning.'"

The author lists no fewer than thirteen journalistic innovations, including the newspaper interview and the financial section, which Bennett independently invented or largely developed. Here, obviously, was no slight man. The fact that his growth took place in an environment of journalistic muck which he helped create is relevant but not decisive. Bennett was an editor in an era which produced such giants as Greeley of the *Tribune*, William Cullen Bryant of the

## Free Churchill Pamphlet

The new Archbishop of Canterbury was appointed by Prime Minister Winston Churchill against the wishes of Tory reactionaries in Britain. A huge audience in the Albert Hall, London, heard the Archbishop declare for transference of taxes from production equipment to ground values. (See *Christian Century*, October 7, 1942.) Churchill himself, in a volume recently issued in New York, says: "Who could have thought that it would be easier to produce by toil and skill all the most necessary or desirable commodities than it is to find consumers for them? It is certain that the economic problem with which we are now confronted is not adequately solved, indeed is not solved at all, by the teachings of the textbooks, however grand may be their logic, however illustrious may be their authors." Churchill is also for the taxation of ground rental values.

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*Post*, James Watson Webb of the *Courier and Enquirer*, and Raymond. Yet Mr. Carlson, who has studied the great newspapermen of the 1830's and 1840's is convinced that Bennett was "the greatest single generator of journalistic progress in this country, if not in the world." He makes out a strong case for this belief.

How did it happen that a Scotch boy who was something of a scholar, and idealist enough to come to America because he wanted "to see the place where Franklin was born," should have become the symbol of everything that was gross and sensational in American journalism? It makes a long story, as it is told here, and the answer depends partly upon the reader. Mr. Carlson has evidently tried to make his biography as definitive as possible. It is a tribute to his style that even the palpable research—that having to do with Bennett's obscure years, for example—is thoroughly readable.

Bennett was a typical American success. It took three journalistic failures for him to discover his formula: political independence (of no principled variety), newsworthiness, and entertainment. When one remembers that Bennett was pro-slavery actually up to the moment of the Civil War, and just as indiscriminate in what he printed as his worst enemies charged, one sees difficulties for his biographer. Mr. Carlson has not avoided them. But it is impossible not to be impressed by a man who could, in his own newspaper, print accounts of the public beatings he received from outraged citizens. Moreover, Bennett's course during the Civil War compensated for a good deal that was unsavory in his career.

The similarities between Bennett and Hearst are so striking that one cannot help wishing that Mr. Carlson had seen fit to consider them. Anyone who has read the biography of Hearst by Mr. Carlson and the late Ernest Sutherland Bates, and read also Mrs. Freemont Older's friendly version of the same career, would have appreciated such an analysis. For somewhere in the lives of men like these is the secret—or at least part of the secret—of our American character. After all, it was the people who made Bennett: they enabled him several times to defeat crusades to smash the *Herald* and himself; and they did this simply by buying his paper.

Some day, perhaps, we shall understand better than we now do why America has produced so many Bennetts. But we shall understand it because of such painstaking studies as the present one, in which the author sees his picture broadly and can take his protagonist for what he was rather than for what he would have liked him to be.

LOUIS FILLER

## Patents for Monopoly

*PATENTS FOR HITLER.* By Guenter Reimann. The Vanguard Press. \$2.50.

**M**ONOPOLY capitalism struggles on all fronts to survive the economic changes and crises of our age. In Germany monopoly backed Hitler against democracy, the progressive middle class, and labor, and was then mastered by the Nazis and used as an instrument of state tyranny and aggression. In the United States monopoly has sought to protect itself against the competition of new industrial techniques—light metals, synthetics, and plastics—to preserve old capital investments and markets. To accomplish their

defensive purposes American private-monopoly corporations worked with German state-monopoly corporations which were being used by Hitler to wage economic war against the world while preparing for military war.

The significant story is told absorbingly in this book. Its facts are gathered from hearings of the Senate Patents Committee, the Truman committee, and other Congressional investigations, and from the work of the Anti-Trust Division of the Department of Justice under Thurman Arnold. The facts are clarified, organized, and presented in a pattern which should be understood by all persons interested in democratic reconstruction. Patents and patent pools and agreements are the primary means used by American monopoly to protect its investments, profits, and power. They are used to circumvent the anti-trust laws. And they are used to control in favor of monopoly interests the introduction of new industrial techniques. Monopoly corporations buy up patents, they get patents on their own research discoveries, they pile patent upon patent—not to use the new techniques but to prevent their use by competitors.

In order to carry out this defensive policy our private monopolies entered into patent cartel agreements with the state monopolies of Germany. But German monopoly corporations were animated by the aggressive purposes of their master, the Nazi state; so while the agreements placed no restrictions on the development of light metals, synthetics, and plastics in Germany *they curbed the advance of the new industrial techniques in the United States.* Standard Oil of New Jersey made agreements with the I. G. Farbenindustrie to protect itself from synthetic-oil competition and to monopolize the production of synthetic rubber—against the interests of the American people. Alcoa and Dow Chemical pooled their magnesium patents and agreed to limit production of magnesium so that Alcoa could sell its aluminum, and then made agreements with German Nazi interests to insure limitation of magnesium sales in this country—against the interests of the American people. Similar restrictive agreements with German corporations were made to restrict production of tungsten-carbide steel, of Plexiglas and other plastics, of military optical glass—against the interests of the American people. It is a sordid story of greed and callous indifference to the economic welfare of the country by the administrative masters of monopoly—of economic states within the state—who are not interested in production but in corporate and personal power. The result was that while production of the new materials boomed in Germany, production was stationary or merely crawled upward in the United States, creating serious shortages of strategic materials that still hamper our war effort.

This book should be read for its facts alone. But Guenter Reimann has done more than simply clarify and organize the facts. He makes a number of suggestive analyses of the nature of monopoly capitalism and of the impact of the new Industrial Revolution on our future. The techniques that are being developed by this revolution are changing the nature of our economic order and of reconstruction, while most economists still ponder the old textbooks and most liberals still think of reconstruction as a projection of trends arising out of the technical-economic structure created by the old Industrial Revolution.

LEWIS COREY







solved by substituting accumulated brush strokes of comparatively pure color, distortion, and geometrical simplification for atmospheric tone and chiaroscuro—this problem so absorbed him in the means that he would too often lose sight of the end, his own emotion. The result, examined square inch by square inch or part by part, would display miracles of brushwork, but when contemplated as a whole there would be something wooden or lacking in modulation about it. But Cézanne's achievement was so far-reaching and subtle that it is necessary to emphasize reservations in order to define it. This, incidentally, is an extraordinarily rich show.

**EILSHEMIUS:** Paintings. At Durand-Ruel Galleries, until December 12.

Most of these pictures date from the last ten years of the painter's active career, a period in which almost everything depended upon the mustard yellow that was during this time Eilshemius's version of sunlight. There are four successful paintings here—"South Sea Island," "Farewell to the Sun," "The Last Sunlight," and "Autumn" (No. 15)—but in the reviewer's opinion they are not his best, and the others all seem rather weak. Eilshemius was one of the best painters we have had, but he painted many boring pictures. In his catalogue notes Professor Venturi rejects as nonsense the suggestion of an affinity between Eilshemius and Rousseau Douanier. The pertinacious professor is right as far as their art in and of itself is concerned. But it is worth considering that both artists were indeed a little bit mad; both wanted to paint academically; both showed real facility at times (Eilshemius in the beginning, Rousseau at various moments between 1885 and 1891); and neither, in spite of himself, did paint academically. For which we are thankful.

**WILFREDO LAM:** Gouaches. At Pierre Matisse's, until December 5.

With gouache this Cuban painter achieves the boldness of oil. He has an idiom all his own, when he manages to escape Picasso—an abstract treatment of floral and animal motifs against dun and light-gray backgrounds, derived apparently from Amerindian art. Lam draws with a great deal of flair. But all is ruined—in some pictures by a straining after bravura effects, by showy motions, in others by obsessive rhythms and the inability to be more than decorative. And in two instances the artist's reliance upon Picasso for ideas is so

great as to be parody. Yet something may come of it. Lam has a gift but doesn't seem to know what to do with it. The painting in ink-red which he showed at the recent Surrealist exhibition is far better than any here.

CLEMENT GREENBERG

## RECORDS

COLUMBIA has achieved one of its occasional successes in recording an orchestral performance in its December set (506, \$5.78) of Strauss's "Don Quixote" played by Reiner with the Pittsburgh Symphony and with Piatigorsky as solo cellist: the sound that comes off the records is remarkable in its fidelity to timbre, its spaciousness, its clarity and cleanness of definition. The work is Strauss's masterpiece—in which, however, as I have pointed out before, the programmatic detail is so rich and at times so subtly achieved that some of the numerous points can be appreciated only by a person with musical sophistication and detailed knowledge of the score. Reiner lingers over points too much; the work therefore moves too slowly and ponderously, with sudden erratic bursts of speed that are characteristic of Reiner; and equally characteristic is Piatigorsky's distortion of the phrases which Feuermann plays with unerring sense for plastic coherence in the excellent Ormandy-Philadelphia Orchestra performance.

On the other hand the sound of the New York Philharmonic-Symphony under Bruno Walter as recorded in Columbia's set (525, \$3.68) of Beethoven's Symphony No. 8 is noisily unclear in its voluminousness, and occasionally wooden. The third movement, taken at a slower pace than in Toscanini's recent recorded performance, is effective; and its horn solo is played more beautifully than by the N. B. C. Symphony man. But the other movements, as Walter plays them, are relaxed to the point of being slack and nerveless.

If I haven't discussed jazz records since February it is because so few of the kind I'm interested in have even been issued. I have enjoyed Charlie Shavers's trumpet-playing and the ensembles in the Sidney Bechet-New Orleans Feetwarmers "Georgia Cabin" and "I'm Coming, Virginia" (Victor 27904), and would like Bechet's own playing if he were not doing it on a soprano saxophone. The solo work in

"The 'C' Jam Blues" (Victor 27856) makes this one of the good Ellington Orchestra performances for me, and one which I like better than the Barney Bigard small-band performance, titled "C' Blues" (Bluebird 11581). The Ellington Orchestra "Perdido" (Victor 27880) is fair.

Columbia's set "Teddy Wilson and His Piano" (C-93, \$2.63) contains four records, on each of which Wilson plays alone on one side and with rhythm accompaniment on the other. The songs that he does alone—"Smoke Gets in Your Eyes" (36631), "These Foolish Things" (36632), "I Can't Get Started" (36633), "Body and Soul" (36634)—he takes at a slow pace which allows an over-indulgence, for my ears, in luxuriant and meaningless passagework in the right hand and lush ninth chords in the left. Playing with the others Wilson is at once restrained and stimulated—which is to say that he plays, in the faster tempo, more simply but with something like the life and the inventive imagination of seven or eight years back. Good are "I Know That You Know" (36632) and "China Boy" (36634); better still are "Rosetta" (36632) and "Them There Eyes" (36631).

Mel Powell's piano-playing on two Commodore records (543 and 544) is excitingly brilliant, intricate, and subtle; but the men who play with him are mediocre and dull. Of the four performances—"When Did You Leave Heaven?" and "Blue Skies" (543), "Mood at Twilight" and "The World Is Waiting for the Sunrise" (544)—the last is the best.

But the best performances of all that I have heard recently are in Decca's "Gems of Jazz—Volume 5" (Set A-324, \$3.15). First "The Blues Jumped a Rabbit" (18439), recorded for English Parlophone in 1936 by Jimmy Noone and a Chicago group; then "Georgia Cake Walk" and "Liberty Inn Drag" (18437), recorded last March by a specially assembled group headed by Art Hodes; then "Original Dixieland One-Step" (18441), recorded for English Parlophone in 1936 by Jimmy McPartland and another Chicago group, the Art Hodes "Get Happy" (18438), and the Jimmy Noone "Way Down Yonder in New Orleans" (18440). In addition, it has been a pleasure to hear Jess Stacy's piano-playing again in the Bob Crosby Orchestra "Brass Boogie" (Decca 18359) and the Crosby Bobcats "Sweethearts on Parade" (Decca 18355).

B. H. HAGGIN



## RECENTLY PUBLISHED

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- Mr. Rutledge of South Carolina.* By Richard Barry. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. \$3.75.
- The Mountains Wait.* By Theodor Brock. Webb Book Publishing Company. \$3.
- Barriers Down.* By Kent Cooper. Farrar and Rinehart. \$3.
- Simon Cameron: Ante Bellum Years.* By Lee F. Crippen. Mississippi Valley Press. \$3.50.
- Soviet Russia's Foreign Policy, 1939-1942.* By David J. Dallin. Yale. \$3.75.
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- Report from Tokyo.* By Joseph C. Grew. Simon and Schuster. \$1.
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- The Chilean Popular Front.* By John Reese Stevenson. Pennsylvania. \$1.50.
- India's Revolution: Its Challenge and Meaning.* By Lillian Symes. Socialist Party. 10 cents.
- The Strategy of Terror.* By Edmond Taylor. 1942 revised edition. Houghton Mifflin. \$2.50.
- English Social History.* By G. M. Trevelyan. Longmans, Green. \$4.50.
- Vogue's First Reader.* Introduction by Frank Crowninshield. Messner. \$3.50.
- Our Children Face War.* By Anna W. M. Wolf. Houghton Mifflin. \$2.
- Masters of English Literature.* Edited by Paul Spencer Woor with the assistance of Evelyn Mae Boyd. Macmillan. Vol. I. \$3.25.
- The Wisdom of China and India.* Edited by Lin Yutang. Random House. \$3.95.

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But in time of confusion we'd best keep informed  
Or the Foe may creep in through the ramparts they stormed.

There is more to a War than mere shooting and slaying.  
That Words fight as Armies there's now no gainsaying!  
One trustworthy guide, at this point, I may mention  
That brings all good books to your serious attention.

Through its news and reviews it conveys every week  
The knowledge you search for, the wisdom you seek,  
The lift of the spirit that men so desire  
When all Earth seems racked between famine and fire.

Indeed nothing new is this story I tell  
To veteran readers of the old S.R.L.  
I don't have to boast, for they know I speak true.

I'm wishing the same Merry Christmas to you!

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*William P. Bennett*

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# Letters to the Editors

## Shadow on Central Europe

*Dear Sirs:* Now we cannot lose the war any more. The United States has taken on a recruiting officer whose name alone is irresistible. Now men will stream to the colors of Uncle Sam like wild bees to a honey tree—or will they not?

Is the flag of the United States, or the democracy it stands for, not good enough? Since when does this republic need the services of the descendant of St. Stephen and Charles V—Archduke Francis Joseph Otto, Prince of Hapsburg and Lorraine, pretender to the (non-existing) throne of Austria and Hungary?

We do not yet know whether the action of the War Department in accepting the services of Otto as recruiter of an "Austrian battalion" will finally be viewed as a shattering blow to democracy throughout Europe, as an invitation for a giant civil war in Europe, or only as a joke history will laugh tears about. We do know that the Poles, Czechoslovaks, Yugoslavs, and Free Italians have protested vigorously against it and that all Austrians, wherever they are, feel as if they had been hit on the head. While Darlan is supposed to be only a temporary expedient, Otto's shadow now falls on the future of Central Europe. We can hardly expect any Austrian, Pole, or Yugoslav to risk his life against Hitler when we promise him Otto in exchange.

If the two brothers, Otto and Felix, are merely refugees, as Secretary of State Hull declared, why are they not in the army? They are not married, and they support only their claims. Perhaps this is another "Riddle of the State Department."

H. FELIX KRAUS

New York, December 2

## "Daily News" Please Note

*Dear Sirs:* The People's Voice column of the *Daily News* of November 20 printed the following letter, in which the writer dug up some old and often refuted lies and added a few new ones about the Abraham Lincoln Brigade:

JAKE HAS A PLAN

Brooklyn: What has become of the Abraham Stalin-oops Lincoln Brigade which once went to Spain to help the Reds burn down churches and persecute nuns and priests while its long-haired sweethearts panhandled in the

subways and streets to collect funds? Have these babies volunteered to serve the United States in this war? The answer is no. Why not induct them in a body and put them in the flame-throwing squads, where they would need no additional training?

(Signed) JAKE THE PLUMBER

Without descending to Jake's level and solely in the interest of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade and of all who fought and are still fighting fascism, I should like to present the facts:

1. The bombing of Guernica by the Hitler-Franco forces made clear to the world who was responsible for the destruction and desecration of the churches in Spain.

2. On December 8, one day after Pearl Harbor, in a communication to the President, we volunteered the services of our entire membership for combat duty.

3. More than 500 of our members are in the armed forces of the United States today—half as volunteers.

4. Since the day war broke out more than 300 of our members have been daily risking their lives on merchant ships delivering vital war goods to our troops and allies. Seven of these men we know have already lost their lives.

Five years ago we went to Spain to fight fascist world domination. We are still in the fight.

JACK BJOZE,

Executive Secretary, Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade  
New York, December 1

## Corporations and the Public

*Dear Sirs:* In the suggestive article entitled New Deal for Stockholders in *The Nation* of November 21, the remedies offered do not seem to be at all commensurate with the ills of irresponsible corporation control that they seek to cure. Federal incorporation undoubtedly would help to eradicate some of the abuses inherent in state supervision, for the state governments and officials are more the handmaidens of big corporations than their supervisors. The chief point of Mr. Greenberger's article, however, is that greater democracy should be injected into corporation control by the reform of the proxy system and the establishment of regional corporate districts. This might introduce a certain measure of greater democratic

control among the stockholders, but what great reforms could we await from such a development? Are the small stockholders so very much more enlightened and public-spirited than the large stockholders?

The entire approach to the consideration of corporate control must be made from a different point of view, that of the public interest. At one time concern for the small stockholder was properly more warranted. He was indispensable as the source of funds to launch and operate our great industries. Since the RFC and the New Deal, and especially since the war, the chief source of capital has been the federal government. More than ever, then, the operation of our corporations should be subject to the scrutiny of the proper public officers.

With the public interest the purpose of all corporate control and reform, the prime objectives to be sought are fair prices and continuous and full employment and production. Shifting a few proxy votes here and there in voting for directors is only scratching the surface of the problem.

PETER LIEFF

New York, December 2

## Mihailovich and the Communists

*Dear Sirs:* Ralph Bates is right in saying in his recent article in *The Nation* (issue of November 28) that a struggle for power is raging in the mountains of Yugoslavia. He is wrong about everything else, and, I must add, most unfair to General Mihailovich. General Mihailovich is not only the commander-in-chief of the Yugoslav army and the Chetniks (or the "so-called Chetniks," as the *Daily Worker* prefers to call them); he is also the Secretary of War in the Yugoslav government. Does Mr. Bates suggest that General Mihailovich should defy both his government and his army by appeasing a group of active dissidents?

Who were the leaders who signed the famous anti-Mihailovich manifesto? They were, and Mr. Bates will not deny it, the same leaders who were violently isolationist during the brief period of Yugoslavia's struggle against the Axis. They condemned the war as an imperialist one. They maintained that the Yugoslav people had no interest in the



war, one way or another. They became Yugoslav patriots after Hitler's invasion of Russia, but the Yugoslav people, remembering their isolationism, did not trust them.

Only after June, 1941, did the Communists (I don't like to call them "left-wingers" because no true left-winger was ever an isolationist) join the great Chetnik army. They fought under Mihailovich's command for some time, and then the trouble began. Mihailovich discharged some of his Communist officers. New guerrilla bands were then organized under the command of these officers, acting independently of the Yugoslav High Command. Slandorous articles about Draja Mihailovich began to appear in the Communist press outside Russia. Moscow, as Mr. Bates rightly declares, could not call a member of an Allied government "a man in the pay of Mussolini," but the *Daily Worker* could, and did.

Does Mr. Bates think that General Mihailovich is the one who must compromise? Does he think that General Mihailovich will perform a service to the cause of the United Nations by relinquishing his command? Does he think that the Yugoslav government ought to dismiss Mihailovich? If a group, let us say, of American Communists decided that our North African command was not doing the right thing and organized their own guerrilla forces to fight the Germans in their own way, would Mr. Bates suggest that General Eisenhower should apologize and step down?

MIKHAIL ZHELEZNOV

New York, December 4

## For the Freedom of Everyone?

*Dear Sirs:* Wendell Willkie in his radio speech effectively dramatized the symbolic importance of India to the myriad millions of Asiatics seeking conclusive proof of the good intentions of the United Nations. But the Indian problem has ramifications in our own country which are still unknown to many.

Japanese propaganda has made much of our "peculiar problem"—the Negro—and our methods of dealing with it, methods which have been patently blundering and reactionary. Oceans of good intentions have not drowned out such flagrant examples of racial discrimination and persecution as the poll tax, lynching, Negro soldiers used as labor troops, etc. Any previous ignorance of these facts on the part of the Indians and Chinese is being rapidly dispelled by the Japanese propaganda machine.

To those who say that the Japanese are exaggerating the extent of our race problem, I ask only: How much does one have to exaggerate race discrimination in this country in order to create a skeptical attitude toward our intentions in the mind of colored Asia?

In all the discussions of the abandonment of imperialism as a war aim, it should be realized that the talk is about the future relations between white and colored peoples. This is not oversimplification. The colored peoples of the world did not originate the Occidental color line, which is but the social sham covering economic exploitation.

I think the American people should be reminded that the sympathies of the American Negro at the time of the Russo-Japanese War were definitely with the Japanese, as a colored nation. I am not attacking the present patriotism of the Negro—which appears magnificent to those of us who realize how much less the Negro actually derives from our country than does the lowest white. I am stating that this war, at least in its vast Pacific and African theaters, is liable eventually to develop into a definite color conflict. Asia is on the move. This fact may be interpreted as either the first sign of the decline of the Occident or as the first step toward the inclusion of the millions of industrious, intelligent Asiatics in a planned world system in which the colonial and imperialistic designs of all nations, white or colored, will be scrapped and the interests of the common man will prevail.

Just as India is no longer Britain's problem alone, so the status of the Negro is not solely our problem. Not in a war of the scope of this one. We must decide whether or not we are fighting a war for the freedom of everyone.

MARTIN S. DWORKIN

New York, December 1

## It Takes All Kinds

*Dear Sirs:* I note in your issue of October 31 that Will Chasan lists John B. Rankin of Mississippi among "our worst Congressmen."

When will you people of the North learn that the Negro problem is a Southern problem which you can neither understand nor assist in the solution of? I have not always agreed with Mr. Rankin on economic, labor, or social legislation, but as long as there is a necessity for resistance to the laws imposed upon us by force of arms in 1865, so long will Mississippi continue to send to Congress men who, however narrow

their general outlook may be, are willing to stand against the Northern majority that would condemn the South to mongrelization.

You criticize us for our backwardness in education, labor and social legislation, industry, and agriculture. The truth is, with the pinks of the North yapping at our heels in a constant effort to force racial equality down our throats, we are engaged in such a constant fight for survival that we just can't afford liberalism. John Rankin burns me up worse than he does you when he raves and rants about "communistic" labor leaders, but I know that when Northern idiots try to turn Mississippi over to the Negro, he'll put up a fight.

F. EUGENE DUBUISSON

Long Beach, Miss., November 27.

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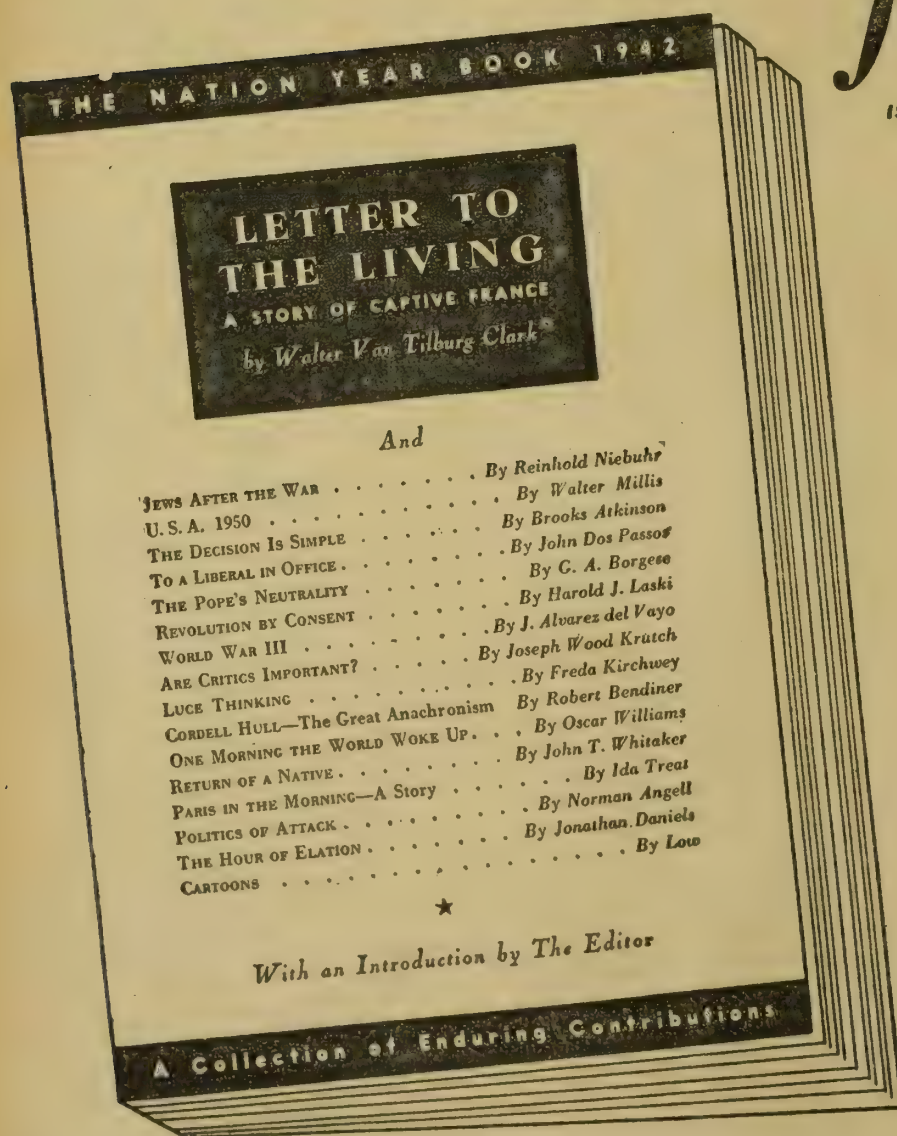
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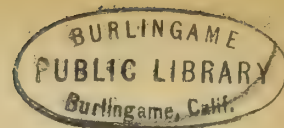
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# THE *Nation*



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## *The Shape of Things*

WHEN AMERICAN TROOPS FIRST SET FOOT on African soil—before expediency had become the order of the day—it was assumed on all sides that a certain fruit of victory would be the immediate liberation of anti-Axis prisoners in North Africa. That was on November 14. Today, more than a month later, the enemies of the Axis are still imprisoned. We call this fact to the attention of all apologists for the Darlan deal, including some whose letters appear in this week's issue, who assert so confidently that the United States calls the tune to which our fascist collaborator marches. In the prison camps in the "liberated" territories there are today some 25,000 refugees from Central Europe, mostly Jews; some 30,000 Spanish Loyalists, many of them soldiers of the Republican army; an unknown number of De Gaullists and other anti-fascist Frenchmen. Most of these men seem destined to stay where they are for the duration of "expediency." The State Department has apparently decided that if the Jews were released, the local Arabs might be annoyed; if the Spaniards were released, Franco would be upset; if the Fighting French were released, Darlan would be angry. But the problem of the imprisoned Fighting French is at least considered a serious one, and the release of "some" De Gaullists seems to have been arranged. \*

MEANWHILE DARLAN IS EXERCISING FIRM control over the African radio. When the American troops landed, they brought with them technicians and other experts to take over the radio stations. So far nothing of the sort has happened. Not only are the stations still in Darlan's hands, but American broadcasts have been kept off the air. As a first result, news of the North African campaign that should have been transmitted by radio to this country has been choked off at the source. As a second, our command has been deprived of a powerful weapon of political warfare—the one weapon we could have used effectively to counter Axis propaganda in Europe and spread some of our own. Is the power of the United States not sufficient to induce Darlan to free French patriots or permit Americans the use of radio facilities in the territories they have occupied? It seems not. And one wonders whether we shall be in a better position to enforce our will after we have helped Darlan equip an army of three or four hundred thousand men.



CRITICISM OF THE DARLAN DEAL IS FAR more widespread in Britain than in this country and appears to be shared by members of the government, although its attitude has been extremely correct. In order to allay the alarm expressed by members of Parliament of all parties Mr. Churchill addressed a secret session of the House of Commons. One persistent critic, Emanuel Shinwell, has since announced that he accepted the Prime Minister's explanation and was convinced that Darlan really was going to prove a temporary expedient. We should feel more reassured if the defenders of the Darlan deal in Washington were not trying so hard to build him up as a genuine but misunderstood French patriot. This suggests that there are elements in the Administration who are perfectly aware that it will not be easy to get rid of the Vichy Admiral and are entirely complacent about that fact. Publicly they may argue that Darlan's assumption of power in North Africa has no bearing on the future of France, which will be decided by the French people themselves without our intervention. But since the proponents of this view pride themselves on their realism, they must be aware that we are already intervening in French politics by aiding in the reconstruction of a French army in North Africa controlled and officered by fascists. Can anyone doubt that, when France is freed of Germans, Darlan will try to use this army to reestablish the Vichy regime? Or that such an attempt would be the signal for civil war—a war in which one side would have all the weapons? Are we then to stand aside in the name of non-intervention? Actions such as the deal with Darlan may have their short-term justifications; they also have long-term consequences not to be charmed away by references to liberal peevishness.

★

THE BATTLE OF EL AGHEILA HAS BEEN WON without a fight. Faced by a formidable British force which had been sending out powerful patrols preparatory to a full-scale attack, Marshal Rommel ordered a new retreat. The scanty news available fails to throw any clear light on the reasons for his decision. According to one report a British flanking movement had made the Axis position untenable, but there is no explanation of how such a move was possible against the El Agheila line, which is protected on the north by the sea and on the south by extensive marshes. One factor influencing Rommel must have been his weakness in the air. British and American fliers had knocked out his advance air base at Marble Arch and left him with very little fighter protection. But probably the chief reason for retreat was the urgent necessity of concentrating the Axis forces in North Africa, since they are manifestly too weak to defend the whole thousand-mile strip of coast between Bizerte and El Agheila. It remains to be seen whether Rommel will attempt more than delaying actions before

arriving in the vicinity of Tripoli. We cannot, however, anticipate a very rapid advance by General Montgomery's men in view of the supply difficulties to be overcome. The same problem has temporarily checked our offensive in Tunisia, but there are indications that it is being solved. The forces under General Anderson have been compelled to yield some ground, but air support is growing stronger. An attempt is now being made to knock out the airfields at Bizerte and Tunis from which Axis fighters and dive-bombers have been operating effectively. If these can be forced to retreat to bases in Sicily, allied air superiority will have been established.

★

HITLER HAS TAKEN OUT A NEW INSURANCE policy against internal disaffection by reshuffling his High Command and giving key positions to politically reliable officers. In place of General Halder, who seems to have taken the rap for the failure of the Führer's personally conducted Russian campaigns, a General Kurt Zeitzler has been appointed chief of the army general staff. Colonel General Hans Jeschonnek has become chief of the air staff, Major General Adolf Galland inspector-general of the fighter-plane forces, and Admiral Kurt Fricke chief of the navy general staff. Not a great deal is known about any of these men, of whom all but Fricke are under fifty. Zeitzler, however, is understood to be an intimate friend of Himmler's and to have been the Gestapo head's personal representative at Hitler's headquarters before promotion to his new exalted position. Jeschonnek fought in the German air force during the last war and became an active participant in the secret Nazi plans for the revival of air power shortly before Hitler became Chancellor. Galland, only thirty, is a leading Nazi "ace" and fought as a "volunteer" in the Spanish civil war. Fricke, a naval career man, is not known to have been active outside the service but can be assumed to be politically "safe." These appointments must be taken as a counterpart of the development analyzed by "Argus" in last week's *Nation*—the organization of the Waffen S.S. This growing, heavily armed force, responsible only to Hitler and the party, is designed to be used in emergencies against either the Reichswehr or the people or both. But the danger it is designed to meet can also be countered by the infiltration of party fanatics into the army. Hitler has pursued this policy from the beginning, but at first he had to be content with creating Nazi cadres among the junior officers. Now he can place his men at the top.

★

IF THE SEVENTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS WERE trying to prove the charges of incompetence and political cynicism leveled against it in the recent campaign, it could hardly have done so more effectively than by its behavior in the last two months of its term. After passing



the law to draft eighteen- and nineteen-year-olds early in November, both houses of Congress lapsed into utter futility. The Senate allowed a handful of its members from the poll-tax states to hold up all legislative activity for a fortnight, then weakly agreed to kill the poll-tax bill rather than beat the opposition at its own game. Under the circumstances it was not unfitting that in the final days of the session Senator McCarran of Nevada was permitted to stage a one-man filibuster against the silver bill in an almost empty chamber. With only a handful of its members in Washington, the House was unable even to complete committee action on such an urgent matter as the President's appeal for emergency powers to lift tariff and immigration restrictions where these restrictions were clearly hampering the war effort. It succeeded in passing just one important measure in its last weeks—a bill for recomputing farm parity prices which, if enacted, would menace our entire price-control structure.

✱

IN FACT, MANY CONGRESSMEN SEEM READY to tear up all of the price-control legislation they have enacted. Ostensibly they are merely concerned with "getting" Mr. Henderson. Actually they are contributing a large part of their time to activities that are calculated to destroy important parts of the price-control mechanism and to undermine public confidence in its administration. One important Congressional clique is determined to raise farm prices even though such action would certainly increase the cost of living and lead to a general demand for a boost in industrial wages. Another clique, composed at least in part of the same Congressmen, is out to obtain a repeal of the limitation of \$25,000 a year on salaries. Such action, the executive board of the United Automobile Workers warns, would bring about a cancelation of the no-strike agreement between labor and management. The U. A. W. warning may appear to some to be just another example of irresponsible group action. But it serves to illustrate what many Congressmen seem to have forgotten, namely, that our whole economic-stabilization program rests upon the assumption that there will be an approximate equality of sacrifice for the war effort.

✱

ALREADY THE PRICE STRUCTURE IS SHOWING signs of serious weakness. Early this week the OPA issued an order authorizing price increases in sixteen items of everyday consumption. OPA investigators have found "hundreds" of violations of price ceilings in two of Washington's largest department stores. Enforcement of the price ceilings in other parts of the country is admittedly weak, and violators have all too easily taken refuge in the plea that the regulations are too complicated or are political in character. Evasion of the law is undoubtedly encouraged by Congressional attacks on

Henderson, leading to the belief that the restrictions will ultimately be modified. In all the controversy over the details of price control few persons have taken the trouble to point out that the weaknesses in the anti-inflation program have not arisen because of faulty administration but because Congress failed to impose sufficiently high taxes to mop up the vast reservoir of excess spending power that exists in the country. This surplus is particularly apparent during the holiday season.

✱

BECAUSE OF THE SLOWNESS IN RATIONING many essential commodities, the spending spree has seriously depleted stocks in stores throughout the country. The situation has become particularly acute in food-stuffs, such as meat, dairy products, and canned goods, but it is probable that shortages in other kinds of supplies will appear by the end of the holiday season. Mr. Henderson frankly admits that rationing should have been started before the public began to feel the pinch of shortages, but he points out that Congress refused to appropriate enough money for the establishment of a general rationing system. If anyone takes the trouble to read the record, he will doubtless find that the OPA chief is fully correct, but when shortages arise, the average citizen will blame Mr. Henderson rather than Congress for the failure to anticipate them. Secretary of Agriculture Wickard, who as Food Administrator now shares responsibility with Mr. Henderson, has denied rumors of plans for an early extension of food rationing. He too accused Congress of refusing funds for this purpose. He hopes, however, to remedy the maldistribution of supplies by educating merchants and shoppers. That job needs doing, but it is no substitute for rationing.

✱

GERMAN REACTIONS TO THE BEVERIDGE plan attest the propaganda value of this attempt to provide a comprehensive scheme of social security as one of the pillars of post-war reconstruction. Immediately after publication of the report the Berlin radio opened a campaign to discredit it in German eyes. The German system of social insurance was hailed as far older and better than any British proposals—an unwitting tribute to the Nazis' "decadent" predecessors, to whose social-welfare measures the Third Reich has added little. Dr. Robert Ley, the drunken and corrupt leader of the Labor Front, dismissed the Beveridge plan as "an opiate for the masses," and other commentators saw it as "merely a means of agitation" and a method of steeling the British workers for a hard winter. So much attention to this subject suggests a Nazi fear that the publication of positive plans for economic betterment by the democratic powers may prove a disturbing element in Germany, that it may undermine the myth that only National Socialism can provide a cure for unemployment and other mass



disorders. It follows that, apart from its intrinsic merits, the Beveridge plan deserves recognition as a worthy weapon of political warfare and one that is two-edged, for clearly, if its effects in Germany are disruptive, in Britain it is administering a tonic to morale. Will those in this country who demand a moratorium on social reform during the war, and even on post-war planning to this end, please ponder the meaning of Goebbels's outburst?

## *Franco in Hollywood*

THE latest developments in the case of "For Whom the Bell Tolls" are nothing less than startling. A foreign power and, as most democrats would think, an unfriendly power, has been allowed to intervene in Hollywood and has been encouraged to believe that it has the right to censor American film production.

The whole story of the "Bell" is instructive. Those who knew their Hollywood were a little anxious from the moment they learned that the book had been bought by Paramount, a firm not distinguished for liberalism, or for courage in the face of the sort of opposition that might be expected. The first adaptation of the book, made by Louis Bromfield, doubtless did something to comfort Paramount since it omitted all such offensive words as fascism and fascist as applied to the Franco forces. Indeed, in this first version, which fortunately proved unusable, most of the political significance of the book was left out. At a later stage Dudley Nichols, one of Hollywood's most earnest liberals, was brought in to prepare a new treatment and a shooting script. Mr. Nichols's work on "The Informer," "The Long Voyage Home," "The Plough and the Stars," and other memorable films, has proved him to be an artist. Such box-office successes as "Stagecoach" have shown him to be thoroughly competent in purely commercial work. But Mr. Nichols could not solve Paramount's problem, which was to placate those Catholic pressure groups which had kept the Lawson-Wanger picture "Blockade" from so many screens. Then Paramount itself slowly joined the opposition to its own film. At least that is how it appears to our Hollywood informants. After the final preparation of the shooting version of the script there were constant attempts on the part of Paramount big shots to tone down the story. Their intention was frankly expressed. It was to insure that the "Bell" should be a wholly abstract film dealing with a saboteur's exploits in some mythical Ruritania. The words Spanish republic, fascist, democracy, and so forth were not to be heard. Outside opposition increased and took advantage of non-political difficulties, such as Hemingway's frank handling of the love story, which the producers had to face. Not all the efforts of Mr. Hemingway, Mr. Nichols, and others

were able to preserve the real character of the "Bell."

Mr. Hemingway, it is said, became so disgusted with Paramount that when he was asked to provide an alternative ending he submitted two. In the first, to be shown in the sophisticated cities, the heroine dies of childbirth in a hospital. The second, designed for "the sticks," presents her as giving birth to the American flag, which slowly covers the screen. Anyway, matters became so bad that it was commonly reported in Hollywood that Mr. Nichols was being compelled to go on location during the shooting of the film to prevent further bowdlerization of his script.

Recently, Hollywood stories have it, the State Department stepped in and advised Paramount to submit the film to a representative of the Franco dictatorship for his approval. The result was that certain scenes were reshot; so that at the present moment two versions of them exist, one more or less representing Mr. Hemingway's intentions and the other representing Franco's views of what an American author should have written. A battle of influences will decide which of these two versions will reach the screen. The Spanish fascist government, the Catholic church, part of the State Department, and some of Paramount's chiefs are on one side; the author, the script writer, and the average conscience of the honest half of Hollywood are on the other. We are surprised that Admiral Darlan has not been brought in as umpire.

## *Murder of a People*

THE fate that has befallen the Jews of Europe is so appalling a nightmare that men will shudder at its horrors for centuries to come; so Gargantuan in scope that it cannot be comprehended in its own day but must await the perspective of history. It will not shrink in that perspective but will grow until it dwarfs into insignificance the Roman persecution of the early Christians, the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Night, the terror of the Jacobins' guillotine, and all the pogroms that have stained the world from the days of the Pharaohs to the advent of Adolf Hitler. Make every allowance for hysteria, for exaggeration, for atrocity propaganda, and there remain the staggering facts that between one and two million men, women, and children have been slaughtered in Poland alone; that "scientific" methods have been introduced for the mass execution of a people, sparing neither the old nor those too young to walk; that a schedule has been fixed by the German government: so many thousands to be killed by the end of the year, so many by March 1, so many by June, until finally all but a handful of Jews, strong enough to be useful as slaves, will have been put to death. Gas, electricity, machine-guns, suffocation, starvation, and the introduc-



tion of air bubbles in the veins—these are the principal weapons of scientific barbarism.

What can be done—now—to rescue the few million Jews left in Europe from the first human abattoirs in history? The problem reveals the power of blackmail at its most monumental. Peace with Hitler for the sake of saving hostages is out of the question. Such a surrender would mean disaster for the world, for the Jews above all. Yet the harder we fight, the nearer the doom of the Nazis approaches the fiercer will grow their homicidal mania. Let it be admitted in all solemnity that there is no escape from this ghastly dilemma. We can only choose to bring the struggle to the quickest possible conclusion, and the death of these innocents is the price we must pay for carrying on the fight.

Suggestions have been made for mitigating the terror, and all of them should be attempted, whether or not they offer much hope of success. All, that is, but one—namely, the proposal that our air force systematically raze German villages in reprisal. Aside from the fact that German villagers have nothing to do with the massacres in Poland, their extermination would scarcely raise a shudder in Berlin. On the other hand, the survivors of such vengeance raids, and their neighbors in surrounding towns, would forever cherish the grim memory of what was done to their friends and families in the name of the Jews. An anti-Semitism would be implanted that would outlive Hitler by generations.

We are glad to echo other proposals, though more in desperation than in confidence. There are indications that a joint declaration by all the United Nations is in the making. We hope it will be extremely specific, serving notice on individual Germans, by name, that the terms of the armistice will include a provision for their immediate delivery to an international tribunal on an indictment of murder, and that similar indictments will be drawn up against every civil or military authority who engages in the killing of civilians from now to the end of the war. We support, too, the suggestion that President Roosevelt address a message to the German people, by every available short-wave channel, acquainting them with the crimes of their leaders and calling upon them to demonstrate their revulsion. This might take the form of anonymous letters to the government or perhaps of subtle demonstrations of opposition such as the oppressed people of other lands have resorted to from time to time. The degree to which the German people dare to express their sense of outrage is the degree to which they should be absolved of complicity.

The Vatican should be asked to make representations to Berlin, and likewise the neutral governments of Switzerland, Sweden, and Turkey. Even General Franco might be put to the test on this issue. We are told he is both Christian and neutral.

It is unlikely that any of these measures would make

the slightest difference to the Germans. Nevertheless, they are a vital part of the political warfare in which we are engaged, and they should be tried. In the end only the crushing defeat of the Axis and the utter extermination of the Nazi leadership will save the Jews from extinction and the rest of Europe from slavery. On the day of liberation it will be the duty and the privilege of the United Nations to recognize the boundless sacrifice which Hitler's major victims have made and to grant the survivors among them the peace and security which they have gone through hell to merit.

## *America's Beveridge Plan*

REPORTS from Washington confirm the existence of a program for extending our social-security system which is in many respects fully as sweeping as the Beveridge plan for Britain discussed in the last issue of *The Nation*. The details of the American program, which has been submitted to the President by the National Resources Planning Board, have not yet been made public, but its general nature has been foreshadowed.

One of the chief advantages of the Beveridge plan over Britain's existing piecemeal system of social insurance is found in its effort to provide approximate uniformity in benefits regardless of whether a man's need arises from unemployment, accident, sickness, or old age. American social-security experts are known to have been working on the same problem, and it is believed that the report will recommend, in line with the President's message to Congress of a year ago, the introduction of accident and sickness benefits on the same basis as the benefits paid for unemployment and old age. The wide discrepancy which now exists between the relatively liberal benefits paid under old-age insurance and the meager, brief unemployment benefits paid in some states will presumably be met by increasing and standardizing unemployment payments and by extending the period of protection, possibly through federalization of the state unemployment-compensation systems. If such changes are accepted by Congress, the level of protection in these categories will be much higher than that of the Beveridge plan.

There seems little chance, however, that a comprehensive program for medical, dental, and convalescent care such as has been outlined for Britain will be adopted in this country. Sickness insurance has been under consideration by the present Administration since 1936, but the opposition of the American Medical Association to all proposals for pooling medical expenses has prevented any action. About the most that can be hoped for at this time is a plan for the payment of hospital costs such as was recommended by the President a year ago. This lack of adequate health protection is the most serious loop-



hole in the American social-security system. Every other industrial country in the world, not excluding Hitler's Germany, provides its workers with protection against the unpredictable financial hazards of illness. In two other respects also, the United States will apparently continue to lag behind Great Britain. There has been little discussion here of benefits to be paid women at marriage or at the birth of their children, and it appears that any assistance given to the parents of large families will be put strictly on a relief basis. The problem of removing the stigma of pauperism from the children of such families has never been faced squarely here.

On the other hand, previous reports of the National Resources Planning Board make it clear that the board conceives of its social-security plan as but a small part of a sweeping program for maintaining full employment in the post-war period. This larger program—calling for a gigantic permanent public-works scheme, city and regional planning, and river-basin development—is much more audacious than anything yet proposed in Britain. With all honor to Beveridge, we must not overlook the fact that Americans too have the vision to plan for a juster form of social organization after the war. We can only hope that the American program will receive as favorable response in Congress as Beveridge's plan is apparently receiving among members of Parliament.

## Roosevelt and Willkie

BY FRED KIRCHWEY

**O**F COURSE Willkie has a terrific advantage. He is not an official; he is not even—for the moment—a candidate. He is not burdened with the necessity of waging a war; of making acts square with words; of being saddled with decisions made by cautious, pussy-footing bureaucrats; of holding reactionary party machines in line; of not offending religious-political factions; of placating labor and business and all the groups that have votes or money. Willkie today doesn't even have to listen to campaign managers—the fellows who took advantage of his inexperience in 1940 and turned him into a stumbling, unsure caricature of himself. Willkie may still aspire to the shackles of high office, but if so he has apparently decided to kick aside the compromises and timidities that usually pave the political highroad. Today he is a free man.

The President, on the other hand, is hedged about with all the limitations that responsibility entails and some others invented by himself. His words are carefully adjusted to political and military considerations. His most important acts have to be carried out in secrecy. He cannot take an open stand on matters of policy that remain undecided. If he disapproves of an official British position he must not say so. He must accept blame for

many an American policy he has had little hand in making and may privately detest. The President is not a free man.

He is not, in my opinion, as free as he could be. Too often he equivocates, dodges, parries when he could easily give the public what it so deeply craves—a forthright explanation. His actions, too often, make hash of his words, and people are left a prey to a sense of insecurity and doubt. Why does the President tolerate the sinister octopus-control of Jesse Jones over so many economic agencies? Why has he allowed business reactionaries—equally bitter enemies of his whole New Deal program—to occupy key positions in the war economy? Why does he intrust to a typical diplomatic stuffed shirt like Phillips the delicate job of representing our position in India? Apparently he still believes the deal with Darlan a profitable one. But why, if this is so, does he permit worldwide suspicion and resentment to be multiplied by our failure even to bring about the release of anti-Nazi political prisoners in North Africa?

These are only a few specific items that illustrate the degree to which the President has allowed himself to be unnecessarily enslaved by his office. The result is becoming increasingly evident every day.

Popular leadership is slipping out of Mr. Roosevelt's hands. His words are losing their magic. While the reactionaries gather in enough votes to shift the balance of power in Congress, uneasy liberals begin to crystallize around Mr. Willkie. His freedom and boldness, his unequivocal support of the Four Freedoms and his readiness to apply them all over the globe, his open repudiation of the reactionary tendencies in our foreign policy—all these have met a popular response that carries with it a lesson the President should be the first to profit by.

For it is hard to believe that Mr. Roosevelt will lightly surrender to Wendell Willkie his hold on the imagination of the common man of this country and the world. He cannot afford to act the part of a stiff, cautious official and give Willkie the role of Hero of the People. If he does he will not only sacrifice his own and his party's future ambitions, but, paradoxically, he will weaken his own present position. For the President of the United States in time of war is also the leader of the people—or he is not a fit President.

Mr. Roosevelt faces the necessity of regaining the ground he has lost. He must take the risks of a counter-offensive against the reactionaries who have forced him into retreat. On a policy of evasion, caution, Darlanism, Ottoism, he will continue to lose to Willkie on the one hand and to his right-wing enemies on the other. To sacrifice liberal principles and the essence of the New Deal will serve the President no better than the sacrifice of Czecho-Slovakia did Chamberlain. Only a clear democratic policy and a hard fight will preserve the President's leadership in the months to come—and in 1944.



# The Anti-Wallace Plot

BY I. F. STONE

*Washington, December 13*

**T**HANKS to the vigorous position taken by Vice-President Wallace and Milo Perkins before the Senate Banking and Currency Committee, the Danaher amendment to restore the power of Jesse Jones over the purchase of critical materials abroad has been blocked. After the hearing, which was held in executive session, Senator Wagner, the committee's chairman, asked Senator Danaher, "What do you think of your amendment now?" "Don't call it my amendment," was the aggrieved reply. The Senator from Connecticut, who is not a Republican of the diehard variety, has been apologizing to friends that this was a party measure handed him by the minority leader, Senator McNary.

Last spring, with elections coming on, the Republicans were virtuously critical of Jesse Jones's handling of rubber and his unfairness to small business. Now, with the elections past, the minority party and the Administration's most powerful officials have been plotting to overrule the White House executive order of last April 13, which shifted final authority over stockpile purchases from Jones to Wallace and the Board of Economic Warfare. The order was issued when Jones's stinginess and procrastination became too obvious to be overlooked by the President, an experienced overlooker where Jones is concerned. According to one report, Jones had spent only \$3,000,000 of a \$500,000,000 fund given him by Congress a year and a half earlier for the purchase of badly needed war materials. I cannot vouch for the figures; much of what Jones and the RFC do is a military secret. The impression conveyed by the figures, however, is certainly correct; yet McNary indicated that if the Danaher amendment were adopted he would also seek to restore Jones's power to veto proposed expenditures by WPB, the Maritime Commission, the Petroleum Coordinator, and the Rubber Director. This would be worth several divisions to our enemies. "But Jesse," Donald Nelson was once heard to exclaim despairingly on the telephone, "there's a war on." Jones would rather lose a battle than a haggie.

Fortunately the Texan is so accustomed to the hat-in-hand humility of applicants for loans as to be thrown off balance in encounters with mortals who do not need to borrow money from him. He gets as flustered in a fight as the town banker jostled by the town drunk. Last winter he was so upset by a critical editorial in the *Washington Post* that he punched its publisher in the eye. Lately he has become a constant contributor of protesting letters to the *Washington Merry-Go-Round*, an unprofitable occupation. In his private appearance before

the Senate Banking and Currency Committee two weeks ago Jones made the lordly error of neglecting to brush up on his facts before inciting its members to riot against the BEW. His characteristic mixture of insolence and ignorance might have succeeded if Senator Wagner had not insisted that the committee hear the BEW's side of the story. Jones's picture of how the BEW and its director, Milo Perkins, operate turned out to be so childish and patently untrue that Jones's Senate supporters felt that he had left them out on a limb.

Jones charged that BEW expenditures were not audited. Perkins showed that all actual spending, though under BEW directives, was by the RFC and that the RFC knew where every nickel went. Jones pictured Perkins as a one-man director. Perkins showed that the Board of Economic Warfare, containing top representatives of State, Treasury, War, Justice, Navy, Agriculture, Commerce, WPB, Lend-Lease, and Inter-American Affairs, meets at least every two weeks for a full discussion of its activities. The board differs considerably from the hand-picked boards of yes-men who run the RFC and its subsidiaries. Jones complained that the executive order giving the BEW and Perkins power to direct RFC expenditures for critical materials was unprecedented. Perkins showed that it was, comma for comma, the same as that which freed Nelson from financial dependence on Jones. Perkins pointed out that he had only used this power three times. Wallace interrupted to say that Perkins should have used it more frequently. "In the future," the Vice-President said, "let's have more fights and fewer shortages."

It would be a mistake to believe that the attempt to hamstring the BEW is over. It would also be a mistake to believe that this is merely a conflict between Jones and the BEW. Behind Jones is the State Department, and behind the State Department are those forces, clerical and capitalist, which have no intention of letting this era become, in Wallace's phrase, the Century of the Common Man. Only a few weeks ago mining interests which operate in South America held a private powwow to discuss means of combating the labor and health clauses which the BEW has begun to put into all contracts for the purchase of supplies in Latin America. There is a good practical argument for these clauses, and the Senate Banking and Currency Committee found it impressive. But the mere fact that they will enable us to obtain more war materials is not enough to down the horrid suspicion that these clauses may also help to create a more decent world.

Not that the BEW is a particularly radical organiza-



tion. Its export office is headed by a former General Motors executive, its import office by the former operating head of a big New York importing house. But the BEW is Wallace's original idea; as its chairman he has power to overrule the other Cabinet members who sit on it. The BEW reflects Wallace's progressive and humane outlook, which happens also to provide a very practical approach to the problem of increasing Latin America's output of badly needed materials. Whether in the rubber-bearing jungle, in the mine, or on the plantation, Latin American production is hampered by bad and unhealthy working conditions. Months ago Department of Agriculture agents in Brazil were warning that Adam Smith economics would not work in the jungle, that a mere increase in the price of rubber would not necessarily increase the output of latex, that the key lay not so much in higher prices for the owners of vast jungle lands as in assuring native labor of decent food, fair pay, and quinine. Rubber, though the most dramatic example, is not an exceptional case. The widespread silicosis which interferes with maximum production of tin and copper in Latin America is another example of the need for social reforms to combat a shortage of materials. This New Deal approach is, of course, foreign to the State Department. I am told that in Bolivia, where the Congress recently passed a law to combat silicosis, the American ambassador brought pressure on the President to veto it.

Contrary to the popular impression, Latin America has some of the world's most advanced labor and social legislation. In the past this legislation has been kept innocently confined to the statute books. In most Latin American countries powerful American and British corporations, with the backing of State Department and Foreign Office, have been able to ignore these laws, though they occasionally pay fines, like the madams in a red-light district, to help the police keep up appearances. Now another agency of the American government, the BEW, is inserting in raw-material contracts clauses requiring contractors to obey all labor and social laws and also to embark on specific programs for the improvement of health and sanitation. The cost of these is borne directly or indirectly by the BEW, but the companies operating in Latin America are thinking ahead to the peace. Can the old conditions be restored after the peon has had a taste of better things? Will labor costs go up permanently? True, a higher standard of wages and living for the Latin American masses would also provide a better market for the North American exporter, but that horizon is too broad to fit into the bookkeeping of United Fruit or Anaconda Copper. The State Department has accepted these labor clauses, but Jones could put a stop to them if his old power over BEW expenditures were restored.

The BEW has also been annoying the State Depart-

ment in North Africa. Recently, at a State Department meeting, with BEW representatives present, A. A. Berle accused the BEW of causing the death of American soldiers by holding up certain shipments to Africa. Dean Acheson on that occasion defended the BEW. Berle said he had a letter in his pocket from an American general to prove his statement, but failed to produce the letter when challenged. Inquiry brought a denial from military authorities, who praised the BEW's work in North Africa.

The BEW seems to have objected not to dealings with Vichy but to letting Berlin profit from such transactions. The existence of the BEW meant that an independent and progressive agency of the government was in a position to know what was going on. The facts it made available to inner Administration circles did not reflect credit on either the astuteness or the efficiency of our diplomats.

Vichy promised us not to ship molybdenum or cobalt from North Africa to Germany, then made a deal to send 3,000 tons of cobalt ore to the Reich, enough to cover Hitler's deficit in this essential material for the production of synthetic oil. On one occasion Vichy dispatched a destroyer to scare off a British submarine that tried to stop a shipment of cobalt in a French ship. Shipments of American oil to North Africa under the Weygand-Murphy agreement of February, 1941, were used to produce minerals for the Reich and to replace oil sent to Libya. The French embassy in Washington at one time admitted deliveries of 3,600 tons of lubricating oil, motor oil, and aviation gas from North Africa to the Axis forces in Libya. In some cases American supplies went directly to Rommel. By March, 1942, the situation was so bad that Leahy informed Pétain that the United States was discontinuing shipments because Vichy had broken its promises by sending food, fuel, and trucks to Libya. In June the State and War departments wanted shipments resumed, but only of food. As late as August Murphy reported that Vichy was ready to supply no more cobalt for export, except to Germany. There was criticism by the BEW of the way food, cotton, and sugar were distributed in North Africa. One United States consul reported that distribution and propaganda work were so poor that Arabs often thought the goods they were getting were of Portuguese or German origin.

The State Department wants no surveillance by progressives, especially when, as in North Africa today, we begin to mold the future shape of Europe. So long as the BEW controls exports and imports it may feed and supply populations unwilling to accept State Department decisions on their destiny. The BEW must be got out of the war before peace comes, lest the old order for which the State Department stands be endangered. The Metternichs are ganging up on the BEW because the BEW is Wallace, and Wallace is the champion of the common man.



# Dynamite in South Africa

BY J. P. COPE

Johannesburg, S. A., November 12

ON THE day that Lincoln MacVeagh, new United States Minister to South Africa, presented his credentials to Governor General Sir Patrick Duncan, the Nationalist press of the Union carried a warning against the so-called peril of American "imperialistic designs" on Africa. The attack was directly in line with an anti-British, anti-Russian, anti-American, and anti-pan-African campaign that has been raging on Nationalist platforms for months past.

I asked an American acquaintance who has lived here some years how he felt about the latest outburst against his country. "Quite frankly, I don't understand it," was his reply. "Nationalists I know are always very decent to me. I thought Americans were popular among them as a sort of counterblast to the British."

This incident is an excellent illustration of how hard it is for the casual observer to understand, or even to discover, the many cross-currents that agitate the troubled politics of South Africa. For one thing, the average English-speaking South African or visitor doesn't bother to read the Afrikaans press. For another, there is a fairly sharp division of sentiment and outlook between town and country, and Nationalism has its greatest strength in the country—the *platteland*, as the backveld is generally referred to in a political discussion. To most English-speaking townsmen the *platteland* is a mysterious, illogical, and perverse domain somewhere over the blue fringe of distant hills.

The present government in South Africa is a coalition made up of the United Party, led by General Smuts, the Labor Party, and the Dominion Party. The United Party is the strongest political group in the Union and has eleven out of the thirteen members of the Cabinet. The Labor and Dominion parties have one minister each. Labor has never recovered from the decline which began in 1924 when the party entered a pact with the Nationalists under General Hertzog, and it is now a political force of little consequence or future. With the present wave of sympathy toward socialism induced by the war, it has made strenuous efforts to regain lost ground. To some extent it has succeeded. But the party has failed to adopt a realistic policy toward the black natives and clings stubbornly to the color bar. After the war the native question will undoubtedly become the greatest political issue in South Africa, and Labor will miss the bus unless its present platform is changed in radical and wholly unlikely directions.

Even less promising are the prospects of the Victorian and conservative Dominion Party. Its members refuse to accept the constitutional evolution of South Africa from a segment of the "empire" to a sovereign independent member of the British Commonwealth of Nations. They have no positive program of social reform, have not made up their minds on native affairs, and sponsor an anti-Asiatic agitation in the province of Natal. But for the outbreak of war and a wholly fortuitous offer of a seat in the coalition Cabinet, the party would in all probability have died a natural death before now.

The coalition government can count on a clear majority of 19 in the Parliamentary Assembly of 153. The anti-war, bitterly hostile opposition to the government consists of the Nationalist Party under Dr. D. F. Malan, a "New Order" group headed by the openly Germanophile Oswald Pirow, and the Afrikaner Party, whose patron-in-chief is the ex-Premier, General Hertzog.\* But significant political changes have occurred since the last general election was held in May, 1938, and Parliament no longer accurately reflects sentiment in the Union. One political faction that has played a stormy role since the outbreak of war—the Ossewa Brandwag—is not officially represented at all.

The Ossewa Brandwag is a secret society organized on the Nazi cell system. It sprang from the centenary celebration of the Great Trek of Boers in 1838 from the Cape into the then almost unknown hinterland of southern Africa. This centenary celebration was marked by great fervor among Afrikaans-speaking South Africans, who constitute 55 per cent of the Union's population of European stock. The Ossewa Brandwag was at first intended to be a cultural movement to further Boer tradition and the Afrikaans language, but it quickly took on a political complexion. After the outbreak of the war it became a South African counterpart of the Irish Republican Army and soon gained a large following among younger and more radical Afrikaners, particularly in the northern provinces.

Dr. Malan's Nationalist Party, to begin with, regarded the Ossewa Brandwag with kindly eyes and gave it all assistance. Later, however, a cleavage developed between the Brandwag and the party. Dr. Hans van Rensburg, an ardent admirer of Herr Hitler, resigned his post of Administrator of the Orange Free State to become Führer of the Ossewa Brandwag, and reorganized the move-

\* General Hertzog died on November 21, shortly after this article was written.—EDITORS THE NATION.



ment on militant Nazi lines. Shock troops, or *stormjaers*, were formed, and drilling took place by night at secret rendezvous in the country. Plots were laid to seize post-offices, radio stations, telephone exchanges, and other state buildings in Johannesburg and the important port of Durban. The government acted in time, and many arrests occurred—a fair percentage of them in the police force. There followed a succession of dynamite explosions, attempts to wreck trains, cutting of telephone wires, the blasting of a water main, and other sabotage. An event which caused much excitement throughout South Africa was the planting of fire-bombs at a big Johannesburg exhibition in aid of war funds, with the resultant destruction of the Danish pavilion.

Less radical elements among the Nationalists became alarmed at the violent turn that events were taking. They pressed and carried a demand inside the party that some sort of control be imposed over the Ossewa Brandwag. Attempts were then made to reach an agreement with the Ossewa Brandwag which would leave the party supreme in the political field, with the Brandwag serving the republican cause as a militant private army. High policy would be decided by a joint council in which the party would have the deciding voice. The negotiations, however, proved abortive. Personal rivalries were too strong. The Ossewa Brandwag and the Nationalists then fell upon each other with the peculiar bitterness that so often characterizes a family quarrel, and the feud is now at its height. Oswald Pirow's "New Order" group has lined up alongside the Brandwag, and General Hertzog has given Pirow and Van Rensburg his blessing, though most of the members of his Afrikaner Party are drifting over to the Nationalists.

But this struggle between Dr. Malan's Nationalist Party on the one hand and the Ossewa Brandwag—"New Order"—Hertzog triangle on the other is apt to be deceptive. There are powerful affinities between these anti-government factions. They share the common aim of a republic independent of the British Commonwealth. They are prepared to admit to the privilege of citizenship only members of the *Afrikanervolk*. All other white South Africans would be tolerated merely as aliens, while immigration from abroad would be virtually banned, particularly in the case of Jews. They are united in their attitude toward the 8,000,000 non-Europeans (natives), who are to be kept in their place—politically powerless, socially segregated, economically restricted to unskilled work and low wages.

It requires only the action of a strong catalytic agent to combine the republican groups against the pro-Commonwealth, pro-Ally forces which at present govern South Africa. The political emergency of next year's general election might prove such an inducement. Or, perhaps, another "secret" and potent force not previously mentioned in this article—the Broederbond—

might succeed with the unity drive it is vigorously conducting behind the scenes.

The Broeders are a sort of Afrikaner freemasonry whose members are drawn chiefly from the Afrikaner intelligentsia. They are bound by solemn oath to promote Afrikaner dominance within an independent republic. They hail from all parties and groups, from the civil service, the professions, and wherever Broeder influence can be brought to bear. Their members are selected by the Grand Council and are personally canvassed to join the movement. The Broeders influence the promotion of "the right people," meddle in the churches, intrigue within political and other organizations, and generally promote Afrikanerdom by every means at their disposal. The Broederbond has set itself to unite the currently warring forces which stand for an Afrikaner republic.

What of the United Party, at present holding the bastion for parliamentary democracy and the British Commonwealth connection? The outlook for the party is far from reassuring. It rallied behind General Smuts when the war crisis blew up in 1939, and, frankly, no other leader in South Africa could have achieved this. General Smuts handled the precarious situation in which he found himself with patience and outstanding skill, and his personal prestige has never been higher than it is at present. But the same thing cannot be said of the United Party as a whole. It is divided, broadly, into two schools of thought: the liberals, led by Jan Hofmeyr, and the conservatives. The liberals are pressing the campaign for emancipation of the 8,000,000 non-Europeans. They favor progressive socialist measures and frown on abuses of monopolistic control of various economic activities. They are pressing for dual medium education (English and Afrikaans) in the European schools. The conservatives have a far less progressive native policy and tend to serve vested interests, both mining and agricultural. They view with alarm the world march of socialism and were generally pro-Chamberlain on the Munich issue. The question is whether these two wings of the United Party may not split apart after General Smuts has retired from the political scene.

As to the coalition government, there have already been signs of restiveness on the part of Labor, and it is doubtful whether the partnership will survive the war. Further, the United Party must inevitably suffer with the general political reaction that will occur when the soldiers return and South Africa has to make the difficult readjustment back to a peace-time economy.

What the next few years hold is extremely difficult to foresee. All that can be said with any certainty at the moment is that we are heading for a period of political confusion in which present groups and personalities are likely to disappear and new political forces to come upon the scene. During the next decade Nationalism will



make its supreme bid for an Afrikaner republic. Among non-Europeans the struggle for influence will be between the Communists, who are quietly organizing in many directions but have so far not greatly impressed the majority of natives, and the liberals of the United Party, led

by Jan Hofmeyr. The main hope for South Africa is that out of the coming confusion may arise an overwhelming desire for greater cooperation between Afrikaans- and English-speaking people, with recognition of the right of the non-European to a place in the African sun.

## *Jim Crow and Casey Jones*

BY SUZANNE LA FOLLETTE

ON DECEMBER 3 the chairman of the War Manpower Commission, Paul V. McNutt, told 400 railway executives that the railways must stop discriminating against Negroes and women in hiring workers. If the employment practices of many roads were extended to industry generally, he said, "millions of American Negroes, instead of turning out the ships, shells, planes, and guns America needs for victory, would be immobilized for the duration of the war."

This warning, interestingly enough, comes at a time when the Negro train firemen are preparing to appeal to the President's Fair Employment Practices Committee against practices intentionally designed to immobilize them not only for the duration of the war but for ever, so far as their own trade is concerned. On January 25-27, in the second year of a war which urgently requires a total mobilization of resources and skills, they will submit to the committee evidence to show that, through various agreements either public or secret between the Southern carriers and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, Negro firemen are being systematically excluded from railway employment.

Exclusion is, of course, no war-time measure. It is a long-established policy of the Railway Brotherhoods to drive Negroes out of all jobs considered desirable by white men. The history of this policy is not pleasant; it is marked by strikes, violence, and intimidation of Negro workers.

In the early days of railroading the majority of switchmen, brakemen, and firemen on Southern roads were Negroes, employed, as the companies frankly admitted, because Negro labor was cheap. The white railway unions, being prevented by their race prejudice from organizing the Negro workers, were unable to cope with the depressing effect of Negro competition on their own wage scales. The alternative to organization was the exclusion of Negroes from jobs wanted by whites; and the unions have worked toward this end with all the means at their command.

During the First World War the job was almost done for them. The mushroom defense industries, with their high wages, attracted large numbers of the underpaid

Negro railwaymen; it looked as if they were going to eliminate themselves from railroading. But the carriers, their load greatly increased by the demands of war transportation, could not spare so many skilled workers; and the National Railway Administration halted the Negro exodus by equalizing the pay of whites and Negroes. "An act of simple justice," Secretary McAdoo called it, and of course it was. But it was to promote injustice on a grand scale. For it removed the incentive of the railway managements to defend the employment of Negro workers, and thus paved the way for their elimination from railway jobs by the peaceful and apparently legal method of negotiation between carriers and unions.

One might think that the colored railwaymen would have something to say about the agreements which are depriving them of their seniority rights and even their means of livelihood. The fact is that they are never consulted about those agreements and do not even, in many cases, know what they are. They only know the results. Under the Railway Labor Act, as amended in 1934 and 1936, the Railway Brotherhoods assume the right to act as sole bargaining agent for Negro workers whom they exclude from membership. Imagine the wolf setting himself up as guardian of the vital interests of Little Red Riding Hood, and you will have an exact analogy with the current employment practices of the Southern roads as dictated by the Brotherhoods.

Typical of this guardianship is the "non-promotable" contract entered into in 1941 between the Southeastern Carriers' Conference, representing twenty-five Southern railways, and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen. Under the terms of this agreement "the proportion of non-promotable firemen and helpers on other than steam power shall not exceed 50 per cent." Promotable men are those in line for the position of engineer. Negro firemen have always been denied the right to become engineers, on the theory that it would be shameful for a Negro to hold a job which might put him in authority over white men. A few white firemen for one reason or another are non-promotable; but the measure is aimed at the Negro firemen. Superficially it would appear rather more than fair, since Negroes no



longer constitute 50 per cent of Southern firemen. But it contains several jokers. There is no minimum set for the percentage of non-promotable men to be employed on engines with other than steam power; only a maximum. Moreover, non-promotable men are explicitly banned from new areas. And finally the union reserves the right to negotiate agreements with the individual carriers restricting to promotable men employment as helpers on other than steam power—in other words, it reserves the right to exclude Negroes entirely.

The Negro firemen, being without union membership or any other means of checking on the Brotherhood's negotiations with the individual carriers, do not know what secret agreements have been made to restrict employment to promotable men. They do know that Negroes are being denied the right to learn to operate the Diesel engines which are steadily replacing steam; that in some cases they are actually called upon to train the white men who are to take away their jobs; that they are being taken off runs where Diesel or stoker-fired engines are introduced, without regard for their seniority rights. In short, they know the Brotherhood and the railway managements are using technological improvements to bring about the final elimination of Negro firemen.

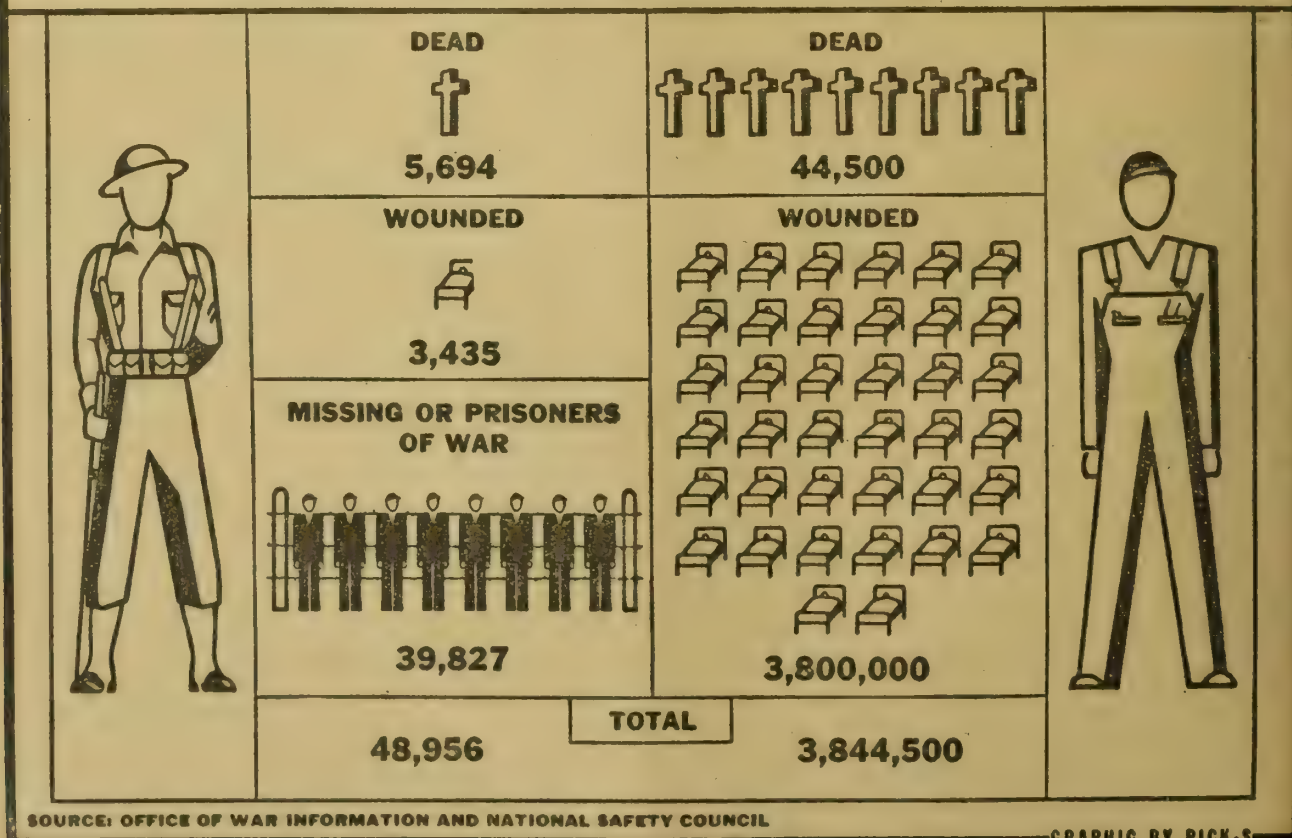
The effect of the long union war on colored firemen

is graphically illustrated by the shrinkage in their number. Even after the great exodus of Negroes from the railways during the last war, the number of firemen in 1924 was 6,478. Twelve years later it was only 1,243, and it can hardly have increased since. When one considers that the policy which is eliminating colored firemen extends to all categories of railway jobs considered desirable by white men, the loss to Negroes in jobs and income appears staggering. In the *American Federationist* of August, 1939, A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, estimated the loss of railway jobs to black workers in the preceding quarter-century at 100,000, and the loss of income in twenty years, allowing an average wage of only \$500 a year, at one billion dollars.

The Negro deprived of his seniority rights or his job has little hope of redress. An appeal to the management is likely to be returned with the recommendation that he present it to the local grievance committee of the union—which is like advising persecuted Jews to appeal to Hitler. If he can get his case before the National Railway Adjustment Board he is likely to meet with a refusal to hear it on the ground of no jurisdiction, as actually happened in the case of Ed Teague, displaced by a white fireman in disregard of his seniority rights

## CASUALTIES IN THE ARMED FORCES AND IN THE LABOR FORCE

DEC. 7th 1941—NOV. 15th 1942 EXCLUDING NORTH AFRICAN CAMPAIGN



"While Our Boys Are Fighting Over There . . ."



when a stoker-fired engine was introduced on his run. In any case, since half the board's members represent the carriers and are paid by them, and the other half represent and are paid by the Brotherhoods, the Negro who appeals to the board is appealing to the interests responsible for his predicament. There is ground for appealing to the federal courts to protect the Negro's constitutional property right in his job; but two courts have refused to accept jurisdiction in the Teague case.

All means of relief, then, seem closed to the colored railwaymen except appeal to the Fair Employment Practices Committee and to public opinion. The Provisional Committee to Organize Colored Locomotive Firemen, set up in 1941 by the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, is doing both those things. Besides appealing to the committee, it has enlisted an influential citizens' committee, whose chairman is Mayor LaGuardia of New

York and whose honorary chairman is Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, to support its claim for justice to Negro firemen in the court of public opinion.

The issue involved goes far beyond justice to this or that group of colored workers. It is quite simply the question whether America is going to treat its Negro minority as Hitler would, by imposing permanent economic and cultural inferiority upon them, or whether it will try to live up to the democratic principle of equal rights and opportunities regardless of race or color. The national Administration has shown its preference for the democratic way, but it will have to overcome such powerfully organized opposition as that of the Railway Brotherhoods if the democratic way is to prevail. Meanwhile, colored peoples all over the world are watching to see how well we live up to our claim to be the champion of freedom for all peoples, everywhere.

# One War, One Command

BY GILBERT CANT



THE military developments which began with the Anglo-American landings in North Africa on November 7 show that cooperation among the United Nations has reached a point which only a few weeks earlier had seemed unattainable. They do not, however, indicate that we may now pause in our unsteady march toward over-all Allied planning, but suggest rather the urgent necessity of further progress. What may be regarded as the official military view that no over-all direction for the United Nations is necessary has been supported by reference to the success of the African operations. Undertaken with the knowledge of the Russians, these are said to prove that the great powers can coordinate their activities perfectly with existing machinery. This is the most specious kind of reasoning. It is true that the Anglo-American campaign in the Mediterranean basin was made known to the Russians in advance and was synchronized with Soviet offensives, but coincidence in time is by no means the same thing as joint planning. Secretary Knox has ridiculed the suggestion that the navy's offensive in the Solomon Islands delayed the opening of a "second front" in Western Europe. It can be argued, however, on the basis of facts which cannot be revealed, that the Solomons offensive was jeopardized by the drain on United Nations shipping imposed by the North African expedition.

When the question of a United Nations general staff or of a United Nations supreme command—the two should be carefully distinguished—is broached to high military officers, they usually change the subject by assert-

ing that there is greater need for a worldwide political understanding, though naturally they can make no suggestion about how to achieve that infinitely desirable objective. One cannot say that high political officials show the same unanimity in advocating military unification first, but both groups emphasize the need for doing something else before attempting to obtain a united political front or a common military strategy.

Comparisons with the First World War do not help us much. There are certain similarities, but the differences are more noteworthy. In 1917-18, with Colonel House representing President Wilson in Europe, it was easy for the Big Four of the Allied statesmen to meet at frequent intervals. They did so, and formed the Supreme War Council. Out of this organization, which was originally political in character, there developed the supreme military command of Marshal Foch. But in the present conflict the United Nations are separated by greater distances and by more formidable concentrations of enemy strength than were the Allies of 1917. It might not be physically impossible for the Big Four of 1942-43 to meet on occasion, but it is certain that they could not meet often. In the meantime we have far from complete political agreement among the United Nations on the objectives of the war, the lines along which they intend to fight, and the kind of peace they want.

The Atlantic Charter and the agreement signed by the United Nations are noble in purpose but unenforceable in practice. They provide no machinery for joint operations in any field save that of wishful thinking. Before



the people of America—one might better say the Americas—of the British Commonwealth, of Russia, of China, and of the conquered countries can be rallied with total effectiveness behind the war effort, they must be shown the end of the hard road they are asked to travel. Detailed peace terms are not needed at this stage. To try to formulate them now would gravely hamper military efforts. But there is urgent need for a general clarification of the goals our leaders are seeking. If they are not quite sure themselves, they owe it to their peoples to find out. Since Roosevelt and Churchill and Stalin and Chiang Kai-shek cannot all four be expected to meet, the two who cannot should delegate authority to make political covenants. The four powers could then be represented at a single conference and with spokesmen of the other United Nations could sketch the outlines of the new World Charter.

Such a conference might even make decisions of a military nature, though these would be exceedingly general in character. Simultaneously, there should be created a Great General Staff for the United Nations, to plan the execution of the over-all strategy decided upon by the heads of government. Considering the immense distances between the several theaters of war and the very different characteristics of the forces engaged, it is unlikely that a United Nations commander-in-chief could be named or, if named, that he could function effectively.

Until recently it was a commonplace in high military circles that the United Nations supreme command consisted of Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill. This was not an unmixed blessing, with the temperamental peculiarities of the two leaders such as they are. The situation has improved since the President appointed Admiral Leahy his personal chief-of-staff. Mr. Churchill insists on holding on to his post as Minister of Defense while carrying the oppressive burdens of the Premiership, but his influence on strategy is now less direct, because most British strategy must be harmonized with that of the United States. This is done through the Combined Chiefs-of-Staff Committee, which meets in Washington.

The success of the Combined Chiefs-of-Staff Committee in mounting the North African offensive shows that with adequate machinery the democracies can plan as well as the dictatorships. However, this campaign necessitated so many trips between Washington and London by the highest officials that the procedure could scarcely be applied to every local offensive of the United Nations.

It looks as if the purely American operation in the Solomon Islands was not adequately coordinated with the Anglo-American operations in the Atlantic. The number of transports and supply ships needed for Africa was so great—although probably not quite as high as the five hundred mentioned by Captain Lyttelton—that the Anglo-American shipping administrations stripped every

other service to find tonnage. One-twentieth of the tonnage assembled for North Africa would have made it possible to send adequate reinforcements to Guadalcanal. It is clear that one of two things should have been done: either the Solomons offensive should have been postponed until more bottoms were floated, or the North African demands on shipping should have been pared by a small percentage.

Such problems confront us today in many theaters and will appear in increasing numbers now that we have taken the first step in a worldwide offensive. It is a question, for example, whether Australia can best be defended by sending heavy bombers to General MacArthur so that he can cut off the tips of the Japanese tentacles at Timor and Rabaul or by sending them to China, whence they can attack the industrial heart of the enemy and slash at his aorta—the convoy route past Formosa. Similarly, it is a question whether a Japanese invasion of the Russian Maritime Provinces can best be prevented by a counter-offensive based on the Aleutians, by island-hopping in the southwestern Pacific, or by the recapture of Burma.

For the resolution of all such questions, the United Nations need a Great General Staff much more urgently now than they did before the offensive period of the war started. Early in 1942 we had only to achieve tactical victories, as in the Coral Sea and at Midway, because the strategy was not of our making. Now we are launching a dangerous and decisive global offensive. We have seen that the United States and Britain are capable of effective combined staff work. We have seen what can be accomplished by unified command in an individual theater of war when the commander is a MacArthur, an Eisenhower, or a Wavell. The suggested conference of the heads of government of the great Allied powers should lay down a broad war-and-peace policy for all the democracies and obtain pledges that each of the participating governments will abide by and fully implement the decisions of a combined general staff.

Then the Great General Staff can be set up. It must have full information about the man-power and material resources of the nations it represents. Its members must command such confidence from their own governments and peoples that their decisions will be sure of acceptance and fulfilment. Each military member must be matched by a representative of the production services of his country. The United States, Great Britain, Russia, and China should have one military member each. A fifth should be elected by the rest of the United Nations.

The Russian position with regard to a Great General Staff is even less clear than the views of the other United Nations. Soviet propaganda agencies have fostered the idea that the Kremlin would welcome a supreme direction of the war, but the Kremlin itself has remained



silent. Undoubtedly the Allied offensive in Africa will make for closer relations; they are as yet far from close enough. America and Britain have shipped to Russia enough tanks to equip twenty armored divisions—half of Britain's entire output for the last eighteen months—and more than 2,500 aircraft, without ever being informed what were the Russians' own resources. Despite generous remarks to the contrary by distinguished goodwill envoys, it can be stated categorically that the Russians have never told their allies what they had in hand or could produce; they have been precise only about what they wanted, and they have received as much of this as could be slipped past the German blockade in the Barents Sea.

If the war is to be won at a minimum cost of life and treasure, the Great General Staff must know not only the exact man-power resources, present and potential, of all the United Nations, but also their material resources, their supplies of weapons and raw materials. It must know in what theaters there are trained soldiers with insufficient equipment and in what others equipment is pouring from the factories but men trained to use it are lacking. It must deal with the problem of how a limited quantity of shipping can best be used to transport the most concentrated cargoes over the shortest routes. Unless the Russians cooperate more openly in making this possible, there is danger that certain elements in Washington will succeed in their plan to make this "an all-American war," one which will not be won until the American army and navy have been built up to such a strength that they can strike the decisive blows unaided. In the meantime our allies, not excepting Russia, would be bled white.

The Chinese would welcome a Great General Staff on which they would at last have equal representation with the other major powers. They were disappointed by the Anglo-American decision to concentrate on beating Germany before launching an offensive against Japan, and had to apply extreme pressure on the Western powers to obtain moderate assistance. They cannot be expected to fight an all-out war so long as they feel they are being neglected. How difficult it would be for the conquered countries, our Latin American allies, and the British dominions to agree on the fifth member of such a staff cannot be determined until they try.

The primary obstacles to the creation of a Great General Staff are the lack of a well-informed, articulate demand for one in the United States and Great Britain and the ambiguous relations of those nations with Russia. The initiative will not come from the armed forces. Few general officers in any service could subordinate their personal pride and loyalty sufficiently to welcome the idea. Those who have the vision are not in a position to speak, although they concede that the United Nations today are as greatly in need of unification as were the Allies in 1917. This issue is not like that of

timing a second front, in which some civilians sought to usurp the functions of the High Command. It is in all truth a question which the people must decide, for it is the question of how—without prescribing details—and by whom—without naming individuals—their war effort shall be directed. The people can have what they will if they will it hard enough.

## *In the Wind*

THE WAR LABOR BOARD has issued a definition of a department-store Santa Claus: "... the term bona fide Santa Claus shall be construed to include only such persons as wear a red robe, white whiskers, and other well-recognized accouterments befitting their station in life, and have a kindly and jovial disposition."

REMINGTON ARMS of Bridgeport, Connecticut, recently took over several floors in that city's largest hotel. In furnishing the new executive offices, the company got an A-1-A priority on wool for rugs.

BANNER HEADLINE in the *Detroit Free Press*: "Legislature's First Undertaking Will Be to Turn Clocks Back."

FROM THE ACCOUNT of General Franco's speech by the Associated Press: "Generalissimo Francisco Franco in a state speech told the nation today that the world had only the choice between communism and fascism and made it plain that in this choice he favored fascism. Generalissimo Franco carefully refrained, however, from leaning one way or the other in his attitude toward the war."

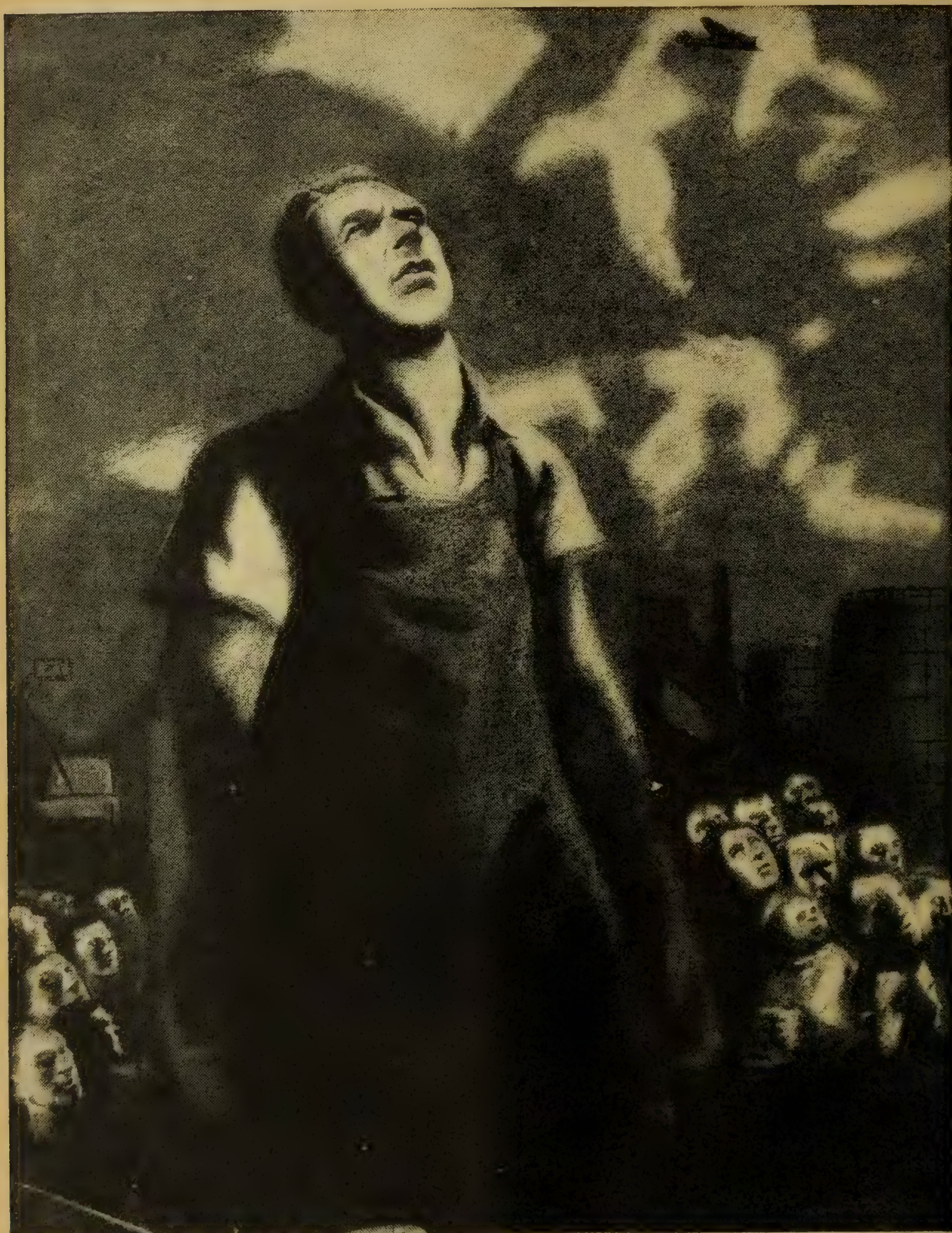
AT A SOUTH DAKOTA training base a taxicab, parked just off the reservation, was ordered to move on by the colonel in command. When the driver refused, asserting his right to park where he pleased off army grounds, the colonel, according to the *Sioux Falls Argus Leader*, ordered a military policeman to "shoot out a tire" on the cab, which the M. P. promptly did.

MOTHERS OF AMERICA, organized as a ladies' auxiliary to the America First Committee, is still functioning. Its leader, Mrs. Agnes Watters, appeared recently before a Congressional committee to testify against the War Powers bill.

A METHOD of political warfare that was advocated in *The Nation* a short time ago is now in actual practice. In the October 31 issue Alix Reuther suggested that squads of radio technicians and speakers accompany invading forces and begin anti-Axis propaganda immediately upon landing. According to a *New York Times* story on November 24 this was done with marked success in Morocco and will henceforth be a regular phase of invasion technique.

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of \$5 will be awarded each month for the best item.—EDITORS THE NATION.]





*Wings over the* **WORLD**



# "Their Sufferings Will Not Have Been in Vain"

by **THE LEADER of FREE ITALIANS**  
**CARLO SFORZA**  
(former Italian Foreign Minister)

*What kind of post-war world are we fighting to create?*

*Pan American has presented answers to this question by such leaders of thought as Dr. John Dewey, Dr. Hu Shih and the Archbishop of Canterbury. Here Carlo Sforza, former Italian Foreign Minister and now leader of the FREE ITALIANS throughout the world, tells you what he sees—for the future.*

THESE ARE TIMES when certain problems, once faced, are rapidly solved. During two thousand years, philosophers asserted that slavery was a "law of nature"; and yet more was done towards its abolition in the half-century around the American Civil War than in the whole preceding Christian era.

That is why I declared, in a recent speech at Montevideo, that the first duty of a free Italy will be "*ardent support of an organized world with no more place for the anarchical independence of the nationalistic States.*" I was not surprised when this statement met with cheers from Italians who had assembled to meet me from all parts of Latin America.

What is true for Italy, which has bitterly learned the folly of aggressive wars, is equally true for America. No American should forget that in the coming world even the Ocean will be no more than a big river; and that, if only for that, the era

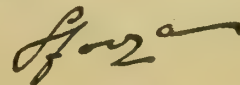
of isolation is gone forever. Those who cannot see this are like certain *dannati* in Dante's *Inferno*—people walking eternally with their heads turned backwards.

The highest duty of the present generation of Americans is to fight in order to make impossible a repetition of the Nazi-Fascist plot against peace. This American duty was foreseen by the Declaration of Independence when it stated in 1776: "... that whenever any form of Government becomes destructive [of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness] it is the right of the People to alter or to abolish it." In Jefferson's mind, "right" meant "duty"!

War always means suffering. But our sufferings in this "toughest of all wars" will not have been in vain since we are beginning to learn:—

- (a) INDIVIDUALLY: that Liberty is a right which must be won anew by the common people in each generation;
- (b) NATIONALLY: that the previous complete independence of Nations must cease. They must submit to a superior international law which will make it impossible for peaceful nations to be again at the mercy of adventurers. Never again must it be possible for a Nation, having first destroyed Freedom at home, to prepare satanic aggression behind its closed frontiers.

We must resolve that frontiers will no longer mean what they meant up until 1939. I foresee a Peace Conference at which we might agree to draw in frontiers very lightly—with a pencil and not in indelible ink.



THE DAY THAT VICTORY is earned by the United Nations, Aviation must be ready to demonstrate that it is a great constructive, as well as a great destructive, force.

Air transport travel costs will, we believe, be brought within the reach of common men everywhere.

Two weeks' vacation in Italy? Certainly, since Rome will be only 16 hours from New York by air. Round-the-world air cruises in two weeks? Nothing will prevent them when Victory comes except the barriers of habit and disbelief.

When peace comes, Pan American looks forward to playing its part, through technological research as well as with trained personnel and flight equipment, in providing widespread distribution of the world's culture, science and goods.

Today, of course, everything that we can offer—one hundred and sixty-five million miles of over-ocean flight experience, trained personnel and service to over 60 foreign countries and colonies—is at work for the government and military services of the United States.

PAN AMERICAN WORLD AIRWAYS SYSTEM

## PAN AMERICAN CLIPPERS



## "Fortress Europe"

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

A MONTH ago the term "Fortress Europe" meant nothing to American readers. Since then it has begun to crop out in the press and radio. William Shirer devoted one of his broadcasts to it. Argus has referred to it in these columns in connection with articles appearing in the German press. Before long Fortress Europe (*Festung Europa*) will be as familiar a term as Blitzkrieg or the second front.

Actually it was the Italian press which first launched the idea of Fortress Europe. Sometime last spring Giovanni Ansaldo, Mussolini's chief spokesman, published a series of articles presenting the theory of "besieged Europe" as an alternate way of winning the war. The preferred strategy would of course have been to carry the offensive to total victory. But Hitler's failure to subdue Russia plus the entry of the United States into the war obliged the Nazi leaders to revise their plans. For the Axis to have to accept a strategy of defense instead of continuing its Blitzkrieg must have been a bitter pill for Hitler and the General Staff. And so, as has frequently happened before, it was the Italian press which was chosen to familiarize the peoples of the Axis with the idea that to conquer Russia, to invade England, and later to engage the United States was not the only method of winning the war, but that it could also be won by means of a titanic defense which would ultimately exhaust the fighting strength of the Allies.

Once embarked on the new line, the German military writers and the services of Dr. Goebbels discovered that Fortress Europe contained powerful elements of conviction and propaganda. If, by building around the occupied countries a ring of steel against which the Allies would smash their heads and break their spears, resistance could be prolonged for several years, was it not possible that skilful political and diplomatic maneuvers, aided by the ever-present defeatists and pacifists, might induce Allied public opinion to give it all up and accept a settlement with the Axis?

This new orientation determines the course of events in North Africa—the stiffening of resistance at Tunis and Bizerte. Having renounced the offensive, Hitler must make sure of his defense: the first Allied assault on the steel ring must fail.

But that is not all. While the battle rages in Tunisia, all possible breaches in the walls and doors of the Fortress must be sealed. Thousands of German technicians and engineers have been set to work on the great task

of securing its impregnability all the way from the French Mediterranean frontier to the coast of Norway. And at the same time a program aimed at the accumulation of foodstuffs and supplies of all kinds has been set in motion in order that Hitler may continue the siege for as long as his strategy demands.

### ECONOMIC MEASURES

A new wave of requisitions has hit the occupied countries. The reason for this was discussed in *Behind the Enemy Line* on November 21. The food situation in Germany had deteriorated badly by the end of last summer. Even the German press admitted that the hopes centered in the east had failed to materialize. On October 7 the *Frankfurter Zeitung* said, "The southeastern states, from which people expected particularly abundant grain deliveries during the war, have not lived up to expectations by a long way."

While Hitler had spread out his war over the Balkans in order to get hold of the wheat and cattle of those rich agricultural lands, he could not command the harvests, which—whether because of nature or sabotage—in 1940 and 1941 were the poorest of the entire decade and in 1942 almost as bad. Not only the Balkans but Hungary too, of which much was expected, proved a disappointment. According to the Hungarian Institute of Economic Research, the harvest in that country was also below average.

To improve conditions, rations have been reduced and stricter regulations for grain deliveries imposed on the peasants. Bread rations are very small indeed; in October there were breadless days. The Hungarian daily ration is 200 grams (3½ ounces); the Slovakian, 134 grams; the Croatian ration for townspeople 150 grams; Bucharest, 250 grams; in Bulgaria the peasants' ration, originally 250 grams, has been cut by more than 50 per cent.

A new method for forcing deliveries of foodstuffs from the rural districts has been introduced in Hungary and Bulgaria in the past few weeks. From now on the rate of deliveries will be fixed not in proportion to the size of the harvest but to the number of acres owned. The reform is evidently meant to counteract the passive resistance of the Balkan peasantry, which has tended to reduce agricultural production to a level that left no surplus for export. Now under threat of penalties the peasants will be forced to conform to a certain minimum output.

The curious fact is that Germany's satellites have been



losing their economic value in the measure that they have been turned into military assets. Germany approaches them with conflicting demands. They are asked to perform a miracle which even the Third Reich cannot produce: to fight for their master and to feed him at the same time.

#### PLUNDER IN THE WEST

Göring's slogan "German bellies first" was coined to good purpose. If the siege of Fortress Europe is to be of long duration, every non-German must be subjected to a hunger diet.

Consequently the plundering of the West will be pushed to the limit even if it costs the lives of every human being who cannot be used as slave labor. The exploitation of the occupied countries is nothing new; it has been going on since 1940. What is new is the appearance in the German press of stories revealing the extent of the plunder. A recent discussion of Belgian foreign trade gave a glimpse of how the economy of an occupied country is adjusted to Nazi needs. In the year before the war Belgian exports to Germany formed

12 per cent of its total foreign trade; by 1941 the figure had reached 72 per cent, the bulk of it food and cattle. In the last three months Belgium has been drained down to its last pound of meat and its last quart of milk.

In Denmark not less than 75 per cent of all food is earmarked for Germany. A census has provided the Nazi authorities with figures on the exact holdings of every farmer. Crops and stock are requisitioned accordingly. If a farmer does not turn in his share he is haled before a local court presided over by a Nazi *Gauleiter* and heavily fined. Sometimes his stock is confiscated. But he is never imprisoned—he is too valuable as a slave worker.

Every man and woman in the occupied countries is now used to make good the losses of the past three years. These losses have been enormous, in men as well as in material. However, the importance of the loss in manpower should not be exaggerated. Though probably Benes was right when, in a recent broadcast to the Czech people, he said that "four million German soldiers had been killed or put out of action by the end of August of this year," the experience of the past weeks shows



FESTUNG EUROPA

Drawing by A. Hoffmeister



that Germany still has huge numbers at its disposal. It has been able both to throw in enough divisions to slow the Russian offensive and to put up a strong resistance in Tunisia. Major General Joseph T. McNarney, Deputy Chief of Staff, made this point very clear when he put the number of men in the German armed forces at eight million, and added that "Germany apparently is able to sustain this total from replacements."

Replacements become easier as Fortress Europe succeeds in closing itself in. Take, for instance, the case of France. As long as half of France was unoccupied, there were many difficulties in the way of a full utilization of its man-power for the war industries of the Reich. In spite of the collusion between Vichy and the Gestapo, the Nazis could not recruit the desired number of workers. To let them go on working in France meant to risk not only sabotage but continued air raids on industrial plants—in which the Nazis saw the hand of the underground guiding the R. A. F. But with France entirely occupied and isolated, the chances for the movement of resistance have been greatly reduced. Though it may still be desirable from a military point of view to put Frenchmen to work in Germany, where they will be more out of reach of Allied bombers, the political difficulties will have been largely resolved.

The tightening of the ring around Fortress Europe makes possible a unification of the methods of repression and terror. And while the German army will have the job of defending the Fortress against attack from outside, the Gestapo and the Waffen S.S.—the new organization described in the last issue of this section—will repress mercilessly any attempt at an attack from within.

#### THE NEW BLACKMAIL

While Fortress Europe steels itself, the Goebbels machine prepares to tell the world what will happen if the ring is ever breached. Goebbels himself opened the campaign with his famous statement in *Das Reich*: "If the day should ever come when we must go, if some day we are compelled to leave the scene of history, we will slam the door so hard that the universe will shake and mankind will stand back in stupefaction."

Now this is by no means all bluff. On the contrary, I am convinced that when the Nazis are actually driven back toward their own frontiers they will carry out a scorched-earth policy beside which Russia's heroic self-destruction will pale. The German armies do not need Dr. Goebbels to tell them how. In the First World War, when they found it necessary to withdraw to the Siegfried Line, Hindenburg and Ludendorff drew around themselves a "zone of destruction" which left standing not a single house or a single tree. This time the armies will be instructed to kill as many people as they can. Already Dr. Goebbels's monstrous threat is being carried out against the Jews of Europe; it is estimated by the most careful and fully informed observers

that a quarter of the Jewish population of Nazi-occupied countries has been wiped out by systematic and deliberate methods. Jews have not only been torn from their homes and occupations and allowed to starve to death by the hundreds of thousands in the new ghettos of Eastern Europe; they have also been slaughtered in a dozen hideous ways—by electric charges, by the injection of air bubbles into the blood, by exposure.

What has already been done will be multiplied to the point of extermination when Hitler, facing disaster, finally "slams the door." Perhaps the only hope of averting this wholesale horror, which will be visited on other helpless millions along with the Jews, is by an immediate counter-threat directed against the men responsible for these crimes. If the heads of the United Nations would join in a new statement addressing *by name* every military commander and Gestapo chief in every occupied region of Europe, telling each one that he will be held personally to account for the death of innocent civilians, the slaughter might be checked. And even if it were not, the peoples of Europe would at least know that their sufferings are understood and will be avenged.

But one need not minimize atrocities, present or future, to be conscious of the blackmail implicit in this new campaign. It is somehow reminiscent of the Nazi threat of "Czecho-Slovakia or war" in the fall of 1938. What Goebbels is preparing to say now must be something like this: "Either you stop at our gates or you will see Europe wiped out and your soldiers die by the million. If, on the other hand, you show yourselves reasonable, we can discuss as equals the arrangements for a new European order." But to be able to take this stand, the Nazis must not only make the Fortress impregnable but must see that it includes all Europe, from Spain to Scandinavia.

#### CONCLUSION

How a person reacts to "Fortress Europe" will depend on his outlook on the war. Some will hold that the whole thing will fall to pieces when the Allies are in a position to send bombers by the thousand to attack it night and day. Others will look upon it as a confession of defeat. My own belief is that Fortress Europe should be regarded with the greatest seriousness. Even at the start of the campaign in North Africa, I risked being a kill-joy to point out that Hitler was "still there" and that a rough road lay ahead. That is why the progressive elements in the United Nations cannot afford to yield an inch of ground to the reactionaries, who already begin to act as if the battle against the foreign enemy were won and they could safely turn their guns on the forces working for a democratic conduct of the war and a genuine people's peace. For now more than ever we need the confidence and the determination of the people if we are going to overthrow Fortress Europe, the gigantic Bastille of the Nazi world.



# Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

THE difference between a pitchfork and a spear is not very great. But the difference between a pitchfork and a machine-gun is enormous. And there we have the reason why the masses have become more and more powerless against a tyrannical government. In the relations between rulers and ruled technological progress has worked almost exclusively to the benefit of the rulers. The "scientific" apparatus by which modern dictatorships keep themselves in power is so much more than a match for the naked fists of the people that an old-style popular uprising has today become unthinkable. Modern dictatorships can of course be destroyed from outside, by foreign armies, but they can be destroyed from within only when their instruments of power no longer obey them. No contemporary dictatorship has yet had that experience. Every nation that in our day has allowed a dictatorship to be set up is still in bonds to it. Both the Italians and the Germans are caught in a trap from which they cannot possibly free themselves by their own efforts.

But have they actually the will or the desire to get free? Has not an intellectual and moral trap been set for them as well as a mechanistic one? And how firmly has this trap closed on the two peoples? Here the difference between them is tremendous. All reports agree that Fascism has lost almost all power over the minds of the Italians, whereas the power of Nazism over the minds of Germans is unimpaired.

In seeking the cause of this difference we must not overlook the fundamental fact that no two nations in Europe are wider apart in character and temperament. Both peoples accepted the dictatorship or helped to set it up, but there is a great disparity in their mental attitudes toward it. Among Italians the tradition of skepticism is strong. Among Germans there is a tendency to take things with deadly seriousness. You can't eradicate from the average Italian the conviction that all politics contain a big dose of high-class swindling and buffoonery, while the average German just as inevitably views the political struggle as one for *Weltanschauungen* and absolute truths. Even those Italians who worked with Mussolini seemed to wink at each other ironically; politics to them was a *combinazione* and 50 per cent humbug. The Germans who supported Hitler felt, on the contrary, that they were champions of a veritable paradise and defended their metaphysics with humorless fanaticism. The psychological trap caught the Italian people only by the hem of their cloak, but it snapped on the leg of the Germans.

Moreover, in the course of the war very different situations have developed at the northern and southern ends

of the Axis. One partner has conquered a vast amount of territory, while the other has lost huge areas that once belonged to it. There is a greater disparity in the living standards of the two countries. And as the shirt fits closer than the coat, so food and shelter, in the last analysis, are more important than territorial gains and losses. The deterioration of the Italian standard of living during the war has been incomparably more severe than anything the Germans have experienced. It is often said that Italy is practically a subject country, and in truth living conditions in Italy are more like those in the conquered countries than in Germany. They are definitely worse than those that prevail in many occupied regions.

Let us compare the weekly allowances of certain basic foods in Germany, Italy, Belgium, and France. The "normal" consumer in those countries, according to current regulations, receives the following amounts—in ounces:

	Germany	France	Belgium	Italy
Bread	80 ....	68 ....	55 ....	37
Meat	12½....	6½-9 ....	5 ....	3½-5½
Sugar	8 ....	4½....	8 ....	4½
Fats & oils	7 ....	3½....	2½....	3½
Potatoes	157 ....	varies ....	122 ....	17½.

Of course no comparison of this kind gives the whole picture. Potatoes, for example, play a lesser role in Italy than in the other countries; *pasta* and *risotto* partly take their place. If the Italian potato ration is only a fraction of the German, the macaroni and rice rations are somewhat larger. But they are not correspondingly larger. A rough estimate of the basic Italian ration today makes it about 50 per cent less than the German, which is itself decidedly inadequate, and about 25 per cent less than the miserable French or Belgian allowance. Clearly the Italians are living not only in the spiritual atmosphere of a conquered country but on the same material level—or below it.

## The New "Fourth International"

THE Third International has faded into oblivion. On the other hand, the Fourth International has been very much in the limelight lately, even though this is the first time that it has been referred to by that name. We mean by it the Central Bankers' International, the Bank for International Settlements. . . . Rising above the petty quarrels of their respective nations, the Central Bankers are still firmly united in the Fourth International of Basel. It is true, they do not communicate with each other, though they have secured permission for their fellow-citizens on the management and staff of the B. I. S. to do so. . . . On the list of directors British names rub solemn shoulders with German, Italian, and Japanese names. The distinguished name of Mr. Montagu Collet Norman appears there along with that of his fellow-director Herr Walther Funk, German Minister of National Economy and chief inventor of the notorious Nazi "new economic order" for Europe.—*Time and Tide* (London).



# BOOKS and the ARTS

## The Spirit of Justice Holmes

MR. JUSTICE HOLMES. By Francis Biddle. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.50.

FRANCIS BIDDLE has compressed into two hundred tightly and brilliantly written pages the biography of Mr. Justice Holmes, not only of the judge and philosopher, but of the man as well. The book has a flavor so like its subject that it seems autobiographical. Through well-chosen and short quotations from opinions or statements, we are impressed anew by the pointed brevity of Holmes's language, his facility of phrase, his apt metaphors and parallels, his direct and earthy thrusts of wit or sarcasm. The temptation is to lift from the book one quoted passage after another. And Biddle himself, no doubt affected by association with Holmes as his secretary and the many years of close personal contact, has so caught the spirit of Holmes that time and again when the author expresses a thought, we look for quotation marks.

In one of his earlier speeches Holmes referred to the "little fragments of my fleece that I have left upon the hedges of life." On his ninety-first birthday at a dinner of the Federal Bar Association in Washington, a note from the Justice read, "If I could think that I had sent a spark to those who come after, I should be ready to say goodbye." At another he mentioned "the isolated joy of the thinker who knows that a hundred years after he is dead and forgotten men who have never heard of him will be moving to the measure of his thought." He often reminded us of the "historic continuity with the past" which he said was "not a duty, it is only a necessity."

This idea underlies a letter to Biddle's son in which Holmes said that he remembered his grandmother well and that she remembered moving out of Boston when the British troops came in at the beginning of the Revolution. Once Holmes mentioned a remark of Sidney Bartlett's, a great advocate at the Massachusetts bar. "Deacon Spooner died in 1818, aged ninety-four. I saw him and talked with him. He talked with Elder Faunce, who talked with the Pilgrims."

To Holmes no individual accomplished much except as a "ganglion" in the continuity of life. Thus Holmes carried on the thought of John Stuart Mill, who had carried on the thought of countless predecessors and in the same manner that Biddle will no doubt carry on the thought of Holmes.

A decision by Holmes on free speech in time of war (*Schenck v. United States*) is a guiding test of today. "The question in every case," he wrote, "is whether the words used are used in such circumstances and are of such a nature as to create a clear and present danger that they will bring about the substantive evils that Congress has a right to prevent. . . . It is a question of proximity and degree." John Stuart Mill in his essay on liberty, published in 1859, had said, "No one pretends that actions should be as free as opinions. On the contrary, even opinions lose their immunity when the circumstances in which they are expressed are such

as to constitute by their expression a positive instigation to some mischievous act." And Mill used an example which also appears in our court records. "An opinion that corn dealers are starvers of the poor or that private property is robbery ought to be unmolested when simply circulated through the press but may justly incur punishment when delivered orally to an excited mob assembled before the house of a corn dealer."

We are not surprised when Biddle tells us that on graduation from law school Holmes, contemplating a trip abroad, asked his father to get from John Lothrop Motley a letter of introduction to Mill. The father wrote that his son, "now styled Lieutenant Colonel," wanted a "line of introduction." "I give his message or request without urging it. He is a presentable youth with fair antecedents and is more familiar with Mill's writings than most fellows of his years."

Holmes with his reasoned skepticism was not afraid of democracy or of social experimentation, and even though he mistrusted much of the legislation of his day, he insisted upon giving new ideas free play. As Biddle puts it, "The eternal struggle seemed to him the basis of life—and he was all for taking risks rather than weighing them." To him "the past was but a guide to the future, and the great problems were questions of here and now. . . . Holmes, with a healthy sense of the strong life of nature and the slow movement of history, though he had no belief in panaceas, had none in sudden ruin."

Here is the picture of the true liberal who said of himself and other judges, "We need education in the obvious—to learn to transcend our own convictions and to leave room for much that we hold dear to be done away with short of revolution by the orderly change of law." And life—"that is an end in itself, and the only question as to whether it is worth living is whether you have enough of it. . . . Life is painting a picture, not doing a sum."

Writings of and about Mr. Justice Holmes would make a good-sized library. To the general reader interested in the life, ideas, and writings of one of the greatest Americans of our time, this luminous presentation is a "must" book; no lawyer, proud of his profession, will need urging to partake of its delights.

ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS

## American Fairy Tale

THE ROBBER BRIDEGROOM. By Eudora Welty. Doubleday, Doran and Company. \$2.

EUDORA WELTY'S little fairy-tale novel has been greeted with considerable reserve. The reviewers have given it the respect obviously due a book by the author of "A Curtain of Green," and they have expressed great admiration for its prose. But most of them have been disappointed, and some of them have attributed Miss Welty's lack of success to the impossibility or the impropriety of what she has tried to do. For "The Robber Bridegroom" translates the



elements of European fairy tales into the lore of the American frontier—its princess is a Mississippi girl who gathers pot herbs at the edge of the indigo field, its mild father-king is a planter, its bridegroom with a secret that must not be pried into is a river bandit, its giant is the fabulous flat-boatman Mike Fink, its Rumpelstiltskinesque creature of earth is a white-trash boy, its spirits of air are Indians.

It seems to me that we cannot judge on principle the possibility or the propriety of this transmogrification. To be sure, there is a hint of quaintness in the conception; still, if it were well done it could be done, and if it has not been well done by Miss Welty it might yet be done by someone else who thought it worth trying. But what I find disappointing in the book is not its conception but its manner—exactly that element which has been generally exempted from blame, Miss Welty's prose. This is in the fashion of sophisticated Celtic simplicity—the jacket blurb speaks accurately of its connection with "The Crock of Gold"—and it aims at an added piquancy by introducing American idioms. It is sometimes witty, it is always lucid and graceful, and it has the simplicity of structure that is no doubt the virtue of modern prose. But its lucidity, its grace, and its simplicity have a quality that invalidates them all—they are too conscious, especially the simplicity, and nothing can be falser, more purple and "literary," than conscious simplicity. This is prose whose eyes are a little too childishly wide; it is a little too conscious of doing something daring and difficult. Miss Welty is being playful and that is perfectly all right, but she is also aware of how playful she is and that is wearisome. She has used the manner of a secret archly shared but (ah!) even more archly not shared, for although she seems to have attached no specific meanings to her fantastic episodes, the whole work has the facetious air of having a profound meaning for herself. In short, she has written one of those fabrications of fantasy which have so tempted two other gifted women of our time—Elinor Wylie with her "The Venetian Glass Nephew" and her "Mr. Hazard and Mr. Hodge," and Virginia Woolf with her "Orlando," very artful and delicate works, very remote and aloof, though passionately connected, in secret ways, with the lives of the authors themselves, and very exasperating in their inevitably coy mystification.

LIONEL TRILLING

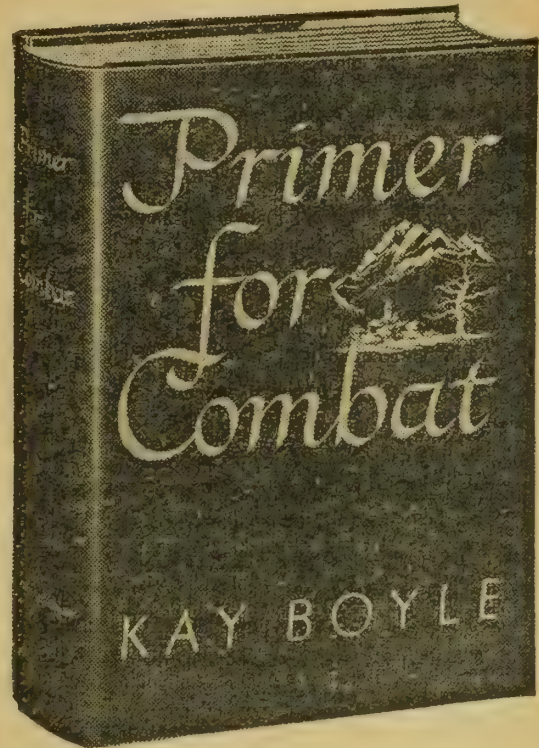
## "Proper Commanders"

**LEE'S LIEUTENANTS: A STUDY IN COMMAND.**

Volume One: Manassas to Malvern Hill. By Douglas Southall Freeman. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$5.

**W**RITING to General John B. Hood in May, 1863, General Lee said: "I agree with you . . . in believing that our army would be invincible if it could be properly organized and officered. . . . But there is the difficulty—proper commanders—where can they be obtained?"

This question is the core around which Dr. Freeman has organized his exhaustive study of Lee's principal subordinates. He is anxious to do justice to these men, unwilling that their deeds should fade from memory, but as a conscientious historian he is also bent on realistic appraisal of them, not as men, or even as soldiers, but as commanders in



## A great writer tells how the French people have reacted to Nazi domination

**I**N *Primer for Combat* Kay Boyle gives a brilliant, eye-witness report of how the Nazi conquest affected the daily lives of the little people of France who were her neighbors. This novel is a gallery of French characters—villagers, officers, tradespeople, brave men and cowards, each reacting in his human way to an overpowering catastrophe. Against this background is set the taut love story of an American woman living in France and a dazzling Austrian ski instructor in the Foreign Legion in Africa.

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the field. In spite of the enormous literature on the Civil War, this is a task which has not hitherto been undertaken by any Southern writer. One obstacle has been the myth that responsibility for Confederate failure could in no way be saddled on the men who fought in the war. As Dr. Freeman puts it, "All ex-soldiers were to be rated gallant and all officers able. . . . The sons and daughters of Confederate soldiers were reared in the unquestioning belief that Confederate generals were great warriors who would never have been defeated had not the odds been overwhelming. . . . Criticism was disloyalty. To mock was to betray."

Dr. Freeman does not mock, but he weighs the evidence impartially and his criticisms are often severe and occasionally caustic. Consequently he is performing a real service and one that has genuine relevance to our present problems.

What are the outstanding qualities necessary to high military command? To quote the author, they include "administrative skill and diligence, strategical and logistical sense, military imagination, initiative, resourcefulness, boldness coupled with a grasp of practicality, ability to elicit the best of men, and the more personal qualities of character, endurance, courage, and nervous control." This is a formidable list, and it stands to reason that the majority of good subalterns will be unequal to the responsibilities of generalship.

The Confederate army, however, had only a small cadre of professional soldiers on which it could draw. Consequently many who had previously commanded only platoons or companies soon found themselves in charge of brigades and even divisions. Some of them had had experience of

actual fighting, but it was of a limited nature—the Mexican War or frontier campaigns against the Indians. This was inadequate preparation for handling masses of men in battles the scale of which rivaled or exceeded those of the Napoleonic wars.

Yet it was not always the men with the greatest pre-war reputations or the most experience who proved the outstanding leaders. Beauregard, whose professional standing was such that he was named superintendent of West Point in 1860, snatched victory from the jaws of defeat at First Manassas only to lose its fruits by failure to follow through—always a test of generalship. But his worst defects were his vanity and exhibitionism, which poisoned his relations with his military and civil superiors. As Dr. Freeman says, "His tongue was manifestly his ally; it was not equally apparent that his pen was his enemy." Another officer of rank whose ability in the stress of battle failed to justify his self-esteem was "Prince John" Magruder. In these pages we see him during the "Seven Days," racked with nervous dyspepsia, contributing greatly to the confusion of that campaign and little to its surprising and hardly deserved success.

The dominating figure in this first volume is, of course, "Stonewall" Jackson, who after distinguishing himself in Mexico had resigned from the United States army ten years before the Civil War broke out. Dr. Freeman sustains the accepted verdict on his Valley campaigns, though he points out a number of flaws that marred them as a work of military genius. But at Malvern Hill we leave Jackson with a slightly tarnished reputation owing to the unwonted sluggishness he had displayed during the "Seven Days." The question remains, to be answered in future volumes, "Can he work in harness?"

One thought arising from reading this book is that insufficient attention has hitherto been paid to the influence of the backward state of the art of map-making on the conduct of both sides during the Civil War. The Virginia campaigns were largely fought in blind country—in low land of tangled woods and swamps crossed by many farm tracks but few hard roads. Maps, thorough reconnaissance, and careful maintenance of liaison were all essential to the success of any concerted action. But again and again we read of elaborate combinations undertaken without the assistance of adequate maps by commanders completely ignorant of the ground they expected to fight on. At the headquarters conference prior to Malvern Hill, General D. H. Hill passed on a warning he had received from a native of the country about the natural strength of the Federal position. But it was laughed off, and Lee, lacking personal knowledge of the topographical features of the chosen battlefield, ordered a frontal attack which proved costly. Whether or not our present generals prove equal in strategical genius to those of the Civil War, they are surely supported by better staff work.

Dr. Freeman, whose great life of Robert E. Lee is so worthily succeeded by this new work, is a scholar, a newspaperman, and a Virginia aristocrat. His scholarship shines from every page, while the controlling hand of the skilled journalist steers the book out of academic paths. The Virginia aristocrat shows himself chiefly by an amusing tendency to explain military virtue in terms of blue blood.

KEITH HUTCHISON

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# Clamor for Combat

**PRIMER FOR COMBAT.** By Kay Boyle. Simon and Schuster. \$2.50.

MISS BOYLE'S novel is a love story of expatriates in France, set against a backdrop of war and told in the first person by the heroine, Phyl. The other characters are seen through the dark glasses of Phyl's egotism; in spite of the pompous dramatis personae which introduces them, they hardly emerge. Phyl's lover, Wolfgang, is an Austrian skiing teacher whose hair is so bright it can be seen blocks away. He is very conscious of it. "My God," he keeps saying, shielding it with his hands from desirous glances, "my hair's too bright!" Except that he joins the Foreign Legion to escape a concentration camp, he in every way resembles any other Austrian skiing teacher. Why Phyl, who is a supposedly sensitive and intelligent woman, should be taken in by him is never explained, although it is implied that she has endowed him mistakenly with some of her own qualities. Both she and Miss Boyle seem unhappy unless every emotion is inflated to its utmost. Phyl's husband, poor Benchley, the historian, has a tough time of it. There is nothing more between them except "sorrow and anger"; he finds Wolfgang "a Don Juan, a cheap lady-killer, an Austrian yodeler"; but if he can just hold on to himself, he will see her through.

He is able to hold on to himself until Phyl discovers after three hundred pages of uneven anguish what she knew on page 5—that Wolfgang cannot bear disapproval and that he will even return to his wife, Corinne, a goddaughter of Pétain, to reinstate himself in an ordered society of convention and collaboration.

This does not, as one might expect, fill Miss Boyle's heroine with self-doubt and dislike. She blames Wolfgang rather than herself, and even more the defeat of France, for the failure of their love. Benchley asks, "Who are these strangers—these Wolfgangs—these Sepps?" (Sepp is another Austrian, and far the nicest person in the book with the possible exception of Mathilde, who is damned with faint admiration as beautiful with her light braids and grande-dame face, her weak, eager penniless hands, her talent for arranging flowers, getting into debt, and loving a gigolo—she is "capable both of grief and love.")

"Who are these intruders?" Benchley said, and my breath came fast when I answered:

"They are my feeble, my inexcusable participation, Benchley."

"In what?" said Benchley sharply, and he did not turn round.

"In the disaster, in humanity's disaster," I said.

Phyl, one feels, is overrating her desire for a blond bronzed Austrian. Her love affair isn't serious enough to compete with war, and the war, too, seems to lose its importance.

There are nevertheless many good things in "Primer for Combat," what the blurb refers to as "vignettes." Where the emotion is not falsified, the observation is as sharp and brilliant as polar weather in New York or mistral brightness blowing down the Rhône valley. When Miss Boyle's personal feelings are not involved, she can concentrate on the one behind the one behind the obvious. But these good

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things—the café chatter, her rendering of the bewildered, well-meaning French upper middle class, are the thinnest of icings on the heavy pastry which is the story. Miss Boyle tries too hard. The result is that she writes like a hysterical woman trying to write like an intelligent man.

JEAN CONNOLLY

## The German Riddle

*LISTEN, HANS.* By Dorothy Thompson. Houghton Mifflin Company. \$2.50.

THERE is a thirst for objectivity in the Anglo-Saxon mind. We encountered it in the last war in H. G. Wells's "Mr. Britling Sees It Through." We encounter it now in Dorothy Thompson's "Listen, Hans," the story of her broadcasts to Germany. Miss Thompson's aims, however, are vastly more practical than Mr. Wells's. They are part of today's political warfare, where a calm evaluation of the enemy's character and mental processes becomes a prerequisite for an effective assault on his morale.

The first part of her book outlines her broadcasting policies and deals with the various aspects of the German collective mind, primarily the contradictions which have burdened it for centuries. There is little uniformity or continuity in the history of the German nation, which achieved integration as a national state only some twenty years ago. This lack of orderly collective destiny, she believes, has psychologically unsettled the Germans and accounts for much of their explosive aggressiveness.

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## PUBLICATION

## Free Churchill Pamphlet

The new Archbishop of Canterbury was appointed by Prime Minister Winston Churchill against the wishes of Tory reactionaries in Britain. A huge audience in the Albert Hall, London, heard the Archbishop declare for transference of taxes from production equipment to ground values. (See *Christian Century*, October 7, 1942.) Churchill himself, in a volume recently issued in New York, says: "Who could have thought that it would be easier to produce by toll and skill all the most necessary or desirable commodities than it is to find consumers for them? It is certain that the economic problem with which we are now confronted is not adequately solved, indeed is not solved at all, by the teachings of the textbooks, however grand may be their logic, however illustrious may be their authors." Churchill is also for the taxation of ground rental values.

Send at once for free copy of Churchill  
pamphlet, edited by Louis Wallis.

THE HENRY GEORGE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE  
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What are they after, anyway? The trouble with any German goal is that it is fluid and without firm outline—a jelly-fish which swells and contracts. From the point of view of universal welfare and peace such vagueness is dangerous. "Our political warfare should seek to bring into full consciousness the contradictions in the German unconscious. It should seek to force the German mind to make itself up." The concept of *Lebensraum* has neither realistic nor materialistic justification today. However, Miss Thompson hopes for support from the rationalism and scientific spirit of the Germans. To reach these she demands that we appeal "with scientific reason and rational objectivity," and that we be bold enough "to risk offending politicians, some of whom have a vested interest in restoration movements of one kind or another." Miss Thompson is well aware of the present revolutionary thought-content of the peoples of Europe and the Asias. They are no longer conditioned to bear an evocation of the status quo. So she offers them certain principles which synthesize the progressive thought of the world. But her *Weltbild* tries to harmonize the need for a planned world economy with the need for the individual amenities that arise out of the Bill of Rights. More feasible seems her other Utopia, which runs parallel with the former, that of a future Commonalty of Mankind—of the new "common people" who are "not to be catalogued by social or economic class."

Both plans, whatever their practicability, are a positive move toward the world of tomorrow. They will appeal to the wise and the just in all lands. But are they far-reaching and realistic enough to carry away not the Nazi youth alone but the revolutionary youth of all Europe and Asia, who will be on the loose on armistice day, whenever it comes? Will Miss Thompson's principles prove a focus for energies and passions unparalleled in history? They may, but only if youth gets an immediate chance to work and work hard.

Miss Thompson's short-wave addresses to her friend Hans, and indirectly to the German people, seem less significant than her introduction. In challenging her foreign public she has a good many aces up her sleeve, but she speaks the language of a liberal world to which the majority of her hearers are no longer attuned. Incidentally, the presentation of her twenty-four broadcasts in book form drives home the fact that the American people live in ignorance of what purports, on short wave, to represent them. They know that official statements are broadcast, but very little else of what or who is on the air in their name.

FELIZIA SEYD

## Plato: A New Translation

*THE REPUBLIC OF PLATO.* Translated with Introduction and Notes by Francis MacDonald Cornford. The Oxford University Press. \$3.

THE veteran English classicist, F. M. Cornford, has done for Plato's "Republic" what I. A. Richards tried to do and failed. He has given the modern reader a fresh translation in our own idiom which is free from the circumlocutions, the elaborate politeness, and the often ineffective irony of the original. But where Mr. Richards was somewhat bound down by the list of Basic words and even more by his theories about words and the mind, Mr. Cornford has achieved



the utmost freedom with the most engaging grace. Instead of the traditional ten books, Mr. Cornford divides the "Republic" into the six parts that suggest themselves as natural steps in the argument. The result is that the connection between justice, which starts the discussion, and political forms, which occupy us with their intricate details, is just as apparent as the connection of both of these with Plato's metaphysical and religious views—the conclusion of the work.

When compared with the usual standard translations, this new one seems so easy to read that one wonders why it was not easy to write the very first time a translation was made. If one goes back, for instance, to Shorey in the Loeb Library, one is aghast at the un-English complexities that this scholar felt himself forced to employ in an alleged "translation," at the same time as he assaulted the fine prose of Samuel Butler's renderings of Homer. It is true that translators always arouse more anger than they satisfy curiosity, but I should think it very difficult to carp at Mr. Cornford: his knowledge of Greek is undisputed, and his fairness to the ideas of his author is patent. Possibly his English will seem too terse, sinewy, and colloquial to those who like to sentimentalize "things Greek," but it will rank with the best Elizabethan and Victorian work, with Florio and Scott Moncrieff.

JACQUES BARZUN

## Our Stake in Eastern Europe

*EASTERN EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES.* By Josef Hanc. World Peace Foundation. 50 cents.

**I**SOLATIONISM, some people hope, is as dead as a door-nail. It needs no argument, therefore, to prove that the United States has a political and economic stake in Eastern Europe which has plunged the world into war twice within a quarter-century. This interest lends special value to the succinct compendium of Dr. Hanc. His realism does not ignore the inadequacies of the Paris treaties, but points with acumen to the "limitless dynamic character" of revisionism. Dr. Hanc believes that the future of all Europe may depend on the solution of East European problems. This is by no means an overstatement. Nowhere is overheated chauvinism so inflammable as in this region with its interspersed nationalities. There is political wisdom in the suggestion that the Western powers should cooperate in an organization of Eastern Europe for peace. This region "instead of a barrier must become the bridge for the free exchange of goods" or else it will become again a roadway for mechanized war.

The author has touched the core of the problem by interpreting the assurance given to the occupied countries to mean that the United Nations, while restoring their independence, will insist on their cooperation and on their giving up some of their sovereign rights. It may be premature to make more detailed suggestions than those of Vice-President Wallace or those of Secretary of State Cordell Hull in his radio address on July 23, 1942. Nevertheless, it is desirable to have as many proposals as possible set forth for consideration and discussion. Only the appeal to the matter-of-fact American spirit may overcome the residue of isolationism. This little book will be useful to those who are preparing blueprints for post-war Europe.

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## IN BRIEF

**NIGHT SHIFT.** By Maritta Wolff. Random House. \$2.75.

Two years ago Maritta Wolff won considerable attention by being the very young author of the prize-winning novel "Whistle Stop"; now, at twenty-four, she has written a second novel. If "Night Shift"—the story of a sprawling family in an American industrial city—is new proof of Miss Wolff's fictional energy, unfortunately it is even stronger proof of the harm the movies are doing our young writers. All of Miss Wolff's values are the black and white sentimentalized values of Hollywood; her characters are typed in a casting office. Whether she is writing about Sally Otis, the waitress with a heart of gold, or Petey, the night-club singer who is as generous as she is hard-boiled, whether she is concerned with the weakling brother, Joe, or Nicky, the gangster under whose influence Joe falls, Miss Wolff's people are loved or hated, pitied or admired in just the correct Hollywood proportions. And this is particularly to be lamented because Miss Wolff has such an unmistakable vocation for fiction. She is lavish with plot and incident; she has a quite remarkable gift for visualizing scene, and her novel contains at least two memorable passages of description—the account of Sally's Christmas shopping and the description of her first visit to the State Hospital. But our young writers have to get their values somewhere, and it is as much the responsibility of contemporary fiction and criticism as it is of Hollywood that the movies have been able to do this kind of damage.

**THE VALLEY OF DECISION.** By Marcia Davenport. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$3.

Mrs. Davenport's many-storied monument to a family of Pittsburgh steel people is essentially a book for the trade—the kind of novel which is becoming so much the American fashion, written *con amore* and obviously the fruit of long researches and labors, and the kind of book which, when you have finished with it, fills you with wonder that so much effort and sincerity could have added up to so little in emotional or aesthetic experience. In following the changing fortunes of the Scott family and its mills, Mrs. Davenport's device for tying together her 800 pages and her several generations of characters is

a maid whom we meet at the beginning of the volume, entering service in the Pittsburgh mansion at the age of fifteen, and who, as a very old lady, is still with us at the end of the book when the news of Pearl Harbor comes over the radio. What this remarkable servant has learned is what the author wishes the reader to learn—that "there was no life without death," a lesson supported by the author's detailed history of the struggle for the American way of life in Pittsburgh, and by a report, moving but rather gratuitously introduced, of Czecho-Slovakia's struggle against the Nazis.

**LA QUINTRALA.** By Magdalena Petit. Translated by Lulú Vargas Vila. The Macmillan Company. \$2.

"La Quintrala" proves that a prize-winning novel in Chile need be no better than a prize-winning novel in a literature more familiar to us. A historical novel, in the sense that it is based on the life of a Chilean Lucrezia Borgia, "La Quintrala" has its main virtue in the ease with which it recreates the past; for the rest it is the melodramatic biography of a lady maniac who ranged the gamut of unpleasantness from witchcraft to patricide—sensational if only in its oversimplification of horror. Certainly not a work of literary merit, and not even a good thriller.

**REPRISAL.** By Ethel Vance. Little, Brown and Company. \$2.50.

As thriller, the new novel by the author of "Escape" is slow and disappointing, the theme too familiar—a Nazi has been murdered in occupied France—and the plot held together by only the thinnest thread of mystery and suspense. But Ethel Vance (she is really Grace Zaring Stone, as everyone must know by now) is less interested in the retribution that overtook an individual German than she is in the calamity that overtook all France. What story her novel has is contrived to allow her to explore the hearts and minds of half a dozen typical Frenchmen—chief among them a former Socialist minister—in order to find out why their country fell into German hands in the first place. The result is a mature and thoughtful book, marred, perhaps, by the way in which each character is made to represent a different political and social point of view, and by Miss Vance's flashback method of narration, but none the less a subtle footnote to one of the tragic chapters of modern history.

## DRAMA

## Holiday Suggestions

**Angel Street** (Golden). Unusually effective crime mystery done in the quiet English fashion and with a Victorian setting. From last season.

**Blithe Spirit** (Booth). Also from last season but Noel Coward's best comedy and perhaps the best on Broadway.

**The Damask Cheek** (Playhouse). Mild period comedy well acted by Flora Robson and others.

**The Eve of St. Mark** (Cort). Our best war play to date. Maxwell Anderson manages to combine melodrama with some robust humor and sentiment in such a fashion as to constitute a very moving picture of America as it enters the Second World War. Should be on everybody's list.

**The Great Big Doorstep** (Morosco). Excellent performances by Dorothy Gish and Louis Calhern in a dramatization of last year's novel about the amiable but shiftless Cajuns of the Mississippi Delta. Picturesque and gently amusing.

**Janje** (Henry Miller). Broad farce-comedy about adolescent girls who throw a party for the soldiers in camp. Not very subtle.

**Native Son** (Majestic). Revival of violent, Communist-tinged melodrama about sex and murder.

**The Pirate** (Martin Beck). The Lunts having and providing a good time pretending to be gaudy Latins. Not much of a play but enough to give the Lunts their opportunity.

**The Skin of Our Teeth** (Plymouth). Thornton Wilder's tragi-comedy of all human history exuberantly played by Tallulah Bankhead, Florence Eldridge, and Fredric March. Bewildered but delightful reviewers have compared the dramatic method to that of nearly everybody from Aristophanes to Meyerhold despite the fact that the author seems inclined to attribute his inspiration to Olsen and Johnson. In any event, one of the biggest hits of the season and quite possibly its best play. Not for the literal-minded.

**Strip for Action** (National). Sentimentality, bawdy, and patriotism recklessly combined in a sprawling farce about a burlesque show in an army camp. If you can take seriously the story of an innocent ingenue who has always dreamed of the day when



she can become a strip-tease artist like her dear dead mamma, you may be among the many who find "Strip for Action" something to grow enthusiastic about.

*Without Love* (St. James). More in the manner of "The Philadelphia Story" than in that of any of Philip Barry's other comedies. Primarily a vehicle for Katharine Hepburn and serving its purpose very well indeed.

*Yankee Point* (Longacre). Edna Best and John Cromwell in a patriotic war comedy-drama which somehow manages to remain rather tame despite the capture of a German saboteur and an air raid on our coast.

*By Jupiter* (Shubert). A musical version of "The Warrior's Husband" by Rodgers and Hart. Probably the best of the new musical shows with a plot.

*Star and Garter* (Music Box). Something like a burlesque show done on a lavish scale and with performers of real talent. Probably next on the list of the would-be censors but in my opinion more than redeemed by a satiric touch which comes very near making it a burlesque to end burlesques. With Bobby Clark and Gypsy Rose Lee.

NOTE: It is assumed that the reader needs only to be reminded that the following old standbys are still to be seen: "Arsenic and Old Lace" (Fulton); "Junior Miss" (Lyceum); "Life with Father" (Empire); "My Sister Eileen" (Ritz); "Uncle Harry" (Hudson); "Sons o' Fun" (Winter Garden). In most cases tickets will be easier to get than for the newer hits.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

## MUSIC

AT WEBSTER AITKEN'S two recent piano recitals in the New York Times Hall and the Frick Collection I was struck even more than previously by his command of his instrument. By this I mean not only his ability to produce with perfection and ease whatever Bach or Debussy asked in speed of passage-work, complexity of figuration, clarity of polyphonic texture, but the feeling for the nature and capacities of the piano which made every sound that came from it—every melody, run, or chord, from the slightest pianissimo to the most brilliant fortissimo—so unfailingly beautiful, so stunningly magnificent merely as sound. But at the same time as I noted the beauty of the sound I was aware of its

equally impressive musical significance—the dynamic inflections and tensions with which the contrapuntal lines moved against each other in Bach's "Goldberg" Variations, or with which the florid melodic line was carried from point to point in the Sarabande of the E minor Partita; the evocative potency of the flashing, darting, twisting sonorities and figurations in Debussy's "Goldfish"; the humor that was infused into Debussy's exercises in Debussyan idiom in his Etudes. The first half or so of Bach's Variations, where Aitken functioned with security and assurance and the highest pitch of intensity, reminded me of a painting of Cézanne by the way the successive pieces came into existence as powerful forms shaped with completeness and finality in every detail by powerful emotions and mind. It was one of the greatest achievements in piano-playing that I have heard; and was not the less so for what happened somewhere after the French Overture variation—an accident in the crossing of hands on the one keyboard in music written for two, and a shaken equilibrium that made possible further accidents. In the New York Times Hall the accident was the deadening acoustics of the hall, which dulled the sound of the Debussy music, and reduced to miniature the sound of Bach's E minor Partita played as a work of small scale.

This is not the first time that I have written about the extraordinary quality of Aitken's playing, and in so doing raised in my readers' minds the inevitable question why his playing is heard so little. The answer is to be found in the way the manager-musician-audience set-up functions—what ends it pursues, what methods it uses, what results it produces. These do not include great performances of Bach's "Goldberg" Variations; and whatever else the set-up may achieve for the people who fit into its pattern, it defeats a musician like Aitken who will not travel from city to city to play Beethoven's "Moonlight" Sonata and little pieces by Chopin, Liszt, and Rachmaninov. About this I will have more to say later; and at that time I will discuss also the part which is played by the newspaper reviewers.

Other matters are more pressing at the moment—among them the New Opera Company production of Verdi's "Macbeth." Having gritted my teeth while some of the Germans among us—joined by Virgil Thomson, who does his worst writing when he indulges in the kind of remote-from-fact concept-spinning the Germans go in for—in-

sisted that Toscanini as an Italian was incapable of performing Beethoven properly, I now had to grit my teeth over the style of Stiedry's performance of Verdi, or rather over the absence of the proper style of this music—over the matter-of-fact statement of what should have been dynamic accompaniment figures, or the metronomic treatment of choral passages that begged for plasticity, for a broadening in pace and sonority at their climaxes. In addition to the conductor's lack of feeling for the music that made it pallid in style, there were the small size and poor quality of the orchestra that made it pallid in sound. The singing was better; Jess Walters, the Macbeth, has a beautiful voice, though much of the time one hears constriction in its use which will do it harm; and Regina Resnick, who replaced Florence Kirk in the performance I attended, has a strong voice of good timbre which she used with excellent dramatic effect. But the acting was of college-dramatic-society caliber; and the stage director seemed to have given no attention to the problem of what costume, make-up and wig, and what movements of body and arms would make of a Regina Resnick—on the stage of the Broadway Theater—a Lady Macbeth; with the result that one saw in "Macbeth" someone gotten up as though to parody a night-club entertainer, and moving as though to parody Florence Kirk's imitation of the lunges and crouches of operatic villainesses. If—as I was led to observe last year—one of the New Opera Company's purposes is to provide opportunities and experience for young Americans, one must question whether the right way to achieve this purpose—right for the artists, for the works, for the public—is to give these young singers roles they are not equipped or ready for in performances for sophisticated New York audiences.

As for "Rosalinda," I found only the brilliantly staged party scene enjoyable.

Postscript on Victor's new set of Beethoven's Piano Concerto No. 4: Though there is a lack of body and power in the bass of the piano, the string basses are very strong. And while Schnabel himself blurs some of the passage-work, there is an additional slight blurring created by the reverberation in the hall, most obviously in the cadenzas and wherever else the piano plays alone. The ears of an engineer friend detected a similar effect in the sound of the orchestra, where I did not notice it.

B. H. HAGGIN



# Letters to the Editors

## Our Readers on Darlan

*Dear Sirs:* May I compliment you on Freda Kirchwey's article in your issue of November 28—Darlan and American Liberals. It was timely and to the point. In my opinion the Darlan appointment was a military, political, and diplomatic blunder. I am fearful of the result for our country and the United Nations. As you well said, an Inter-Allied Political Council should have been in existence when we actively entered the war.

COLONEL SAMUEL PASCOE

Peoria, Ill., December 4

*Dear Sirs:* Why is it that so few people possess the moral courage to admit that they were mistaken? We expect nothing from our Hamilton Fishes and Senator Tafts, who still reiterate that their position on preparedness was correct, but men like Villard and Norman Thomas make no better showing. So far the only prominent person who has admitted that he was wrong has been the president of Fordham University.

With the opening of the African campaign I wondered what would be the reaction of critics of the Administration who have insisted on a second front on the Continent. I was terribly disappointed with the attitude of *The Nation*. Its only reaction was to utter shrill denunciations and offer ponderous advice. Surely *The Nation* should know that none of its readers think more of Darlan than do its editors. But many of us are realistic enough to believe that the first objective is to win the war in the shortest time possible and with the minimum cost of American lives. If this means accepting the temporary help of the devil himself, we are in favor of it.

As far as De Gaulle is concerned, it might be well to consider what the French people think of him. Several books written by American correspondents living in France during the past year seem to agree that 95 per cent of the French people hate the Germans and Laval and a very large number dislike and distrust De Gaulle. Perhaps the opinion of the French people should be considered before a leader is selected for them.

WALTER H. STIX

Cincinnati, Ohio, December 5

*Dear Sirs:* Freda Kirchwey's convincing article on Darlan and American Liberals in *The Nation* of November 28 prompts me to write to indorse every word she said. However, I believe she overlooked one point which I consider most important: that this deal with Darlan condones the rotten practices which some of our American business men have been getting away with, lo, these many years—and what is more will continue to get away with, inspired by the government's fine example.

My son, who is in the army, has become quite cynical and has begun to wonder what all the fighting is for.

ROSETTE S. LOWENSTEIN

Chicago, Ill., December 1

*Dear Sirs:* I have known of *The Nation* for a very long time, and had some direct knowledge of it through reading its columns when it was under the management of those pseudo-liberals, Godkin and Villard. Of late years it has seemed to me to have got its "feet on the ground." I wish, however, to protest against Miss Kirchwey's article in the issue of November 28 on the Administration's attitude toward Admiral Darlan. Her sneer at "quarterback" theories shows that she fails utterly to grasp the situation and is apparently guilty of the same idealism which made the old *Nation* a failure to so great an extent. In a war you have to use "quarterback" tactics. Decisions must be made instantly, on the basis of the actual conditions which confront a commander. What was General Eisenhower to do, confronted with the situation in Africa? He either had to make terms with Darlan or spend valuable time and lives fighting the Vichy French forces. President Roosevelt in his explanation of the course pursued simply recognized the existing realities, saying in effect that for the present we make the arrangement with Darlan, leaving final policies to be decided later.

I am strongly favorable to the Free French, was opposed to Mr. Hull's criticism of the seizure of the Atlantic islands as I am opposed to most of the things for which Hull seems to stand. But the simple facts are these: (1) that Darlan was in command of the French forces in Africa; and (2) that General De Gaulle has not been so popular with the majority of Frenchmen as to make

it certain they would accept his leadership.

In my judgment, your criticism of the Administration for its African policy tends to give "aid and comfort" to our enemies.

FRANK C. REID

Pasadena, Cal., December 4

*Dear Sirs:* Allow me to say a few words in defense of "quarterback strategy." Our present aim should be to win the war in the shortest time and with the least possible bloodshed. The deal with Darlan appears to have furthered both of these ends. The President has assured the French people that, regardless of what steps may be taken to win the war, when it is over they will be free to choose whatever government they desire. They should, therefore, rejoice in whatever hastens victory. Deprecation of the Darlan deal implies disbelief in promises made by the President. This should be expected from Roosevelt haters, but hardly from liberals.

BLACHFORD KOUGH

Chicago, Ill., December 2

*Dear Sirs:* Your articles on the continued appeasement of the old Vichy and Franco regimes are excellent. It would seem that after the appalling two years of Pétain and Laval we would have learned something. Hull and Roosevelt seem to think that we must do business with the Quislings in all countries rather than with the true representatives of the people. General De Gaulle is the leader of the only existing French government, but he is constantly ignored by both Washington and London, while Moscow has recognized him for what he really is, the true France. De Gaulle may not be all that we could wish him to be, but he has been true both to France and to the United Nations. Darlan and Giraud, on the other hand, represent the old reactionary forces of France that were in large part responsible for selling out the French people. Both Giraud and Darlan could have joined the Free French government at any time during the past two years, but they both chose to become part and parcel of the Vichy outfit. Giraud has consistently refused to recognize the Free French as the real government of France. Darlan is apparently an opportunist of the worst sort.

Why should the democracies, 30-

(Continued on page 696)



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called, play around with such semi-fascists? The answer is apparently that there are too many reactionaries in our own government. Roosevelt should know that the only appeal we make to the suppressed opposition in Nazi-occupied territory is our reputation for playing fair and being really anti-fascist. When we deal with Darlans and Girauds we sully our reputation and compromise our honor.

Our dealings with Franco are cut from the same cloth. Franco is a rock-ribbed fascist and can have no future in a democratic world order. He of course fully knows this and therefore is only biding his time. Hitler is his boss and he acknowledges him as such. For many high-placed Foreign Office officials in both London and Washington to pretend otherwise is absurd.

HOWARD A. DYE

Hillside, N. J., December 3

*Dear Sirs:* In a fine, idealistic way you are absolutely right in your editorial heading the November 28 issue. The only thing you perhaps overlook is that the world since at least 1900 has been in process of violent readjustment to attain a new equilibrium more satisfactory to the powers as a whole than the one which existed from the end of the French Revolution till the Kaiser challenged it in 1905. This readjustment will require many wars, many changes of sides, and at least a generation more of fighting; what the final equilibrium will be you and I cannot even remotely imagine. What happens month by month and year by year guides us not at all. After this phase of the long conflict comes to a close and before the next phase starts we may get some inkling. Meanwhile, do not place too much importance on today.

T. SWANN HARDING

Falls Church, Va., December 8

*Dear Sirs:* I cannot agree with the position taken by many of our writers and commentators in regard to our deal with Admiral Darlan. The arguments for accepting the aid of this clever opportunist are the same used to justify Chamberlain's appeasement of Hitler at Munich. We were told that he too was only being realistic in order to save lives.

So the appeasers are still unable to see beyond their nose or to distinguish between leaders who have proved their loyalty to the things that we pretend to be fighting for and those who have betrayed their country and people as well as the cause of a Free World.

If Pétain and Darlan had not been appeasers, defeatists, and fascists at heart, they would have gone to North Africa and carried on the fight in June, 1940. Instead they made a deal with Hitler and turned hundreds of spirited and loyal French citizens over to the Gestapo and the firing squad. Yet we accept them as allies, and some even try to make heroes of them. In the face of these facts how can we expect the millions of little people all over the world to get enthusiastic over our talk about the Four Freedoms and democracy? Millions of people in Europe know by now what appeasement has done to them. Can't our leaders show some integrity? Don't they know that success does not make right any more than "might makes right"?

JOHN M. ROCK

Cheyenne, Wyo., December 4

*Dear Sirs:* The issue before the democratic world today is victory, regardless of cost or ethics. The value of Darlan cannot be too greatly emphasized; it is surely more than enough to overshadow any moral points which Miss Kirchwey's articles in *The Nation* have brought to light. His aid to the Allies has been priceless, and through him the life of many an American boy has been saved. But this should be well known, and therefore I shall confine my remarks to the issue chosen by Miss Kirchwey, the moral issue.

Miss Kirchwey speaks of the saddened feelings in France aroused by the Allies' recognition of Darlan. I wonder how sad the French would have felt if Darlan, having been spurned by the Allied command, had chosen to resist. There would be no gay thoughts running through the minds of Frenchmen with the Axis radios pounding into them the reports of bloody fighting between the sons of France in Africa and the troops that had come to liberate them. What would have been the feelings of France if the Axis, having been given time to reinforce its African armies by the fighting between the French and the Allies, had won the victory and driven the Allies from Africa, thereby snuffing out the French hope for freedom?

Miss Kirchwey places ethics above military strategy. So did the Belgians and Dutch, and instead of letting British troops enter their country before the Nazi invasion, they waited until it was too late.

EDDIE KRELL

St. Louis, Mo., December 2

## For Nazis Only

*Dear Sirs:* On page 510 of the November 14 *Nation* Argus has a piece called Behind the Enemy Line which deals in part with the preface Ernest Hemingway wrote for "Men at War." Argus says, "In the introduction to his anthology 'Men at War' Ernest Hemingway again suggests that after the war all Germans should be sterilized."

In his preface to "Men at War" Hemingway wrote: "All members of Nazi party organizations should be submitted to it [sterilization] if we are ever to have a peace that is to be anything more than a breathing space between wars. . . . It is not wise to advocate sterilization now as a government or Allied policy since it can only cause increased resistance. . . ." (Italics mine.)

MARTHA GELLHORN HEMINGWAY

San Francisco de Paula, Cuba

December 2

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## Notice to Our Readers

NEXT week *The Nation* will increase its size to forty pages. The change is an act of faith; only time will tell whether it was justified. But we were faced with a difficult choice. Our present size—thirty-six pages—is neither economical nor technically efficient. It necessitates printing a four-page form on different presses from those used for the rest of the paper. The separate operations resulting from this are a nuisance to us and to the printer. So we were forced to choose between returning to the old thirty-two-page book or going up to forty pages.

The first alternative would have meant dropping the new section on Political War or, possibly, squeezing it into smaller compass and eliminating other features. We did not like that idea. The new section has been enthusiastically received by readers; it is followed carefully in various government offices; and events make it more important every week. We did not want to reduce or eliminate other departments either, and consideration for our readers argued against the use of smaller type as a space-saver.

So we decided, instead, to add four pages. To do this and still use our present grade of paper would involve an increase in cost that *The Nation* could never stand unless we were prepared to raise the price to our readers. Most magazines have raised their price—many have doubled it—but we want to avoid this if possible, or at least put it off as long as we can. Another reason why we could not go up in size and stick to our present paper is that the government is urging a reduction in the amount—which means the weight—of paper used. So we shall shift to a lighter grade of paper at the same time that we increase the number of pages. This change will at one stroke save enough money to make the larger size possible and reduce the total weight of *The Nation* in compliance with the government's wishes.

That is the story. We shall try to meet the challenge of this stormy period with more and better articles. We shall give our readers more space in which to express their opinions. We shall gradually add new writers and new features. We believe that time will justify our decision to grow rather than shrink.

EDITOR, THE NATION



## *The Shape of Things*

THE RESIGNATION OF LEON HENDERSON IS a severe blow to those who have been insisting that the war should be fought on the home front with the same zeal and courage as on the firing line. Most criticisms of him are an outgrowth of his determination to let no special interest wreck the price-stabilization program. It is probably true that he was not always as tactful with the Congressmen representing special interests as he might have been. He failed rather conspicuously in the vital task of educating the public to the value and necessity of his rationing and price-control program. But it is probably fair to say that no one could have succeeded at this task in the face of constant sniping from a section of the press more interested in discrediting the New Deal than in winning the war. Mr. Henderson was blamed for all sorts of things over which he had absolutely no control. He was held responsible, for instance, for the complicated questionnaire sent to the truck owners by Coordinator of Transportation Eastman. And he was blamed for the delay in the food-rationing program, though Congress had specifically denied him funds to put it through. Not even his enemies question his integrity, competence, or courage—qualities badly needed today.

★

THE RED ARMY HAS OPENED THE THIRD phase of its winter offensive by a sweeping advance through the Nazi lines paralleling the middle Don. Two columns are converging on the important junction of Millerovo. According to the Russian communiqués, some 300 villages have been retaken, over 40,000 Germans killed or captured, and a huge amount of booty seized. In an area as large as Russia the recovery of territory means little in itself, as was shown last winter when the German defense system of loosely linked strong points held despite the wedges driven between them by the Soviet forces. But this year the Red Army is slicing into the German lines even more vigorously and levying a heavy toll on communications which are far more extended than a year ago. In last winter's campaign Hitler's isolated garrisons depended largely on air-borne supplies. This year the Luftwaffe's transport service is also heavily engaged in the Mediterranean. The new Soviet advance threatens the air bases from which the Axis forces in the Stalingrad pocket have been succored, and their position, already desperate, may soon prove hopeless. German radio reports are significantly speaking of military decisions to shorten the front on the middle Don. The Soviets' brilliant advances will probably necessitate far more extensive movements of this nature, not only by tightening the net around the besieged besiegers of Stalingrad but by threatening the flank of the Nazi Caucasus army.

TENSION ABOUT SPAIN DIMINISHED somewhat over the week-end, and Radio Berlin and Radio Rome dropped for the moment their pretense that Dr. Negrín was plotting the invasion of Spanish Morocco with General Eisenhower. A broadcast from London announcing that the Loyalist Premier has been in Oxford during the last few days, attending a conference on European reconstruction, has put an end to Axis rumors of his presence in North Africa. But Radio Berlin soon found another exciting subject for its Spanish listeners in the arrival at Madrid of General Agustín Muñoz Grande, commander of the Blue Division sent by our prospective ally, General Franco, to fight against our actual ally, Russia. Serrano Suñer, in his new all-power post in the Council of the Falang, provided the "spontaneous" demonstration that welcomed General Muñoz Grande to the capital. According to Berlin, thousands and thousands of Spanish patriots rushed to the station to hail Muñoz Grande with the cry, "Gibraltar! Gibraltar! Gibraltar!"—words directed by our prospective ally, General Franco, against our other actual ally, Great Britain. Hitler contributed personally to the glorification of the commander of the Blue Division by bestowing upon him the Iron Cross with oak leaves.

★

WHETHER THE "IBERIAN BLOC" FORMED ON Monday offers a counterbalance to the news coming from Spain on the days preceding, it is too early to predict. In itself Spain's approach to a country like Portugal, which, although ruled by a dictatorship, has so many traditional links with England, sounds encouraging. But neither the speeches exchanged in the Place of Cintra between the head of the Portuguese state, Antonio de Oliveira Salazar, and Franco's visiting Foreign Minister, General Gómez Jordana, nor the composition of the Spanish delegation was reassuring. General Jordana took with him the chief of staff of the Spanish army, General Martínez Campos, a rather curious choice for a mission whose officially proclaimed purpose was to keep Portugal and Spain out of the war. The speeches abounded in praise of peace, "but not a static peace," observed Gómez Jordana, "a peace that follows the events of the general struggle with undiminished attention and with a determination to prevent old things [meaning, we may assume, democracy] from surviving." The added fact that before leaving Madrid the Spanish Foreign Minister talked at length with the German Ambassador and that Berlin has hailed the Iberian bloc as a contribution to the stabilization of Europe should also moderate any hopes that may be founded on this current peace crusade of Falangist Spain. All of which makes us suspect that instead of Portugal taking Spain over to the Allies, it is Spain which is trying to assure the acquiescence of Portugal in the event of a Nazi march through the Peninsula.



THE "VICTORY FUND DRIVE" HAS BROUGHT into the Treasury's coffers a great deal more money than had been anticipated. The goal set for December's super-financing was \$9 billion; the range of securities offered gave the smallest wage-earner as well as the biggest bank an opportunity to participate. Over \$10 billion has been subscribed, and Mr. Morgenthau has now raised his sights to \$11 billion. This total should be easily achieved, especially if those fortunate enough to enjoy Christmas bonuses invest them in war bonds. A Treasury tabulation shows that of the funds subscribed up to December 19 roughly 45 per cent was derived from banking sources and 55 per cent from the general public, including insurance companies, institutions, trusts, and the like. This ratio is being hailed as very satisfactory, but in our opinion the share of the banks is still too large to be healthy. Government borrowing from non-banking sources means the absorption of real savings and is definitely anti-inflationary in its effects. When Mr. X buys a \$1,000 bond, his deposit account is reduced by that amount. The Treasury uses the proceeds to pay Mr. Y, a contractor, who puts it in his own bank. The effect is to leave the total of spendable deposits unchanged. If Mr. X, however, chooses to keep his savings liquid in his deposit account, he provides a fund which his bank can lend to the government. But after the money has been passed along to Mr. Y, total deposits are increased by \$1,000, and to that extent available purchasing power has been enlarged. That is why borrowing from the banks is inflationary in its effects. It can hardly be avoided altogether, but it ought to be held to a minimum.

★

THE C. I. O. HAS PRESENTED A MAN-POWER program to Paul V. McNutt which deserves the fullest support from everyone interested in effective, immediate mobilization of the labor resources of the country. It calls for complete coordination with the Manpower Commission of the activities of those agencies which have jurisdiction over procurement, the issuance of contracts, and the disposition of raw materials. It asks that employers be compelled to make full use of Negroes, racial minorities, and women. Measures are requested to assure full protection for workers who are "frozen" on a particular job or are transferred from one job to another. Participation of labor is asked in decisions involving the drafting of workers from war jobs to the armed forces. Stress is placed on the necessity for expanding the United States Employment Service, with enlarged appropriations for its activities, and on the establishment of national minimum standards of social security for all workers. The C. I. O. proposals do not constitute, of course, a complete man-power program. They must be accompanied by a careful plan for enlisting, training, and providing for the special requirements of women workers. Some degree of compulsion is prob-

ably necessary in placing men and women in war work. But no man-power program can possibly succeed unless it wins the support of labor by the inclusion of safeguards such as those outlined in the C. I. O. proposals.

★

THE TWO MAJOR RADIO NETWORKS WHICH in October refused to sell time for the purpose of publicizing the cooperative method of retailing have since then received quite an education. They have learned that the cooperative movement is neither a freak affair nor a subversive organization but an eminently sensible means of self-help, embracing several million consumers and enjoying formidable political backing. The lessons resulted in a partial retreat, which has taken the form of an agreement between the code committee of the National Association of Broadcasters and the Cooperative League. At the time of the original dispute the Columbia Broadcasting Company issued a statement indicating that while radio advertising of a cooperative-labeled product would be acceptable, any attempt to inform listeners about the unique features of cooperative trading would be barred on a commercial program. The agreement now reached declares that "there is no objection to commercial copy incorporated in a program sponsored by a cooperative enterprise which states that (a) any person can make purchases at cooperatives; (b) membership in cooperatives is open and voluntary; (c) cooperatives are owned by members, each of whom has one vote; (d) profits or savings are returned to member owners." This represents a reasonable compromise which will enable the cooperatives to sell their ideas as well as their wares, although it will bar the program originally drafted by the Cooperative League, which by presenting the history of the movement in dramatic form mingled, in effect, the "commercial" with the entertainment.

★

NO DOUBT IT WAS TO KEEP A MILITARY secret from the farm belt that Rubber Administrator Jeffers sent off a committee to investigate Soviet rubber processes without announcing the names of its members. For it turns out, on prodding by the Gillette committee, that the men chosen by Jeffers represent the oil and chemical interests which have been opposed to using farm products in the rubber program and which turned a deaf ear a year ago to Soviet offers of aid. Three members of the four-man committee are from companies which had alliances or friendly understandings with the Standard Oil-I. G. Farben cartel—du Pont's United States Rubber, Universal Oil Products, and Carbon and Carbide. The last-named is indeed, as Jeffers said, interested in making rubber from alcohol. In fact, it has the synthetic-rubber program's entire allotment of rubber to be made from alcohol, no doubt in order to keep that part of the program in safe hands. Carbon and Carbide



normally makes its alcohol synthetically from petroleum and natural gas. It is the chief support of the Mellon Institute, whence Jesse Jones and the WPB drew their two main advisers on our badly advised synthetic-rubber program. No one on the committee represents the Mid-western agricultural scientists who are interested in finding new uses for that section's surpluses and who have done such notable work in making rubber from farm products.

## Darlan States His Case

**D**ARLAN'S statement on his purposes and present policies, issued last week, is worth examining from a number of angles. Perhaps the most important thing about it is the fact that it was made public at the White House with a covering message by the President. This gives the statement the force of an officially indorsed explanation. In effect it is the government's answer to those who have criticized the deal with Darlan on political grounds, and by the same token it is an admission that criticism was both widespread and bitter enough to necessitate an explanation. Perhaps it is encouraging to know that Darlan is sufficiently amenable to American pressure to issue a statement designed to soothe the feelings aroused by his assumption of office.

Certainly little encouragement can be drawn from the document itself. Darlan's disclaimer of personal ambition is as unconvincing as his assertion that all he wants is a restored France free to choose its own form of government. His whole record, together with his political-financial connections, described on a later page of this issue, make such talk pure poppycock.

Much more interesting are certain concrete references to present arrangements in North Africa. He says that "in actual accomplishments, the High Commissioner [himself] has already granted full and complete amnesty to all against whom any action had been taken because of sympathy to the Allies. . . . Prisoners and internees of the United Nations were promptly released. . . . The High Commissioner has begun the restoration of rights to those persons from whom these previously had been taken because of their race. Measures have been taken to stop immediately whatever persecution of Jews may have resulted from laws passed in France under German pressure." Note the wording of that statement, so artfully designed to gloss over uncomfortable realities. Note, for example, with what care it avoids saying that Spanish and Jewish and other anti-Nazi refugees have actually been freed; how craftily it suggests, without saying so, that all French political prisoners have been released; how clearly it admits, without appearing to, that legal restrictions against Jews are still effective. The fact is, as the Fighting French radio station at

Brazzaville reported early this week, the Spanish Loyalists are still in prison in North Africa. So are the Jews and the other refugees from the Axis. So are all but a few of the Fighting French. Until the President tells us that these people have all been turned loose and the anti-Jewish laws swept out of existence, we shall continue to look upon the Darlan statement as an unworthy piece of political hokum.

The one thing it clearly establishes is the meaning of the term "temporary." By giving official approval to Darlan's own version of his tenure of office, it announces in effect that "temporary" means "for the duration." This was evident before Darlan told us so, but to have the truth so bluntly and officially admitted will undo any reassuring effect the statement might otherwise have had. The peoples of Europe expect a hard and long war. They have no desire to fight it by the side of men whose character they have every reason to despise. In this week's Political War section we publish almost the whole text of a leading editorial in *Tribune*, the well-known London weekly of left opinion. We publish it not because it is a model of accuracy or journalistic prose—unfortunately it is rather carelessly put together—but because it expresses so bluntly the anger and deep distrust aroused in England by the Darlan deal. These emotions are shared by conservatives and leftists alike, and there is no use in censoring them, as the British tried to do. The knowledge that Darlan is in for the duration will do little to relieve the feelings of men who say with bitterness born of three years of struggle: "We did not need an American expeditionary force to tell us that it is cheaper to compromise with an enemy than to fight him."

## Peril in China

**T**HE announcement that British troops have recrossed the border into Burma is significant chiefly for its possible effect on the desperate situation in China. So far, the British drive appears to be a limited one, designed to recapture the narrow valley which is served by the port of Akyab. Such a drive of itself would be of no value to China even if it were fully successful, but as part of a coordinated plan to recapture the Burma road, it would have very important consequences. For it is no secret that feeling toward Britain and the United States has become extremely bitter in China in recent months as a result of the failure of those countries to send effective aid to China.

Nowhere has the Chinese case been put more effectively than in a recent letter to PM by the distinguished novelist Lin Yu-tang. Dr. Lin points out that of the hundred transport planes requested by China at the beginning of the year only forty were sent, and that twenty-five of these were diverted to India. Although the



twenty-five were ultimately restored to China, after months of negotiation, the monthly supplies now reaching China are only about 1 per cent of the normal capacity of the Burma Road and less than could be carried on a small 2,500-ton steamer. He adds that only a handful of fighter and bomber planes have been sent to support the Chinese military effort, and warns us that the Chinese army cannot hold out indefinitely unless something is done to replace and repair existing transport equipment.

Japan's strategy for taking advantage of this situation has become quite clear. Recent reports indicate that at least 30,000 troops, with considerable air support, have been massed in the Lungling-Tenchung area along the Burma border for an invasion of Yunnan province. Unless the present drive into the Akyab corner of Burma is expanded into an offensive directed against Burma proper, the Japanese can probably succeed in cutting the tenuous air line that now connects China with the outside world. If this should happen, the situation of the Chinese would be all but hopeless, and there is little doubt that defeatist elements in the government would do their best to bring about a peace with Japan. This would, of course, be a disaster for the United Nations on every count, not least because it would rob us of the eventual possibility of using China's superb airfields for a direct attack on Japan.

As Lin Yu-tang has pointed out, China is not asking much. It is not asking us to abandon our African campaign or even to give up the struggle in the Solomons and New Guinea. It asks only for a small fraction of our military output, enough transport planes to restore effective communications between Chungking and the outside world and enough men and supplies for an all-out campaign to reconquer Burma before it is too late. To this should be added, as one Chinese spokesman declared recently, enough long-range bombers and fighter escorts to carry the war directly to Japan. As *The Nation* has consistently pointed out, these measures are as much in our interest as they are in China's.

## The Power Is Nelson's

THE Small Business Committee of the House of Representatives deals much too harshly with the OPA and much too gently with WPB Chairman Donald M. Nelson in its tentative report on the conditions it found in the South and Southwest. It declares that the Smaller War Plants Corporation, though established six months ago, has had "practically negligible" results in those areas. The committee held hearings in St. Louis, Memphis, Dallas, Houston, New Orleans, Jacksonville, Atlanta, Birmingham, and Charlotte. "In none of the cities visited," the committee says, "was there an operating organization set up to represent the corporation

and to do the work for which it was created. Yet in all the localities visited the committee found many unused facilities and many distressed small manufacturers who have been trying desperately to obtain contracts to produce necessary war materials." Who is to blame?

The committee reports that on December 15 it questioned "Mr. Lou E. Holland, chairman of the Smaller War Plants Corporation," and it attributes the failure of the corporation "to the management." But Holland and the four nonentities who make up the board of the SWPC are not its management. The management of the corporation lies in the hands of Donald M. Nelson, who is its chairman. Holland, an energetic and able small business man from Kansas City, is only vice-chairman. Under the act creating it the SWPC can obtain no contracts for distribution to smaller businesses without separate certification of each contract by the chairman. The vice-chairman and his colleagues are completely dependent on Nelson, and Nelson's aid to small business is limited almost entirely to pious reflections before Congressional committees on the importance of preserving it. Nelson delayed the establishment of the SWPC for many weeks after the act was passed. He picked a weak board to run it, and he seems to have succeeded in draining Holland of the vitality and fighting power the latter showed before Nelson summoned him to Washington.

The remedy is simple and should be obvious to Wright Patman and his colleagues of the House committee. The original draft of the Smaller War Plants Corporation Act, the Murray-Patman bill, would have set up an independent body empowered to make and finance war-production subcontracts for small business men in a "bits and pieces" program. In order to win Nelson's approval, the bill was amended to make him chairman of the SWPC and the SWPC dependent upon him. Events since the passage of the act make it hard to avoid the conclusion that Nelson took the House and Senate Small Business committees into camp. A frontal attack on the bill would have been hopeless; both houses finally passed the measure unanimously. Nelson adopted shrewder tactics. The remedy is to take the power away from him and make the SWPC independent.

The Patman committee's criticism of price regulations as they affect the retailer are less convincing than its findings in the field of war production. No doubt there are many cases in which retailers find themselves caught in price squeezes, but the committee has yet to demonstrate that these are not the exceptional and unavoidable tragedies of price control. Politically, it is much easier to assail the "bureaucracy run riot" of price control—everybody is against bureaucracy—than to look too closely into why small business has been unable to get its share of war orders. We think it wiser to suspend judgment on this portion of the committee's findings until it publishes the more detailed report it has promised.



# A Call to Action

BY FRED KIRCHWEY

**T**HE NATION has never been known as a journal that ignored the faults of its favorites. Like a stern parent it has seemed to take satisfaction in chastising those it loves, expecting of them a higher standard of behavior than it demands of the rest of mankind. But even *The Nation*, I have discovered in turning the pages of old volumes these last few days, has found little to disapprove of in the conduct of George W. Norris. From the day when Norris stood against America's entrance into the last war to the day when he firmly supported its entrance into the present one, his policies, his character, his whole approach to problems of government have consistently won the praise of this journal of highly critical opinion. His steadfast adherence to the very essence of democratic behavior has been something that the most cantankerous critic could only try to emulate.

Next week *The Nation* and the Union for Democratic Action together will sponsor a dinner in New York in celebration—I use that word deliberately—of George Norris's recent retirement from the Senate. The response to the invitation already indicates how many people in this part of the country have been eagerly awaiting an opportunity to express their affection for the man whom all progressives, without regard to voting frontiers, have looked upon as their particular Senator.

I don't believe the guest of the evening will have any idea, unless he accepts my word for it, how many of those who gather to do him honor are, in a special sense, his legitimate political offspring; how many, like *The Nation* itself, look upon him as a chief source of their hopes and plans for a decent society in this country.

Again I can properly draw upon *The Nation's* long relationship with our Senator to illustrate this truth. It was in 1923 that George Norris first decided to retire from the Senate. The words he spoke at that time were both true and misleading: he had, he said, "been bucking this game for twenty years, and there is no way of breaking it." But *The Nation* called him back to the fight in an article by Oswald Garrison Villard which said in part:

We understand full well the wear and tear of the daily senatorial drudgery upon him who is worthy of the office. We know that the fulness of years approaches—you have passed your sixty-second birthday. And yet, understanding all this, we can but say to you this is no time to flinch. . . . It was you, George W. Norris, who, when a Representative, led the successful fight against Cannonism in the House. . . . It was you who led the numerous struggles to better the plight of the farmer you know and understand so well. . . . Everywhere there are indications that the inevitable period of black reaction is drawing to a close, that the tide of liberalism

is rising again. . . . New allies and new friends are sitting at your right and at your left in the chamber you have so long graced. Then why surrender now?

He yielded, generously, to the pressure of his friends and ran again for the Senate, but it is certain that he did it without ever anticipating the democratic victories he was to win in the nineteen years which followed. For then, as today, George Norris realized neither his own strength nor the degree to which the progressive forces in the country counted upon him for leadership. His failure to recognize those facts must be attributed to two elements in his make-up: first, a deep, though intermittent, current of pessimism which generally serves the useful purpose of lending realism to his crusades and a salutary drop of acid to his estimate of men and events; and, second, that profound, unaffected modesty which has colored his whole public life.

It is safe to say that Senator Norris looks upon himself as a decent, honest, liberal sort of man who has done his best to represent the people who sent him to Washington and the interests of the country as a whole. That he has achieved a position of national leadership from which he cannot possibly retire, especially in this hour of crisis in the fight for a democratic future, has not, apparently, even occurred to him. As we all know, George Norris has left the Senate in a mood of discouragement. His defeat was for him a sign that the tide of progressive political action is ebbing, that his own long, untiring fight has ended in failure. Again he has allowed himself an hour of despair after a lost battle.

I hope I shall not sound like a political innocent if I express the opposite view. The defeat of George Norris will, I firmly believe, result in a period of new and broader service for him and in a spiritual awakening for the country. Defeat is sometimes more salutary than victory, and the election in November should be looked upon as America's political Dunkirk—a shock which will rekindle the fighting faith of the progressive forces in this country.

On every ground—experience, valor in action, wisdom, even seniority—George Norris is the natural commander of those forces. His retirement from the Senate of the United States frees him for active field service in a war we know today must be fought on all fronts—from the farms of Nebraska to the shores of Tripoli.

The fight is for a world that belongs to the ordinary man, to whom George Norris has devoted his strength, his integrity, his undiminished courage. It will be a tough fight. The setback suffered by the democratic spirit in America is a real one. Our enemies are confident and aggressive. We can win, but we can win only if we accept defeat as a challenge, if we rouse ourselves to fight together and fight hard. And this we are determined to do. Confidently we summon George Norris to lead us in this greatest battle of his career.



# The Loss of Leon Henderson

BY I. F. STONE

*Washington, December 20*

**H**OW well Leon Henderson served the people of this country will become more apparent as the new Congress, on a reactionary rampage, forces a general loosening of anti-inflationary regulations. Up to now, thanks to Henderson's integrity and courage, and despite the power exercised by special economic interests in our political life, we have done a better job than any other capitalist country in fighting inflation. The loot of Europe has tended to hold German prices down; Lend-Lease has helped maintain supplies in Britain. We have managed to hold the advance in the cost of living to less than a fifth of the advance that occurred in the First World War, although a much larger share of our productive capacity is going into war production and war exports. This is a magnificent achievement, and it is the more remarkable because up to last May Henderson had no real power over any prices and has never had adequate power over farm prices.

The clamor of the press against Henderson is no real index of the public's attitude toward him, but no man can expect to be a price administrator in war time and win popularity contests. Henderson's fate deserves a place in the meditation of philosophers. By fighting inflation he was serving the general interest but antagonizing a long list of special ones. These were not limited to what we are accustomed to call "the interests." The steel industry knuckled under to Henderson on prices at a time when he had only the power of bluff and bluster. It was the farm bloc and labor which proved his undoing—the former by a frontal attack, the latter by the inability of the rank and file to work up much enthusiasm for a man who was holding down their wages, albeit for the best of reasons. He had to step on everybody's toes in order to protect everybody from runaway prices. The pain inflicted was immediate, the danger comparatively distant. Everybody seemed to feel the hurt to his own special interest more deeply than the benefit to the general interest in which all shared.

There are many reasons for Henderson's resignation, but none of them would have mattered had it not been for the last elections and the next Congress. His eyes are bad and his back needs treatment; these ailments, though genuine enough, come nevertheless under what Freud might have called the psychopathology of politics. There is nothing wrong with him that a New Deal victory and two weeks in a health resort could not patch up. The President did not ask for his resignation but must

have been relieved to get it as he prepares to deal with the new Congress. A new face is a good thing at any time in so unpopular a post as that of price administrator, and to the White House it must have seemed all the more necessary at this time. Henderson resigned after asking the advice of Byrnes.

Henderson's unpopularity in Congress was based on two things. One was that he had the spunk to say no to requests for special favors. These requests came from progressive as well as reactionary members of Congress anxious to "take care of" industries and persons back home. The other was that, whether from ineptness, excessive political purity, or naivete, or possibly all three, he allowed price-control jobs and machinery to fall largely into the hands of state political machines. These were often anti-New Deal and in many cases Republican. In some strategic areas in the last election the OPA patronage and machinery helped to defeat New Deal candidates. These practical considerations rather than the use of logarithmic computations in questionnaires turned Congress against him. If Henderson had "played ball" he could have used differential calculus in fuel-oil rationing and still found defenders on the Hill.

Henderson's retirement is part of the general movement away from liberalism. He has led a precarious existence since his appointment to the Defense Commission in May 1940. He has made his compromises, but on every basic issue he has been firm—and right. He led the fight in 1940 for expansion of steel, aluminum, and other basic materials. He led the fight in 1941 for curtailment and conversion of civilian industries. Had he been in a position to run, rather than merely to needle, the defense program, we should have been far ahead of where we are now in war production. Around him, in the price administration and the civilian-supply division of the WPB, were the ablest and most devoted group of New Dealers and progressive business men in Washington. The only field in which they had authority was prices, and there they did a good job. Henderson's resignation marks the second phase of the New Deal retreat, as the alliance with big business in May, 1940, marked the first. Both have their political logic, but the time may rapidly be approaching when the President will have to stand and fight. When that time comes, Henderson will return to the high position he deserves.

I had intended to devote this week's letter entirely to Henderson's resignation, but late tonight, from a trust-



worthy source, I received some information of importance on the supposed revolutionary plot uncovered in Bolivia. The "revolt" so happily stifled by the imposition of martial law seems to have had a good deal more to do with the shortsighted social policies of our State Department and diplomatic service than with the machinations of Nazi agents. In last week's issue I reported that I had heard that the American Minister to Bolivia, Pierre Boal, was trying to persuade the President of that country to veto a silicosis-prevention law. It appears that this law was only part of a general labor code which was before the Bolivian Congress. The imposition of martial law prevented the code from coming to a final vote, a fact discreetly omitted by the official reports from La Paz.

The demand for the passage of the general labor code was one of the causes of a strike in the tin mines, which was also crushed by the declaration of martial law. The code would have provided, among other things, for collective bargaining, freedom of organization, minimum wages, and payment of wages every fifteen days. This

final provision is the best commentary on the labor conditions prevailing in Bolivia. Actually the miners are kept in a kind of peonage. As Mr. Boal is said to have put it recently in a five-page cable to Secretary of State Hull, "They are now paid tardily deliberately in order to maintain them on the job and to give them a stake in their next month's pay." This was a delicate way of saying that if the miners were paid late and irregularly they went into debt, and that if they were in debt they had to keep on working. Our minister went to the President of Bolivia on behalf of the mine owners to prevent the passage of this labor code, although with the high prices we are paying for Bolivian tin the Patino interests can well afford to pay the miners better wages. Hull's reply to Boal's cable is reported to have given discreet support to the latter's anti-labor activity. For the sake of Good Neighbor relations, some Congressional committee ought to put the State Department on the griddle in this affair and show Latin America we mean what we say in our speeches.

## *The Men Behind Darlan*

BY PAUL WINKLER

A FEW days after the occupation of North Africa London announced that two former Vichy politicians, Pierre-Etienne Flandin and Pierre Pucheu, had arrived in Algeria to confer with Admiral Darlan. This news was neither denied nor confirmed. According to reliable information since received, Flandin is actually in North Africa, and Pucheu is in Lisbon, maintaining contact with Algiers from there. Most commentators described Pucheu and Flandin as a pair of rats fleeing a sinking ship. If this description were true, the matter would be of limited interest only. But they are not fleeing, seeking asylum with the probable winners. They are engaged in carrying out an important mission intrusted to them by certain French financial circles which, in full agreement with German industrial groups, plan a joint control of the European economy—an association in which the Germans are to have the leading role and the French must content themselves with that of junior partner.

The ominous significance of Darlan's elevation to power in the camp of the United Nations lies not in his past record as a political apologist for the Axis but in his present role as a tool of interests which want to assure themselves an economic strangle-hold on Europe even in the event of a German defeat.

Most people in America think that the numerous transfers of the controlling interest in French enterprises to

German hands were effected under the threat of German guns and bayonets. It is true that thousands of French stockholders, large and small, were compelled to turn over their holdings, but the powerful French group which organized these transfers was under no coercion. When the real story of the collapse of France is written, it will be clear that the systematic subjugation of French firms to German control was deliberately planned by this small group of Frenchmen, in agreement with their German friends. Pucheu played a leading role in the machinations of this group.

Some day it will also be clear that these men did everything possible to bring about the collapse of France because that was to be the screen behind which their economic transactions would be carried out. It is still too early to present the evidence in its entirety, but enough is known now to show how these men benefited from the disaster.

As soon as the German army occupied Paris, a horde of accountants arrived in the city. All French enterprises of any size were approached, at first in a friendly manner: "We do not want anything from you, but we should like to make an audit of your operations for statistical purposes. We would appreciate your cooperation with our accountants." These audits were very valuable for their sponsors because they permitted an evaluation of each enterprise and a decision on whether it was worth



taking over. At this stage of the procedure the board of directors was usually called to the German embassy in Paris for a "conference." There they were invited to hand over the majority of the shares of the company (generally 51 per cent) either to a French intermediary or directly to some large German firm.

At first most French corporation heads objected. General de la Laurencie, a conservative but patriotic French general, was Pétain's delegate in Paris immediately after the armistice, in July and August, 1940. De la Laurencie considered it his duty to encourage the French corporation heads in their resistance. He was demoted by Pétain, who later kept him under house arrest for several months, and replaced by Fernand de Brinon, a financial journalist known for his frequent trips to Berlin in pre-war days as principal organizer of the Comité France-Allemagne.

De Brinon hastened to repair the damage done by General de la Laurencie. As Pétain's representative in the occupied zone, using the powers conferred on him by the Marshal, he exerted pressure of all sorts on the resisting boards of directors to obtain their compliance with the demands of the Germans. The members of the boards had to sign over their control in due legal form to a designated firm or group and could consider themselves lucky if they were given a subordinate position in the enterprise.

De Brinon appeared to be managing these transactions, but he merely did the preliminary work. As soon as the controlling interest had been obtained from the former owners, a designated "Franco-German group" took charge. This group was always predominantly German, with French "junior partners." The French participation was generally supplied by the same French banking firm. People in France soon began to talk about the frequent reappearance of the same men in these transactions, and the threads led in each case to the Banque Worms, aided at times by the Banque Lehideux, the Banque Mirabaud, and the Banque d'Indochine.

Persons connected with these banks, especially the Banque Worms and the Banque d'Indochine, have played an equally important political role during the past two and a half years as members of Pétain's entourage. Paul Baudoin, first Foreign Minister of Vichy, later secretary general of the Cabinet, is the leading man of the Banque d'Indochine. Before joining this bank, Baudoin was *inspecteur des finances*, that is, a member of the special corps which in France has at all times constituted the framework of the Treasury. His two closest friends in the Treasury were Jacques Barnaud and Yves Bouthillier. Bouthillier became Minister of Finance in the Vichy Cabinet. Several years ago Barnaud, on Baudoin's recommendation, became general manager of the Banque Worms. On leave of absence from his bank, Barnaud is at present High Commissioner for Franco-German Economic Relations in the Vichy Cabinet, officially in

charge of the "supervision of the necessary transformations of French enterprises to enable them to participate in the economic life of Europe."

Pierre Pucheu, for many years closely connected with the Banque Worms, was lent by the bank in pre-war times to act as manager of the Franco-German Siderurgical (Iron and Steel) Office. This office, originally founded to further cooperation between French and German heavy industry, later became the breeding ground for more daring ideas. Pucheu, a leading figure in both the German and the French heavy industries, was the brains behind the scheme for handing over the control of all large French enterprises to German interests. His close connection with the Banque Worms procured for this bank a foremost position in the transactions. Further, the Banque Worms represented in France the Bank Schröder of Cologne. It was at the house of Baron von Schröder that Hitler and von Papen met on January 4, 1933, to put the last touches on the plans that were to bring the Nazis to power. The Bank Schröder has since then consolidated its effective influence on German heavy industry. And very naturally it has played an important role in German economic expansion in France and other European countries.

While he was with the Franco-German Siderurgical Office, Pucheu worked for both the Bank Schröder and the Banque Worms, whose interests coincided most of the time. They still coincide today, for both banks are planning to establish an economic empire with ramifications all over Europe.

Pucheu himself served for a time as Minister of the Interior in the Vichy Cabinet. When it was reported recently that he had gone to North Africa to join Admiral Darlan, opposition to him in the American press was based exclusively on his activities in the Pétain government. It was recalled that he had acted in a ruthless fascist spirit, filling jails and concentration camps with men of democratic leanings. Pucheu's real significance, however, is not to be sought in his record as a terrorist. He was always an "economist" and never a politician; he entered the Vichy government only to reorganize the French police into a willing instrument of his economic plans. After having reshuffled the police to suit this aim, he decided to labor in a more fruitful field. He is personally responsible for most of the spectacular deals by which French stockholders were despoiled of their rights, among others that which transferred 51 per cent of the stock of practically all French chemical enterprises to I. G. Farben.

Another man of the Banque Worms, Jacques Guérard, a former *inspecteur des finances* like Baudoin, Barnaud, and Bouthillier, acted as personal secretary to Paul Baudoin during the first months of the Vichy regime. The two had been associated in former years at the Banque d'Indochine. When on May 11, 1941, Darlan went to



see Hitler in Berchtesgaden, he promised the Führer that he would facilitate the passage of German troops and planes through Syria to Iraq and Iran, where Axis plotting had reached its height. On his return to Vichy Darlan dispatched Guérard to Syria to arrange with General

ERABUS



Admiral Darlan

Dentz, the French military commander, for the passage of Axis units. Guérard knew the conditions well in this region, having been financial adviser to the government of Iran. In June the Free French conquest of Syria drove him back to Vichy.

Some months later he turned up in Paris, and as a delegate of the Banque Worms organized there the subjection of all French insurance companies to

German insurance firms. The event was announced in the French press as a "consolidation of the position of the French insurance companies, which will have in the future all the advantages of reinsurance with the powerful German firms."

Guérard is at present in Lisbon as Minister of France to Portugal. It was on his suggestion that Pucheu went to Lisbon. From this important European outpost, contacts can easily be maintained with diplomats of all nations, and communications between Lisbon and North Africa are excellent.

Flandin and Peyrouton, both old hands in French politics, deserve mention in connection with the deals referred to above because they helped in their accomplishment from behind the scenes. They were not members of the "inner circle" but were useful helpers on the political plane. Their roles were somewhat similar, Flandin serving as a right-wing and Peyrouton as a left-wing politician. Flandin's relations with the financial group date back several years. He has long been the most influential attorney of the Comité des Forges, the organization of steel manufacturers, which is one section of the larger organization of French heavy industry. Pucheu, in his capacity as manager of the Franco-German Siderurgical Office, was indirectly under the orders of the Comité des Forges. Though French industry in its totality was not subservient to German interests, the Comité itself was strongly under the influence of the Alsatian De Wendel family, which maintained through its German von Wendel branch close relations with the Bank Schröder and with various big industrialists of the Ruhr valley.

The cooperation of the leading members of the Comité des Forges was to be of great help in the execution of the various deals engineered by the Banque Worms. Flandin himself was occupied for many years with laying the political groundwork for these transactions. In his speeches he frequently mentioned "a system similar to Nazism or fascism" as a promising alternative to communism, and he carried on a persistent campaign in the Chamber of Deputies against any help to Czecho-Slovakia at the time of Germany's threat to the independence of that country. Since July, 1940, Flandin has been the most influential lobbyist for the Comité des Forges in Vichy.

Peyrouton, son-in-law of Malvy, the famous defeatist French politician who during the last war was convicted of having protected German spies, became Minister of the Interior in the Vichy government, and then was sent as ambassador to Buenos Aires, from which post he resigned recently because of his personal enmity to Laval. At present he is reported to have asked permission to go to North Africa to join Darlan.

Where does Admiral Darlan fit into this picture? During the last two years the "economists" of the Worms-Indochine group needed a strong man to carry through their plans with the utmost vigor. Laval, contrary to general belief, did not give sufficient help, at least during his first period of power, to the transfer of controlling stock ownership to the Germans. Though an outright fascist, ready for any slavish concession to the Nazis and happy whenever he could use his political influence to make a few hundred thousand francs in some petty deal, he was never part of the well-engineered plot of Pucheu, Barnaud *et Cie*. His arrangements were made with Otto Abetz and Ribbentrop and not with the financiers behind the scenes. Having been a lone wolf throughout his career, he acted as a free-lance political *intrigant*, without deep-reaching economic connections.

Until December, 1940, the "transformation" of French enterprises made slow headway. De Brinon applied all the pressure he could, but it was not enough to carry through a great many transactions quickly. Official decrees were needed to enforce the changes. Pétain would have been willing to sign them, but Laval, not disposed to facilitate deals to which he was not a partner, refused to let them go through.

It was then, in December, 1940, that Laval's removal was decided upon. In full agreement with Pucheu and Flandin, Peyrouton, then Minister of the Interior, organized the coup d'état against the recalcitrant vice-president. On February 9 Darlan became Foreign Minister, then successively acquired several other portfolios. On March 8, 1941, the *New York Times* announced: "Darlan Lays Basis of Collaboration. Reaches Agreement in Paris for Nazi Participation in French Key Industries."



Germans to Get Shares. Plan Already in Operation in News Agency [Havas], Some Banks, and Manufacturing Plants." This meant simply that henceforth private negotiations for the transfer of control to a Franco-German group would be superfluous. The procedure would be pushed through by means of governmental decrees. These decrees, signed by Pétain, in each case dismissed the old board of directors, appointed a new board, and increased the company's capital in order to enable the Franco-German group to obtain, at a nominal price, the new shares which represented control.

The Vichy correspondent of the *New York Times* described Darlan's policy as follows: "Mixed French and German control is expected to be introduced into numerous key companies of France, which will give the Reich authorities a say in all of the most important commercial and industrial enterprises here."

Darlan thus rendered an invaluable service to the German-French coalition which today controls all French economic life. Without him the transformation would have taken years. Today there is not a single French enterprise of any importance which has not been subjected to the simplified procedure organized by Darlan, chiefly in behalf of German heavy industry working with the Banque Worms group.

Up to the armistice Darlan was simply an ambitious "political admiral." He had spent most of his career as political secretary in the Ministry of the Navy, where he obtained quick advancement. Until June, 1940, Darlan does not seem to have had any close economic ties; he represented nobody but himself. Three days before Pétain's armistice broadcast he still favored the departure of the French government to North Africa to continue the fight from there. Two days later he declared loudly that any departure to Africa would be nonsensical. It was during these two days that the Worms group approached him and that they came to terms. Since that time Darlan has not been a free agent but has represented, though on a different level, the same economic interests as Pucheu and Baudoin.

Darlan decided to establish himself solidly as the chief henchman of the interests which he recognized, from June, 1940, on, as the most powerful in France. Being a good organizer, he did good work. He planted his own men in several key positions, especially in posts connected with the colonies, for the direction of which he had always had definite plans. At the beginning of the Vichy regime he exercised his influence over Admiral Le Barthe, his appointee to the post of Colonial Minister; later he designated Admiral Platon for the same post. Admiral Decoux, another Darlan man, signed the pact with the Japanese in Indo-China in July, 1940. Important economic arrangements between the Banque d'Indochine and Japan were the basis of this agreement.

Whatever has happened in Vichy on the political scene has been fireworks for the masses to cover up the economic transactions. Even the various fascist excesses had the same purpose. It is well known in France that the Cagoullards, who played an important part in the military collapse of France, were financed chiefly by Pucheu; Doriot and his Parti Populaire Français by Barnaud; and the Francistes of Bucard by Baudoin. Behind this fluid front the men who organized the economic deals have one continuing preoccupation—to insure the survival of their control in any eventuality, *including a German defeat*. The German bankers and industrialists, who are the chief beneficiaries of these transactions, and their French "junior partners" of the Banque Worms think exactly alike on this subject.

As long as German prospects for victory were bright, these Frenchmen had nothing to fear. Their position after the war would be sound and comfortable, even if inferior to that of their German senior partners. But when the tide began to turn, it became necessary to seek some form of insurance against disaster. Despite the legal forms that were observed in effecting the transfers, a post-war French government without any traces of Vichy would assuredly find ways to loosen the German economic grip on France, and the men who profited by that strangle-hold would go down to ruin. Clearly the greatest danger was not Germany's defeat but the possible recognition by the Allies of a really *free* French government.

It was probably to counter this threat that Admiral Darlan's trip to North Africa was decided upon. Pucheu, Flandin, Peyrouton can no more be regarded as rats fleeing the sinking ship than Darlan himself. These three men are in readiness—along with several others who have not yet been mentioned—to be called in by Darlan whenever he may think the moment has come to go a step farther on the path traced for him by this group. This path, they hope, will be marked by the following events: (1) acceptance by the Allies of a French government which in the military and political field will make promises to them but in the economic field will endeavor to keep intact the economic empire which the Germans, with their French associates, have established in France—with ramifications all over Europe; (2) peace proposals emanating from the same German economic group, possibly with a great number of concessions by the Germans in the political field. The purpose of this second move would be the definite stabilization throughout Europe of the German economic empire—with or without Hitler.

To accept the version that "Darlan represents only himself" is just as naive as to think that Hess represented only himself when he flew to England. During his career as a successful political admiral, Darlan learned that he could get much farther if he worked in close coopera-



tion with powerful financial interests. Among the various French financial groups, he chose the one which resented Anglo-Saxon ideas of free economic exchanges and staked its future on Germany. He made this choice because he could observe the decisive influence of this group on French political history in recent years. He in his turn served it well; since 1940 he has contributed more than anybody else to the success of its ambitious plans.

Americans who today are offered facilities by Darlan for business deals in Africa should realize that these offers are not the prelude to the reestablishment in Darlan France of free economic exchanges of the Anglo-Saxon type. What Darlan offers them today is simply bait to induce them to accept a secondary role in the great German economic world-empire.

If Darlan is to be used, he should at least be used with open eyes.

## Refugees: Burden or Asset?

BY KURT R. GROSSMANN

IN THE year 1797 the Honorable James Otis, Representative from Massachusetts, rose to express himself on the subject of immigrants. His speech was a warning against further unrestricted immigration. "When the country was new," he declared in 1797, "it might have been good policy to admit all. But it is so no longer." Twenty years passed. Then, in 1817, we find the *Niles Register* publishing the following warning: "The immigrants should press into the interior. In the present state of the times we seem too thick on the maritime frontier already." Although the predictions proved false, in 1835 there appeared a publication by S. E. Morse, "Imminent Dangers to the Free Institutions of the United States through Foreign Immigration," in which it was said: "Then we were few, feeble and scattered, now we are numerous, strong, and concentrated." The older immigrants feared the newcomers, and so it has continued to this day.

Nevertheless, it is plain from cold statistics that immigration has always been very far from the economic danger it is said to be. The usual arguments are that immigrants take jobs away from Americans and that they depress the standard of living. The truth is that throughout the period of mass immigration to the United States the number of jobs available constantly increased and economic life prospered; but when immigration declined, employment stagnated and economic crises developed. According to the United States Census of Manufacturers for 1938—surely an irreproachable source—7,700,000 immigrants entered the United States from 1899 to 1909. In the same period the number of jobs increased 40.4 per cent. In the following decade 6,600,000 immigrants entered; and the increase in jobs amounted to 35.9 per cent. The decade of 1919-29 is the decade of immigration restrictions—in 1924 the quota law was passed. Only 3,207,037 immigrants entered the country in that decade, and the number of jobs increased only 1.6 per cent. In the years 1929-35 America had more

emigrants (64,905) than immigrants, and according to the United States Statistical Abstracts for 1938, employment openings in this period declined by about 17 per cent.

Today, although immigration has almost come to a standstill, although the war has produced a man-power problem which ought to encourage immigration, and although, according to Norman Angell's estimate, eight workers are necessary to make one soldier effective, an anti-immigration phobia has developed which bodes no good for the post-war world. Directed principally against refugees from Germany, this new wave of intolerance finds expression in such distorted thinking as Westbrook Pegler's contention that when the government says an employer must not discriminate against an applicant for work on the ground of race or religion, "we discard merit, ability, demeanor, and reliability as chief considerations and make race and religion the controllers." Going a step farther, Mr. Pegler urges that "the post-war period must see a clear demarcation between the rights of aliens and citizens."

Pegler is not the only one who takes this position. George E. Sokolsky has spoken of "the arrogant behavior of the refugees," and Ishbel Ross in her book "Isle of Escape" protests against the "dangerously lenient treatment of aliens by the government." The *New York Daily News* affirms that "the workers and farmers of the Atlantic seaboard area" hate the thought of Jews, Greeks, and other downtrodden people of Europe coming to America after the war is over. These assertions are only the prelude to a demand to close the country to a new immigration. What the realization of such a reactionary demand would mean politically need not be pointed out here. It would be the end of the ideas expressed in the Atlantic Charter.

What is the true picture of refugee immigration today? Have these wretched exiles really overrun the United States, taken away jobs from native Americans,



and avoided military service? Here again, figures are readily available to all who want the truth.

In the period from July 1, 1932, to June 30, 1942, the number of immigrants admissible under the quota laws was 259,570 for Germany, 14,130 for Austria, and 28,740 for Czecho-Slovakia—a total of 302,440. During this period the number of Jews admitted from the three countries was 165,015, of whom about 12,200 entered in the last year. Since some 30,000 persons returned to Germany, the quota exceeded the number of Jewish immigrants by 167,425. The number of non-Jews entering the United States from the three countries in the same period has been estimated by William Rosenwald, chairman of the National Refugee Service, at 48,000. Another group that entered the country on visitors' visas and hence did not come under the immigration laws contained not more than 3,500 persons, Jews and non-Jews. The total of 216,515 persons (including children) from the three countries can hardly be considered extraordinary in view of the tragic situation of millions of Europeans. All who came to this country have satisfied the constantly tightened requirements regarding financial, political, and moral guaranties.

The occupational classification of Jews admitted up to June 30, 1941, is given in the following table:

	Number	Percentage
Professional .....	13,377	8.8
Commercial .....	29,229	19.4
Skilled .....	18,987	11.9
Servants .....	3,937	2.6
Laborers .....	819	0.6
Miscellaneous .....	2,761	1.9
Without occupation* ....	83,705	54.8
Total .....	152,815	100

\* Including women and children.

For the age distribution, I give the figures for the quota years 1940 and 1941:

Age Group	1940		1941	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Under 11 years..	3,058	8.3	2,142	9.1
11-20    " ..	5,681	15.2	3,210	13.5
21-30    " ..	5,491	14.8	3,163	13.3
31-40    " ..	7,925	21.5	4,977	20.9
41-50    " ..	7,004	18.9	4,644	19.6
51-60    " ..	4,667	12.8	3,424	14.4
Over 60   " ..	3,119	8.5	2,177	9.2
Total .....	36,945	100	23,737	100

Of the total of 152,815 Jews admitted up to June 30, 1941, 47.7 per cent were men and 52.3 per cent women. That gives us 72,888 men, of whom some 42 per cent, or 31,113, were subject to military service (up to forty-four years). If we add the estimated 12,600 men, Jews and non-Jews, who came here after 1941, we find

that the refugees represent a maximum reservoir for military service of 43,713, of whom at least 4,000, or 10 per cent, are already in the army. This computation does not take into account the lower average standard of health among the immigrants or the fact that the induction of every enemy alien has to be approved by the War Department. Many Czech Jews volunteered in Canada long before Pearl Harbor.

As for the economic value of the refugees, we have important material on the subject in a study carried out by the Committee for Selected Studies at the suggestion of Eleanor Roosevelt. This study, published by the Columbia University press under the title "Refugees at Work," covers 150,000 immigrants who came to this country in the quota years 1933-41. Their distribution at the close of that period is shown in the table below, and we may assume that it remains the same today, except for minor changes.

State	Percentage	State	Percentage
New York*	50	Massachusetts	4
California	8	Ohio	2.5
New Jersey	4	Texas	2
Michigan	4	All other states...	21.5
Pennsylvania	4		

\* 43.35 per cent in New York City alone.

A recent magazine article entitled *Refugee Gold Rush*\* asserted that the refugees have brought into the country the fantastic sum of five billion dollars. But the figures of the Foreign Property Control show that, exclusive of the capital of a few rich immigrants, a maximum of one and a half billion dollars has been brought in since 1933. This is a small percentage of the total national income of seventy-five to one hundred billion dollars a year.

In actual fact refugee capital is put to work in American industry or disbursed by the refugees' families to satisfy their needs. In New York City the newcomers have created hundreds of new industries. Of the 829 concerns investigated by the Committee for Selected Studies, 114 employ only members of the owner's family; the other 715 have 9,000 employees, of whom 6,000 are American citizens. The committee report shows that, on the average, one so-called refugee concern gives work to seven Americans. Three hundred and six of the refugee firms investigated carry on their former work; 150 have brought new trades to the United States and sell articles which formerly had to be imported, such as fine leather goods, gloves, perfumes, Karlsbad wafers, Viennese knitted goods. Of the 306 firms referred to above, 60, at the time the report was issued, were already producing articles important to the war. In 1937 the United States imported \$10,000,000 worth of gloves. Through the establishment of refugee factories in New York and Chicago and on the West Coast, we can in the future supply our own needs in this field. Diamond cut-

\* By S. F. Potter, in the October issue of the *American Magazine*.



ters have transferred their businesses, together with their machines and their special skills, from Belgium and Holland to the United States. A number of small diamond-cutting shops are now to be found along Seventh Avenue in New York City, and many Americans are employed in this new industry at good wages. Large amounts of the refugees' money are invested in war bonds. The *New York Times* of June 16, in a report on the work of the Minute Men, announced: "In Washington Heights Minute Men and Minute Women reported 100 per cent results, particularly among the many refugees who live in that quarter."

Competition for jobs between refugees and Americans is not a serious problem today when fresh sources of man-power are constantly needed. Many refugees are active in defense industries, where they are certainly more reliable employees than Bundists, even though the latter may have American citizenship papers. Through reeducation courses many have prepared themselves for manual trades. A table showing the occupational classification today would be very different from that given above. Hundreds of former shopkeepers are now standing at the turning-lathe.

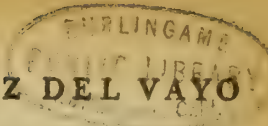
The authors of "Refugees at Work" could not take these recent developments into account, but they came nevertheless to the following conclusion:

On the basis of the facts noted above, it is clear that among the estimated 35,000 refugee workers in New York City . . . in 1940, there is very little likelihood of displacement of American workers. Refugee entrepreneurs have not engaged to any considerable degree in the large manufacturing industries. Although some refugee concerns have introduced new products and developed new patents and processes which have opened up some markets new to America, they have not to any appreciable degree offered competition to already established New York business enterprises. . . . Thus the question of the displacement of Americans by refugees is largely hypothetical. It has a psychological basis.

An unemployed and impoverished body of immigrants would of course be harmful to the country, but the immigrants who have escaped to America from Hitler's Germany represent excellent human material with which to secure the American way of life. They are the implacable foes of fascism. Is that, perhaps, the reason that they are so much disliked by the potential allies of fascism?







## Darlanism and Britain

*[The censorship has never permitted the full story of the British reaction to the Darlan deal to be told in America. Opposition was general and, particularly in the left press, brutally outspoken. Brief references and short quotations were transmitted, but full texts were held up, even in the mails. The following editorial, which appeared in the independent left weekly Tribune, on November 20, was one of the censored articles. Even the title was considered unsafe for American ears. The copy in which it appeared has just arrived in the United States. In subsequent issues the Political War section will reproduce other examples of British press opinion on developments on the political front.]*

### The Whole Dirty Story

**T**HIS paper has bent its energies to the successful prosecution of the war from the day this country took up the struggle against Nazism. Not for one day has it swerved from this cause. It fought for it. It convinced those who were skeptical of the imperialist leaders of what we called a war of the people.

For this same cause *Tribune* today lays bare the whole shabby story which has led to the appointment and recognition of Darlan.

We are not impressed by President Roosevelt's assurances. All they say, in effect, is that the Darlan regime will not be guaranteed in permanence in the manner in which the Foreign Office has insured the territories of General Franco. President Roosevelt has said the present arrangement is a temporary expedient. But how temporary and how expedient? President Roosevelt has said that he will insist on the liberation of all those imprisoned for "having fought against the Nazis." Does this include the thousands who fought the Nazis by fighting Darlan and Vichy and who rot now in the horrible prisons of North Africa? Does this include the 15,000 Republican Spaniards who have existed in a Saharan concentration camp for four ghastly years? Or will they have to continue their travails to prove our good-will to General Franco? No, President Roosevelt has only postponed the great decision. He has not changed the evil situation in North Africa.

#### AMERICA AND VICHY

What happened in Algiers was not the product of a military decision made by a soldier in the stress of battle. That is nonsense and untrue. The State Department in Washington—the United States Foreign Office—played ball with Vichy from the day of its inception to the day

of its transplantation from Vichy to Algiers. It was also actively hostile to the Free French movement, and the official American consuls and representatives in Marseilles, Vichy, Lyons, and Madrid were among the worst opponents of the underground freedom movement.

In the meantime Admiral Leahy, the United States ambassador, remained on friendly terms with the old Marshal and the members of his government, among whom was the Minister of Defense, Admiral Darlan. In the spring of the year Admiral Leahy was recalled from Vichy and became the President's strategic adviser. In the light of subsequent events the appointment is highly significant.

Then during the summer the North African campaign was decided on. Apparently it was decided to leave the political warfare attendant on this plan to the military authorities who were concerned in it and to the "expert" on this territory, Admiral Leahy. From that moment onward, the cause for which thousands were giving their lives, and many more their energies and hopes, was quietly shelved.

In place of the Charter and the Four Freedoms, in place of the revolutionary appeals of the American leaders, in place of the exhortation by Allied radios and agents, there came Mr. Pat Murphy.\* Mr. Murphy was a kind of diplomatic representative of the United States government in Algiers. He started talks with General Noguès, the Governor General of Morocco, and with many other military and civil representatives of Vichy in North Africa. The Germans heard of this soon enough, and a fierce campaign was developed demanding the recall of Noguès. Then Darlan went on a tour to West Africa and made speeches emphasizing Vichy's determination to resist and attack. Suddenly the Germans declared themselves satisfied with Noguès. Admiral Darlan returned to Vichy.

By this time the arrival of a vast convoy of warships and transports in Gibraltar was public knowledge. So was its departure eastward. Neither Vichy nor the Germans can have had any doubt by now as to what was impending. The Americans landed after a sort of token resistance by French marines. Admiral Darlan arrived in Algiers. He was taken prisoner and reappeared next morning in control of the military and civil administration of North Africa. Noguès followed, and the Allied-controlled Algiers radio began to broadcast in the name

\* Obviously a reference to Robert D. Murphy, former Counselor of the American Embassy in Vichy, who became Consul General at Algiers when the program of sending supplies to French North Africa was inaugurated by the State Department.





From "Tribune"

*Vive les Rats!*

of Darlan and Pétain. The State Department's political warfare had reached the point of consummation.

It does not look like a temporary expedient. It fits in rather with Mr. Sumner Welles's words to a British diplomat some months ago and reported in *Tribune* at that time. He was of the opinion that what France needed more than anything was a strong government which would avoid internal chaos after the war. He thought that the best manner of achieving this would be in a union of Pétain, Weygand, and De Gaulle which could avoid a radical solution of the French problem.

#### LOWEST FORM OF LIFE

Parallel with the negotiations with Darlan and Noguès in Africa, it seems negotiations were also going on with men like Flandin, Pucheu, and Peyrouton, men who make up the lowest form of life in Vichy France. All three were "peace-at-any-price" men before the war. Pucheu was a Cagoulard and a member of Doriot's party, and he was generally described as the Himmler of Vichy France during his tenure as Minister of the Interior under Darlan. He is one of Darlan's friends and his right-hand man. Peyrouton shares the dubious honor of claiming inside France a similar reputation to Pucheu. As for Flandin, this one-time reputed friend of Britain is one of the chief architects of France's defeat. These three are all reported to be in Algiers with the Admiral. They could not have got there without previous connivance and assistance from the American authorities.

Now sit back for a moment and let us consider these new friends of the Allied cause of freedom and democracy. Let us inspect Admiral Darlan as the most important convert.

His record since the armistice is remembered in France if not in Washington: his ruthless handling of all officers and men of the navy who were not 100 per cent loyal to Vichy; the arrest of thousands of opponents of the Darlan-Pétain regime in France and in North Africa; his treatment of the interned Spaniards, Germans, and Russians. But all this pales against the background of his international collaboration with the Nazis. It was Darlan who organized a common espionage system with the

Axis in the Balkans. It was Darlan who ordered the Vichy marine attaché in Ankara to be second to Admiral Schuster in Sofia. Schuster was nominally in command of the Nazi Black Sea fleet and closely connected with the Nazi intelligence organization in the Balkans and Turkey. It is Darlan who was making appointments in his administration.

We were told last week that if Paris was worth a mass to Louis XIV, then the French fleet was worth collaboration with Darlan. But surely Darlan has been behaving strangely these last two years if all the time he meant to bring the fleet over to the Allies.

We will go so far as to say that Admiral Darlan never was in a position to bring over the fleet at any time during the past two weeks and that his broadcast calling on the fleet to sail was sheer dishonest bluff to fool the Allied people. It never fooled the Germans, and it could not help the unfortunate French sailors in Toulon.

These ships, which were under the Admiral's command, were in no condition to sail. They had no anti-aircraft protection and no submarine equipment. Both had been removed on orders from the Admiral or his subordinates. Personnel essential to get the fleet had been detained or arrested, again on the Admiral's orders. The fleet could not even get going to scuttle itself at sea. What sort of impression of Allied competence these French naval officers and ratings must have received from the Darlan broadcast can well be imagined. It was not surprising that Abetz, Hitler's envoy, expressed the opinion in 1941 that Darlan was the ideal person to be made chief of all European navies as counterpart to Göring as chief of all air forces.

#### OUR NIGHTMARE ALLIES

This is largely American doing, and we are glad to see that in the polite language of diplomacy the Foreign Office and the British government have expressed their concern at this policy. They can rest assured that on this issue at least they will be speaking for all people in this country and for millions who are praying in Europe that they will wake up tomorrow and find that the story that Darlan, Flandin and Company have joined the Allies is nothing but a wicked nightmare. Even the fact that General Giraud is commander-in-chief is more likely to compromise this soldier than legitimize Admiral Darlan in the eyes of the people of France.

We come now to the crucial question. Was the enrolment of Darlan really a military necessity? We have exploded the story of the fleet. We think there is very little more substance in that of the time factor, which has now taken the place of the fleet. Again let us speak frankly. Elsewhere in this issue we quote opinions of the underground French movement on Messrs. Darlan and Company. The North African setup has always been as near to a fascist setup as anything in pre-war France. The army was notoriously reactionary, particularly in the



Popular Front days. It is already attracting the worst type of political reactionary to its colors. The generals without exception are reactionary, anti-democratic, and monarchist. The native soldiery is unpolitical and will do what it is told; once before the Moors were brought across from Africa to stifle a popular government. The French have not forgotten Franco and his Moors. The recognition of Darlan—however temporary—must have shocked the growing opposition in France. It must have broken many a fine fighter's heart, and, what is more, it must have again given [support to] the still widely held belief of *perfidie Albion* breaking its pledges once more.

Military expediency without principles is the road to confusion and disaster. What is expedient in North Africa today may be inexpedient to undo next week, next month, or next year. We did not need an American expeditionary force to tell us that it is cheaper to compromise with an enemy than to fight him. That policy the people of this country rejected in 1939 and they reject it equally today.

This is more than an issue between Darlan and the Allies. It shows the way conservative minds work and the way they set the military and diplomatic machines going which they control. As against this, General de Gaulle has issued a firm and dignified proclamation refusing to have any truck with this dirty new deal.

His views will be indorsed throughout France—throughout the free world except in those circles which have shunned the open light during the years of crisis and are now reappearing, hoping to reestablish the old order of privilege with the help of Darlans everywhere.

They will be mistaken, we think. Parliament and the people have the immediate task of repudiating the action of generals and diplomats in flat contradiction to the principle for which we have gone to war. Thousands have gone to their death that this shall not happen. It must not happen.

## Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

**A**MONG the memories of the last war, one which has remained very vivid for Germans is of the worthlessness of their allies. "We have too poor allies," was the general complaint from the beginning of 1915 on. And in the end this opinion, passed down by word of mouth and even taught in the schools, was accepted as definitive. That Germany's allies did more harm than good became, one might say, the official view. They fought so badly that they were always needing help, and they had no moral stamina: Germany's collapse was finally brought about by the capitulation of first Bulgaria, then Turkey, then Austria-Hungary. In the Hitler era this impression was deepened by the myth which ascribed

unique capacities to the German race. When the present war broke out, therefore, a certain skepticism about allies, even about the other member of the Axis, was latent in the German mind. Dozens of jokes circulating about the Italians show that the Germans were always inclined to rate them as worthless in the field and that they fear still more unpleasant surprises from them.

Various convincing signs now tell us that German distrust of the Italians has been sharply accentuated in the past few weeks. Moreover, it is clear that this access of gloom is connected with the British-American moral offensive against Mussolini; it became especially noticeable after Churchill's last speech. Incidentally, the German reaction provides proof that no people can be completely shut off from the outside world—not, at any rate, as long as the London radio can be heard so easily. Even news of proposals which have not materialized into overt acts trickles through. When some speech of a foreign statesman or some project of a foreign government touches Germans at a sensitive point, it soon becomes generally known and produces an effect. The best evidence of this is the reaction of the propaganda office.

In the matter of the Italians, the Berlin propaganda heads reacted at once and loudly. They evidently decided the customary method of belittling a fact by ignoring it would not work, and they let loose an avalanche of praise for Italian strength and determination. During the first week of December the domestic radio broadcast five scripts extolling the spirit and accomplishments of the Italians; during the second week, seventy-three. Ten times a day, in every imaginable connection, Italy was eulogized—"its profound unity with Germany, its steely calm and undaunted will to battle."

And that was not all. The big names in propaganda, one after the other, spoke to the people specifically about the current attempt to induce the Italians to quit the war. The high points of the campaign were an address by the radio oracle Hans Fritsch on December 3 and an article by Goebbels in the *Reich* of December 11. In between, stars of the second and third magnitude played variations on the theme. All made the greatest effort to convince their public that absolutely nothing was to be feared in Italy or from Italy. Italy stands firm! In Goebbels's words:

Mr. Churchill does not seem to have grasped that this time all seductive wiles will fail with us. At regular intervals, through British propaganda agents or in person, he addresses one of the peoples of the Axis, trying by brazen words or an infamous campaign of rumors and lies to entice them into deserting their leaders. Last winter he selected us as his victim. Now it is the turn of our Italian allies. In his last speech the Duce gave him an answer which left nothing in doubt. Morally, it stripped Mr. Churchill bare. . . . He may twist and turn, he may don the mask of an honest man, or of a champion of humanitarian ideals, or of a benefactor of mankind, or



of a social reformer, we shall see to it that the gallery will greet him not with applause but with piercing whistles. While he imagines that he inspires his audience with awe, in reality it breaks into shrieks of laughter. Only halfwits fall for him.

The guaranty that the Italians will not succumb to these seductions, according to Herr Fritsch, lies in the fact that they, like their German comrades, have gradually learned to know the English. They know that Churchill is "one huge bundle of lies." They are well armed against "English attempts to split the forces of the enemy by hoary methods, methods which apparently came into the world with the first Englishman." Moreover, the Italians no longer listen to the enemy radio, the transmitter of these attempts. They simply never hear it. Like the Germans, like all good Germans, that is, they despise the air waves from London. "During this war only very small groups in the Axis countries listen—groups on which we have never counted, whose members have no sense of national honor and do not see any disgrace even in war time in lending a willing ear to the whispers of the enemy. They play no role whatever in our war effort." Don't worry, Germans; we can depend on Italy!

Every time an especially intensive campaign to "enlighten the people" is inaugurated, one may infer the presence of a corresponding amount of unrest. The German officials who build morale have done the best they could with the military situation. Their statement that the Fortress of Europe is still intact is true; even the attacks in the east have not yet shaken it. And there is a certain plausibility in their presentation of North Africa as merely the "glacis of the fortress"; hence the clashes there can have only secondary importance. However, the superficial correctness of this version of recent events does not blind those inside the fortress to the serious developments behind its walls. Now, in addition to their former troubles, they have this worry about the Italians.

The Germans have long had a more sharply defined conception of Italians than of any other nation. Ever since the break-up of the old Triple Alliance in 1914, they have thought of the Italians as a faithless people. When German speech fanatics in 1915 offered a prize for the best translation of "macaroni" the award was won by "perfidy noodles"—and grotesque as it may seem, macaroni appeared under this name for a long time on the menus of many restaurants. All Hitler's propaganda cannot root out the German conviction that Italy is a land of congenital betrayers.

The English and American political offensive against Italy, worth-while as it is in itself, acquires additional value from its effect on the Germans. We can imagine little knots of people gathering to discuss their somber affairs and the effect on them when someone suddenly asks, "And when are the Italians going to desert us?"

## Radio Falange

A CORRESPONDENT writes us: "You are always talking about the Spanish radio and its pro-Axis broadcasting. But you have never produced a single quotation. We do not want empty references but proof." Here is proof:

On November 3, speaking of the Atlantic Charter, Radio Falange Valladolid said:

Wars have never been won by speeches and letters. Let them write as many letters as they please. In the meantime, a strong and united side is ending the enslavement of Stalin's people.

On November 23 Radio Valladolid commented prominently on a manifesto addressed to the French "government" by all the extreme reactionary parties demanding war on England and America:

We will only say that the differences between the Americans and the British in North Africa, and between the different brands of French traitors, are growing. . . . On the other hand, each day the unity between all Frenchmen worthy of the name is becoming more marked. They are uniting behind Pétain, who in these critical hours has adopted the only attitude which will save his country.

On December 11 a commentator on Radio Coruña made the following comment on the views of Assistant Secretary of State Sumner Welles:

Sumner Welles tells us that the main freedoms of this world are freedom of speech and religion. Freedom of religion means in Europe that the Jews will come again to take back their positions . . . followed by a train of misery, exploitation, and crime. Freedom of speech is not unknown to us. . . . We Spaniards know that democracy is known by the name of republic, and republic means atheism, robbery . . . murder by the roadside, rape, terror, and anguish. . . . We are not interested in the paradise which Sumner Welles offers to the world. . . . It is very dear for Spain, the price which Sumner Welles puts on a military victory for the United Nations.

Also on December 11 Radio Nacional Barcelona and Radio Burgos both broadcast this opinion of American war aims:

American expansion . . . seems to aim at making the Atlantic an American sea. To achieve this, Americans are sending forces step by step into the African continent. At the same time they hope to establish in the Far East a sort of Federation of Asiatic States which they would perhaps dominate economically as they dominate South America today.

Of course our correspondent may say what various British and American commentators said of Franco's last speech: "Mere lip-service to Hitler." And he may not declare himself convinced until Radio Falange provides the final proof by hailing the march of Hitler's divisions across the Spanish frontier.



# U-Boats and Empty Bottles

BY HOWARD CLARKE

**W**E WERE tied up at the docks in San Francisco. It was coffee-time, and some of us in the crew were sitting on the bench outside the galley watching the stevedores load the after hatches.

"We're going to Honolulu again this time," remarked Joe, a water-tender sitting next to me.

"How d'you know?" asked Murphy, the wiper on Joe's watch. It was Murphy's first trip since the war.

"Can't you read?" replied Joe. "It's got Honolulu written all over the cargo boxes."

That is about the only way we crew members know where we are headed for. And that is the way the enemy knows lots of times, too. Their agents can read just as well as we can.

We were taking on onions this trip—tons of them. Honolulu had been without onions, besides a number of other things, for some months. I knew because a girl friend in Honolulu had begged me to pinch a couple from our galley for her on a previous trip. That had been two months after December 7. How they would go for those onions, I thought, as I watched the sling-loads disappear into the hatches.

We arrived in Honolulu early in the morning. The longshoremen swarmed up the gangway—Hawaiians, Koreans, Chinese, Portuguese, a few whites, and even some Japanese. It seemed strange to find Japanese working on the docks and ships, but these were born in Hawaii and were American citizens. Very few have been evacuated, for most of them have proved to be loyal, and also they are essential to defense work.

A Hawaiian winch-operator coming on board asked us what our cargo was.

"Mostly onions," we told him.

His face broke out in a wide Hawaiian grin. "That's going to make it even worse than last week," he said.

It wasn't long before everybody coming on the ship was telling us about the onion situation in Honolulu. Hawaii has never grown anything much except sugar and pineapples. When the blitz came, the army took over. Everything was run "by order of the military governor," but even he couldn't do anything about the immediate shortage of onions. With their water content, onions take up a lot of shipping space. And there was no shipping space to spare because Hawaii needed more guns, tanks, ammunition, and construction materials right off.

Nevertheless, the military went into action with a long view. Why not grow onions in Hawaii? They exhorted

farmers, especially on the fertile island of Maui, to do so. Seed was planted, the onions thrived, and then came the harvest. Thousands of pounds were gathered on Maui to be shipped across to the city of Honolulu. But a Colonel Blimp had bungled. Contracts for tons of onions had been given to California growers. A week before our arrival a convoy had brought in a shipment from San Francisco, and here we were with still more! Jap submarines had been chasing us and those onions for two thousand miles; yet only fifty miles away from Honolulu onions were rotting on the Maui docks.

The Maui onion growers were mad. Other growers who had planted potatoes, celery, tomatoes at the urgent request of the military wondered whether similar imports wouldn't destroy the value of their harvests. Protests went to Washington through Hawaii's Delegate, Sam King. He introduced a bill to reimburse the Maui growers, but the money isn't the only thing. A chill was cast over the future of all diversified farming in Hawaii.

It wasn't until we got back to San Francisco that we heard about the Guadalcanal cabbages. The crew of the ship that had carried them bounced their beer glasses on the bars along San Francisco's Embarcadero and were plenty mad. They had dragged cabbages from San Francisco to the Solomons to find that one of Australia's biggest vegetable crops happens to be cabbages. On top of that, they had carried *fresh* cabbages. And the crew had learned that cabbages can easily be dehydrated for shipping and will then take up only a fraction of their original bulk. Even the bartenders tried to clean up their patrons' language a bit. We sympathized with them about their cabbages and told them about our onions. As yet we hadn't faced the bottle situation.

The cargo for our next trip to Honolulu was a "general cargo"—odds and ends. Cases of beer labeled "For Emergency Use Only" swung over the side. That's O. K., we thought. After all, we prefer mainland beer to the local brews in Honolulu. Cases of water chestnuts took more explaining. But if they wanted water chestnuts for their chop suey and couldn't get them any more from China, it was all right with us. The cases of canned shoestring potatoes brought some comment from the stewards' department. But then came the bottles—thousands of them. For hours the men and machines labored away to hoist and lower them into the hatches. And every bottle was empty.

That was what burned up the crew. We sailed importantly out of the Golden Gate under a rapid fire of cyni-



cal remarks about the valuable cargo of beer, shoestring potatoes, and empty bottles we were rushing to the Pacific war zone.

It seems that when people in Honolulu mixed their highballs they used to throw away their soda and gingerale bottles. There was plenty of "mix" and carbonating equipment in the Islands, but a shortage of bottles. We were rushing them a replenishing supply, with the aid of battle convoy, degaussing machinery, navy gun crew, anti-aircraft batteries, a three-incher back aft, and an enraged crew.

As the military had issued orders forbidding any union meetings to be held on board ship, no formal protests could be drawn up by the three separate unions governing the deck, "black gang," and stewards' departments. Once we were back again in San Francisco, complaints were lodged with the proper authorities, as had been done by the Guadalcanal cabbage crew. Then it was our turn to bounce beer glasses on the Embarcadero bars, and fill the air with colorful language.

The crew doesn't always have a "beef" about the cargo. In peace time the crew doesn't care what the cargo is unless it is a fire hazard or has a pretty bad smell like raw sugar or copra. But in these days the crews are very much interested in winning the war, and soon.

On one trip we loaded almost nothing but combat equipment—jeeps, trucks, crated airplane parts, and the like. When the loading started, the gangplank was at a sharp angle, but as the days went by it flattened out more and more until finally it slanted *down* to the deck of the ship. She was loaded far above the Plimsoll line. But there wasn't a complaint out of anyone. We all knew the stuff was really needed, and if they could load it on, by God, we could take it there. We sailed through the Golden Gate that time with the water only a very few inches from the deck of the ship. A really good blow and the whole thing would have foundered. But the crew's morale was very different from what it had been the day we sailed with several thousand empty bottles under our feet.

## The Navy at Its Best

BY DONALD W. MITCHELL

**D**ETAILS of the Fifth Battle of the Solomons present a picture of the United States navy at its best. The rout of Japan's invasion force was a defensive masterpiece and one of the most brilliant victories in modern naval history.

Shortly after one o'clock on the morning of November 13 the Japanese fleet approached at full speed from behind Savo Island, steaming in a three-column arrangement which gave the appearance of a circle. It was thoroughly prepared to undertake the bombardment of shore defenses preliminary to landing troops, although previous Japanese aerial attacks had proved ineffectual both in softening up American shore defenses and in inflicting damage on surface warships. Of the three air clashes, one had been with green American fliers, in which the damage done was about equal, a second had resulted in a bad defeat for the Japanese, and a last attempt had been disastrous, only one of more than thirty Zeros and bombers having escaped destruction.

Until the end of the war it is unlikely that anyone will know with certainty the exact strength of the Japanese attacking force. Preliminary scouting reports put it at two battle cruisers of the Kongo class, two heavy cruisers, four light cruisers, and ten destroyers. It was probably larger, for shore observers counted twenty-six silhouettes, and more than two heavy cruisers were re-

ferred to in accounts of the battle. Two more heavy cruisers and six destroyers may have been the remaining components. Steaming into close range to oppose this formation came the two heavy cruisers, three light cruisers, and eight destroyers of Admiral Callaghan. Assuming that the ships engaged were the largest of their class available in either navy, the Japanese had a superiority in tonnage of over two and one-half to one and in gun-power of more than four to one. And even this is not a fair comparison, since the heavy armor of the Japanese battle cruisers should have enabled either one to vanquish unaided a force several times as big as the American cruiser and destroyer squadron. In the only two modern sea battles exhibiting the slightest similarity, those of Helgoland Bight and the Falklands in the First World War, the weaker fleet was destroyed in its entirety without loss to the victor. A similar ending could normally have been expected here.

But the conditions of the battle were not normal; they were extraordinary; and the Americans took full advantage of them. In the first place, the Japanese, not expecting attack, had their guns loaded with high-explosive rather than armor-piercing shells. Again, Admiral Callaghan's force appeared so quickly and at such point-blank range that the guns of the battle cruisers could not be depressed enough to make hits around the water line. Thirdly, the unorthodox tactics of the Ameri-



can commander in leading his ships between two of the enemy lines and very close to one placed the Japanese in the embarrassing position of being unsure of the identity of friend and foe. Some of the Japanese ships found their fire blanketed at intervals by others, and one line was in constant danger of shooting into its own ships. The close-bunched American line in the midst of a greatly more numerous foe could assume that all other ships were unfriendly and suffered no such handicap.

The unexpectedness and incredible boldness of the American maneuver gave it its chance of success. Led by the San Francisco, the American ships swung into quick action and sank a heavy cruiser and a destroyer almost before the Japanese realized they were in a fight; at a range of a little more than a mile the San Francisco scored fourteen eight-inch hits on one of the battle cruisers—well-placed blows which silenced her batteries and left her a crippled hulk for planes to finish. That the Japanese were by no means asleep is shown by the quickness with which they hit back at the leading American ship. Admiral Callaghan and Captain Young were killed on the San Francisco's bridge a minute or two after the opening of the battle. The Americans took terrific punishment—after thirty minutes nine of the thirteen ships in the task force had received a death blow—but the losses of the overwhelmingly superior enemy fleet were much heavier. First the American ships, then the Japanese, withdrew, the latter firing at each other for some time after their enemy had left the scene.

With the coming of daylight our planes finished the job by sinking the crippled enemy ships. Despite their defeat, the Japanese tried doggedly to carry through the rest of their program. On the fourteenth eight of twelve enemy transports were sunk by American planes with tremendous loss of life. That night the escorting force of four battleships, accompanied by other vessels, met a somewhat smaller but powerful American fleet under Admiral Willis Lee and was driven back with the loss of three ships, though the silence of the navy regarding this battle probably indicates heavy American casualties. The remaining four troopships made an appearance on the morning of the fifteenth and were pounced upon by defending air forces.

The engagements of November 11-15 were glorious but not decisive. The Japanese resumed attempts to smuggle small forces into Guadalcanal by night less than ten days later. The American victories were achieved by better scouting and intelligence work, excellent use of air power, and fine coordination between the services. They answer a number of doubts. Callaghan and Young died as all good officers would prefer to die. They now join the naval immortals, and their ship, the San Francisco, takes its place in the company of the Constitution, the Bonhomme Richard, and Nelson's Victory.

## Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

### The Railroads Outflanked

**B**LITHELY forging ahead toward a goal of the greatest net profits in their history, the railroads have suddenly found themselves threatened by a dangerous pincers movement. On one flank the OPA has attacked with a petition to the Interstate Commerce Commission asking for a cancelation of freight and passenger rate increases granted last spring; on the other, the unions have put in a demand for wage increases which, if granted, would cost the roads more than half this year's net earnings. Unhappily for the railroads, they cannot meet this double menace by playing one opponent against the other. If they tell the unions they would like to oblige but cannot do so owing to the prospect of reduced rates, they will play into the hands of the OPA. But neither can they tell the OPA that they are unable to stand a rate cut in view of labor demands, for that would weaken their hands in the wage negotiations.

The railroads might find more public sympathy for their plight if they had not, in their eagerness to grasp all the profit that war-time traffic could bear, blindly maneuvered themselves into an indefensible position. A year ago, after agreeing to pay increased wages amounting to \$312,000,000, the railroad companies asked for increases in rates that would more than cover this sum. In putting forward their plea, they based their estimates of the additional revenue required on 1941 traffics, ignoring the obvious fact that 1942 would see an enormous increase in the movement of both passengers and freight. Writing on this page on February 21, I pointed to some of the indications of swelling railroad business and commented: "Provided that the ICC complies with the railroads' request for higher freight rates and thus takes care of their increased wage and other costs, profits will surely make another leap forward."

Despite OPA protests the ICC did in fact give the railroads nearly all they asked for by allowing a 10 per cent increase in passenger fares and an average increase of about 6 per cent in freight rates. The financial results for the year now closing show how little the additional revenue was needed to keep the roads in the black. Although tax accruals have doubled, 1942 net profits are estimated at around \$900,000,000 compared with \$500,000,000 in 1941, and with a further increase of 15 per cent in traffics expected next year, there would seem to be room for concessions either to the customers or to the workers or both.

In the answer they have filed replying to the OPA petition, the railroads, unable to plead poverty, attempt



to confuse the issues with statistical double-talk. They say that wage increases have cost them \$397,000,000 during 1942, while other operating expenses have risen by \$110,000,000. Against these added charges the increase in rates would have produced only \$357,000,000 had they been in effect for the full year. Moreover, they claim that they have made voluntary rate reductions on petroleum moving to the East Coast and in fares for members of the armed services traveling on furlough which together total \$228,000,000.

This reply seems impressive until it is remembered that, although total operating expenses have risen, gross operating revenues have risen still more sharply thanks to an estimated increase in freight traffic of about 32 per cent and in passenger mileage of 75 per cent. The exigencies of war are making it possible to operate the railroads at somewhere near capacity, while the rates charged for their services are designed to permit profits when operations are well below capacity. In mass transportation as in mass production the fuller the use of the plant the lower the burden of overhead charges, and for the railroads, with so much of their capital in the form of bonded debt, overhead charges account for an exceptionally high proportion of total expenses.

The OPA in its petition to the ICC stressed the inflationary effect of high transport rates. Defenders of the railroads, on the other hand, urge that lower passenger rates will induce more travel, which is just what the Office of Defense Transport is seeking to discourage owing to the existing congestion. It seems unlikely that much of the present record passenger traffic can be ascribed to traveling purely for pleasure; nor is it probable that a 10 per cent cut in fares would increase it. The discomfort of journeys by rail under present circumstances is enough to discourage pleasure seekers. Most of the additional passengers are undoubtedly either service men or war workers, enormous numbers of whom must now commute to and from their jobs. Railroad fares are an item in their cost of living which cannot be dismissed as trifling. But a reduction in freight rates is of even greater importance. Many retail prices which are threatening to burst through their ceilings might be held in line if transport charges were trimmed.

Reluctant as they are to discuss the connection of rates with inflation, the railroads are quite ready to urge its dangers as a means of repelling attack by the unions. In order to stress this point they are proposing that wage demands should be submitted to the War Labor Board, which would be more likely to consider the effects on the whole labor picture of an increase in rail wages than would a special labor tribunal. However disingenuous, this proposal is not without merit, especially since the railwaymen's demands—a 30 per cent increase in the case of the operating unions—would, if granted, prove a very disturbing influence on wage stabilization.

## In the Wind

**FINANCIAL CANDOR:** "The politically important fact, the one which can be sold to the people to prove that there is no profiteering by corporations, is that excess profits are taxed at 90 per cent. The details by which that figure is reduced to 80 per cent net, and then again is cut to 71 per cent by the post-war credit, are too technical to be useful in politics." From *Barron's*, the business weekly, December 14.

**FROM THE LONDON TIMES:** "There is a school for jungle warfare in India where the only textbook used is a thin volume of Kipling's poems. An instructor at the school maintains that Kipling has the complete answer to almost every problem likely to be encountered during jungle operations."

**THE EUROPEAN REPRESENTATIVE** of a large American automobile concern recently came to this country from a Scandinavian city where he has been staying during the war. He claims to represent German industrial leaders and is avowedly seeking to explore the possibilities of a negotiated peace.

**AN INDICATION** of what the war is doing to higher education is seen in a recent newspaper dispatch from Troy, New York. Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, an engineering school, is admitting women for the first time. Russell Sage College, a liberal-arts school whose enrolment has dropped because many women are choosing a technical college, is admitting men for the first time.

**THE DENVER POST** is urging that America's Japanese population be eliminated by putting men and women in separate internment camps and keeping them there after the war.

**THE OFFICE OF WAR INFORMATION** wants writers who submit manuscripts to it not to use phrases like "yellow people" in describing the Japanese. "This country," it says, "is not fighting this war on a race basis, and too many of our allies are also yellow for us to use that phrase."

**AND KEEP YOUR REPORTER DRY:** The *Albany Times-Union* reported on November 27 that "Henry J. Binderin, author of the startling book of non-fiction 'The Riddle of the Reich' " would join a panel of speakers discussing "Dr. Margaret Mead's new novel 'And Keep Your Powder Dry.' " The speaker's name was Robert Bendiner; he is the author of "The Riddle of the State Department"; and the book under discussion was no novel at all but an anthropological estimate of the American character in war time. Its author was actually Margaret Mead, as reported.

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of \$5 will be awarded each month for the best item.—EDITORS THE NATION.]



# BOOKS *and the* ARTS

## BRITISH HUMORS AND AMERICAN HUMOR

BY IRWIN EDMAN

**H**UMOR, though it has not pervaded the works of philosophers, has haunted their consciences. They had not rested because they have not been able to define the secret of its mad and maddening logic, its absurd good sense, its ridiculous truthfulness. An anthology of humor, since it is an index to what a nation likes, is an index also to what it assumes as rational and what it defines as folly. It is an epitome of a culture—not a summary of it in formulas, but a synthesis of it in forms of feeling and its molds of judgment.

A joke is a joke, and Mr. Morris Bishop, the editor of this latest anthology of the risible, "A Treasury of British Humor" (Coward-McCann, \$3), assures us that a joke is identical in ancient Athens, medieval Padua, modern Manchester, England, and Buena Vista, Florida.

Mr. Bishop's own collection belies, I think, his theory of the universality of humor and, taken side by side with the E. B. and Katharine White "Subtreasury of American Humor"—how colonial we remain!—produces a residual difference in mood and tone. These jokes are far from demonstrating that the British do not have a sense of humor or that the American one is better or worse. They do not even show that the British and the American humor are radically different. Mr. Bishop is quite right in suggesting that the familiar assertions concerning the "understatement" of British humor and the "overstatement" of American humor are too easily refuted. Falstaff and Mr. Pickwick hardly qualify as perfect examples of reticence. And on the other hand nothing could be quieter than the humor of E. B. White.

Nevertheless, I do not see how anyone could go through Mr. Bishop's Treasury or the Whites' Subtreasury without being made aware that he was in two different worlds, in two differently delightful realms of discourse. Mr. Bishop's anthology is an excellent one, in so far as British humor can be anthologized at all. For, as Mr. Bishop points out in the case of Thackeray, much of the effect of British humor is cumulative. It is not humor so much as humors; it is not a succession of jokes so much as the creation of a mood. The amusements are ripples on the stream of the discourse. Often British humor is not so much hilarious as literally eccentric and marked by an "odd pathos." It hovers, more, I think, than American humor, on the edge of fantasy; there is no "Wind in the Willows" in American humor or, to take a more final illustration, "Midsummer Night's Dream." There is more leisure and more quietude. It is precisely this fact that may make many find Mr. Bishop's selections duller on the whole than those in the American anthology. There is, at least in the nineteenth century, more respectability; even the nonsense is decorous; there is a touch of gentility to the madness of Lewis Carroll and Edward Lear; the Mad Hatter

is found at a tea-party, and the guest is a well-bred little girl.

Compare the two volumes, and the causes of laughter, the kinds of laughter, like the cadences of the prose and verse included, seem different. There is no British Mark Twain, though Mr. Bishop insists in his Introduction that Mark Twain's Americanism is purely accidental. He is apparently quite certain that if Mark Twain had been born an Englishman, he would have written a picaresque humorous book of a journey through English hedgerows and copses and wealds and dales. The book might have been called, he suggests, "Whortleberry Finn." Perhaps. But the humor that would have emerged along the Wye and the Thames would not have been the laughter of the Mississippi. "Whortleberry Finn" would have been so different from Huckleberry Finn in mood and temper that it were sheerly academic to call it the same kind. Laurence Sterne does not resemble Mark Twain very closely. "Pickwick," a little closer, is quite another picaresque story.

One of the principles by which Mr. Bishop made his anthology has a depressant effect upon at least one reader. Mr. Bishop deliberately leaves out many well-known show pieces: "Alice in Wonderland," "Dogberry and the Watch," the opening pages of "Pickwick." There are some things he could "not bear to leave out." Falstaff is, luckily, one of them. The editor has the "less known [of any author] in preference to the well known."

Every selection, he says, must have made him laugh, chuckle, or smile broadly. Tastes, to hazard a truism, differ, and though I have a quietly fanatical devotion to British humor, I did not find, I do not think many readers will find, themselves even smiling narrowly at some of the pieces included. Many of these passages are the humor of context, and, the context lost, so is much of the humor. Angela Thirkell's pleasantly inane Barssetshire cannot be cut up into thin slices without losing flavor. Evelyn Waugh needs a little room for his crazy-sane scope. T. H. White requires a running start for his nonsense medievalism.

The same thing holds true, I think, for the selections from earlier periods. The pieces of works remind the reader that those passages he recalls were much funnier (and I think they were) in their surroundings. Byron is witty enough in the passages given, but somehow less so than one remembered. Passages that one has not known before one is willing to take on trust. Probably when run across in their proper place, they would seem much better. Even the famous cracks of Sydney Smith fall a little flatter than they should; though the remark about Macaulay's "flashes of silence" is good even in isolation.

The light verse is always beautifully turned, but it, too, seems fainter and more vanilla-flavored than one had recalled. And since no critic of an anthology can forbear to ask questions, Why is no Dobson here?

I turned back from this treasury of British humor to the White "Subtreasury of American Humor." Even upon re-reading, it somehow seems funnier, gayer, wittier. Perhaps



all that that means is that American humor breaks up into edible small pieces more easily. Perhaps English humor, like English cigarettes or Scotch whiskey, does taste better in England. Perhaps British humor exhibits more of the stratification of the stratified society from which, up to the present, it has grown. Many of the treasures of British humor are in this treasury, but the gold of its poetry, the diamond of its wit do not seem quite to be there. Perhaps it is because Mr. Bishop has only been able to give us token payments.

As well make a compendium of the mists that play over the near distance of British landscapes as try to isolate in a book the play of fancy, the dash of sharp insight, the moods pert and poetic that have, century after century, played over English life. Yet the book is good. As the old English charwoman said of the bombing of Canterbury which she had come through alive: "It warn't 'alf bad; sort of takes your mind off the war."

English life (and literature) has thousands of little marginal observations on existence not unlike that. Somehow missing from this volume is the ripple of poised amusement that, in all classes, privileged and underprivileged, has enabled the British to smile, sometimes annoyingly to foreigners, out of a deeply felt and rooted tradition. They could laugh at those ridiculous bounders, Hitler and Goebbels, even during the blitz. And the laughter doubtless helped them to endure and survive it.

## NOTES BY THE WAY

### Caldwell Comes a Cropper

ERSKINE CALDWELL is one of our most talented writers of fiction. He came up as a "natural" storyteller, who wrote with a seemingly instinctive, strict, and essentially poetic economy of expression wonderfully suited to his material—which he obviously knew to the point of saturation. "Tobacco Road" was a tall tale blankly told; its humor and its subject matter were deeply indigenous; it was very well turned. It was limited, however, as art in the broad sense. Its characters border so closely on the subhuman that the reader's sense of identity with them is almost as irrelevant as one's rather rueful sense of identity with apes in a zoo; and this limitation goes back in the end to the circumstance, not that the people who live in Tobacco Road actually *are* subhuman, but that Mr. Caldwell refused, in that book, to grant them full human status, refused to allow himself to become emotionally involved in their situation. He "laughed it off" instead; for that reason the humor is sinister and the laughter it arouses is not that of release but of self-defense.

"Trouble in July," published in 1940, showed great gain in maturity of feeling. It was reflected, first of all, in his choice of a theme—the story was one that has the status and significance of a folk tale in the poor South, that of the alleged rape of a white girl by a colored boy, the hunt for the accused and the terrorizing of the colored community, and finally the lynching. But the real measure of Mr. Caldwell's maturity was revealed in his attitude toward his characters. Most of the people in "Trouble in July" are, objectively speaking, scarcely higher in the social and human scale than

those in "Tobacco Road." There are scenes of sex obsession quite as gruesome; and the humor is just as unsparing. Yet we are never allowed to lose the sense of these sorry individuals as fellow human beings in whose predicament, however sordid, we are therefore involved. Because the feeling is concentrated and sure, the piece is, with minor exceptions, neither overwritten nor understated; its implications, human, social, and political, are given what seems to be their proper place and their proper emphasis; and the created atmosphere is so convincing that one closes the book with the feeling that if this is not the poor South, the poor South does not exist.

In 1940, then, one reader at least felt that Mr. Caldwell was on the way to becoming an important novelist, who knew what he was doing. Since then he has turned journalist and world traveler; he has been caught up, for understandable reasons, in the currents of a world at war. His new novel, "All Night Long" (Duell, Sloan, and Pearce, \$2.50), is a story of guerrilla warfare behind the German lines in Soviet Russia; and it is, I regret to say, one of the worst novels I have ever read. One may assume that Mr. Caldwell has never been behind the German lines in Soviet Russia and that his book is based on reports of what goes on there. The fact that he was dealing with unfamiliar material might be cited as the reason for the utter unreality of "All Night Long" as a picture not so much of Russian life as of any life whatever. It does not explain the failure of artistic intelligence which led Mr. Caldwell to believe that he could write, on the basis of a few months' observation, a convincing novel about Soviet Russia, let alone a novel about guerrilla warfare based on second-hand reports. It does not explain the far more shocking failure in taste and feeling that has led him to write a book which is not only a travesty of his own earlier work but which makes a travesty of the Russian struggle as well. (I understand that it has already been sold to the movies, and certainly it is as synthetic, as maudlin, and as sensational as Hollywood could wish, though I'm sure the naked Russian women in the last scene—in which they are rescued from a German brothel—will be "draped" by the Hays office, probably in picturesque Russian shawls.)

I do not for a moment doubt the sincerity of Mr. Caldwell's sympathy with the Russian people in their determination to drive the invaders out and, in the process, to kill as many *Nemetskis* as possible; but his feeling appears here only in the diluted form of sentimentality, and the ironic fact is that he has concocted a novel which might have been turned out by any one of a half-dozen "slick" writers bent only on exploiting the atrocities of war, particularly rape.

One might write off "All Night Long" as another proof that art and war don't mix very well, but even the Second World War seems hardly enough to explain the steep decline, on every count, from "Trouble in July." One can't help suspecting that, quite aside from the war, Mr. Caldwell has been seduced, perhaps unwittingly and certainly to an unnecessary degree, by the "outer world of telegrams and anger"—of journalistic "action," global scoops, and easy emotional excitement. Whatever the explanation, he has completely lost his bearings as an artist and has landed in a dismal swamp of crude propaganda, fake realism—and Hollywood contracts.



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A PRESS RELEASE from the Friends of Democracy reports the following conversation between one of its representatives and the New York office of Paramount Pictures, which is now in the throes (see last week's *Nation* for a full account) of producing the film version of Ernest Hemingway's "For Whom the Bell Tolls" without offending Franco:

Question: Is it true that the political implications in "For Whom the Bell Tolls" will be eliminated?

Answer: We think the political implications should not be emphasized. The picture is entirely neutral. After all, this picture must be made so that it will be valuable not only today but in years to come.

Question: You feel that there might not be opposition in America to fascism in the years to come?

Answer: Oh no, but it isn't necessary to bring in the political implications to make a good love story.

This is the first time we had heard that Hollywood's motive in eliminating political issues is to produce films for the "years to come"—though we have long been painfully aware that its love stories are designed for the ages—from six to twelve.

MARGARET MARSHALL

## The Legacy of Kant

GERMAN PHILOSOPHY AND POLITICS. By John Dewey. G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$2.

PROFESSOR DEWEY'S book is mainly a reprint of a set of lectures which he first delivered and published in 1915. To bring it up to date he has added to the original text a comparatively short introductory chapter in which he tries to display the continuity in the ruling principles of the Second and the Third Reich. His general purpose is to account for Germany's political behavior in terms of German academic philosophy. This is a theme that has recently been somewhat overlabored; it has a temptingly close relation to the question of German war guilt. But Professor Dewey's approach to it is not that of a propagandist. Admittedly, his own convictions do not make him sympathetic to the ideas he discusses, but his examination of them is intended to be, and is, a serious contribution to the philosophy of history.

The premise from which Professor Dewey starts is that "the chief mark of distinctively German civilization is the combination of self-conscious idealism with unsurpassed technical efficiency and organization in the varied fields of action"; and he argues that the roots of this dualism are to be found in the philosophy of Kant. By confining the operation of speculative reason within the limits of possible sense experience, and by making the systematization of phenomena a necessary condition of our experiencing them, Kant gave philosophical sanction to the development of natural science: at the same time his view that the limitations to which the understanding was necessarily subject could be transcended in moral experience, and his conception of freedom as obedience to the self-imposed moral law, opened a new field for the extravagances of individual and collective mysticism. Such a development of his moral philosophy was not foreseen, nor would it have been welcomed by Kant himself. His aim, as he himself described it, was to limit reason in the interest of religious faith; certainly not to clear a path either for the self-intoxicated subjectivism of the romantic move-

ment or for the deification of the Prussian state. Neither does this mean that he was blind to the logical implications of his own views. He is not the logical ancestor of the nineteenth-century German idealists in the sense in which Locke is the logical ancestor of Berkeley and Hume and Mill. Nevertheless, they are his progeny; and if they perverted his views, the perversion was made easy for them by the fact that his own moral philosophy is curiously inchoate. In particular, it gives no criteria for conduct beyond the exaltation of the sense of duty and the purely negative prescription that one should not act on principles that cannot consistently be universalized.

It remained accordingly for Fichte and Hegel to give substance to Kant's deontological shadow, and for this they elaborated between them a set of doctrines which have found their most pernicious realization in Hitler's National Socialism: the doctrines of the primacy of will over reason, of the preeminence of the German spirit, and of the divinity of the state. Professor Dewey illustrates this development with well-chosen quotations, culminating in Hegel's terrifying pronouncements that "the Germans were predestined to be the bearers of the Christian principle and to carry out the idea as the absolutely rational end" and that the state, and specifically the Prussian state, "is the absolute reality, and the individual himself has objective existence, truth, and morality only in his capacity as a member of it."

Since Professor Dewey makes a special point of placing ideas among historical causes, I assume his view to be that German political practice has been to some extent directly inspired by the work of the philosophers that he analyzes, and not, as some would hold, that the philosophizing was merely an articulation of an independent historical process. In this I think he is right, though I do not see any means of determining precisely the amount of influence that the philosophers exercised. This is not, indeed, to assume that the rulers of the Third, or even of the Second Reich, made a conscious study of Kant or Fichte or Hegel in framing their policies. All that is required is that the philosophers should have contributed largely to a common stock of ideas and opinions on which the politicians consciously and unconsciously drew; and this I conceive to have been the case. A point which is, however, ignored by most writers on this subject, including Professor Dewey, is that this common stock also contains elements from non-German sources. The most obvious example is Rousseau, who has the distinction of having helped to inspire both the French Revolution and its historical contrary, the early nineteenth-century German renaissance. That there is an affinity between Rousseau and Kant has, indeed, often been remarked. The source of it is to be found largely in their common Protestantism; and it is as an offshoot of Protestantism that the romantic movement, of which German nationalism is partially an expression, can most lucidly be interpreted. The conception of a chosen people, for example, is in itself pre-Christian, but its striking resurgence in the nineteenth century can, I think, legitimately be traced to the Calvinist doctrine of predestination. The fact that he ignores such questions exposes Professor Dewey to the charge of over-simplification; but it must be remembered that his book is designedly limited in its scope.

A. J. AYER



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## Sense and Censorship

*TORPEDO JUNCTION: WITH THE PACIFIC FLEET FROM PEARL HARBOR TO MIDWAY.* By Robert J. Casey. The Bobbs-Merrill Company. \$3.50.

*THE FLYING GUNS.* By Lieutenant Clarence E. Dickinson, U. S. N. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.

THE war in the Pacific is peculiarly America's war—it is under American command, with such help as Australia and New Zealand can give, and it is essentially a naval war—but despite this unity of subject matter no single book gives the reader an adequate over-all picture of the campaign against Japan. The several pieces of the jigsaw puzzle are now being made available in the form of first-person accounts by correspondents and participants. If Correspondent Casey and Pilot Dickinson are read in conjunction with Correspondent Johnston ("Queen of the Flat-Tops"), the broad outlines of the United States navy's strategy in the first six months, the "offensive-defense" phase, of the Pacific war become clear. And their accounts contain enough minute-by-minute detail of individual actions to give the "feel" of this unprecedented warfare. But the burden of correlating the material falls upon the reader.

This is largely the fault of censorship. Johnston was not allowed to name the "other carrier" in the Coral Sea with the Lexington, although the navy identified it as the Yorktown while his book was in manufacture. Dickinson is not allowed to name the carrier from which he flew, although the last published edition of the Navy Directory shows that his squadron was attached to the Enterprise, and the enemy undoubtedly has better evidence than I have to show that this is the ship whose operations he describes. Casey is not allowed to name the cruiser on which he spent almost seven months, although plenty of Japanese saw her; he is allowed to give enough details of her armament and other characteristics to prove that it must have been either the Pensacola or the Salt Lake City. Dickinson, who writes with the aid of Boyden Sparkes, gives an excellent description of the attack at Pearl Harbor upon an old battleship, of 29,000 tons, 580 feet overall. The navy wouldn't let him name her, but has since admitted—as was obvious—that it was the Nevada. The navy has the right to suppress the identification of ships for reasons of security. But it is simply asinine to suppress the names and then authorize publication of all the details which will make identification possible, especially when it is remembered that the enemy's naval intelligence can draw these obvious inferences from published data far more readily than the average American reader. The present procedure simply gives information to the enemy and withholds it from the people of the United States.

Casey's book resembles that of another foreign correspondent, recently published, in that it is too long, devotes too much attention to the weather and the author's health, and contains much criticism of the censorship. But fortunately, Casey is not waspish, he is far too experienced to have delusions of grandeur, and everything he says about the censors is interesting and constructive. There was the former press agent at Pearl Harbor who would not listen to a comparison with British censorship, because "you're in the United

States, and we'll do this job the American way." God save America, if the American way is to make believe that the Japanese do not know that they held Wake Island or what installations they have there; to treat the Army Signal Corps as the espionage agent of a foreign government; to suggest that an army photographer may attend a naval ceremony provided he leaves his camera behind—and so on. It is remarkable that after contending with such stupidity Casey retained his sense of humor and his faculty of observation sufficiently unimpaired to be able to write coherently, and in his unmistakable style, about the Marshall and Gilbert Islands raids, Wake and Marcus, the cruise to nowhere which miraculously resulted in the bombing of Tokyo, and the Battle of Midway. The censorship spoils his story about the bombing of Tokyo, but he deftly outwits the censors. Casey mars his otherwise excellent account of Midway with minor inaccuracies—it was not the first engagement between carrier fleets out of sight of each other—but he makes a strong case for listing Midway as one of the greatest and most decisive sea battles in history, with Trafalgar, Tsushima, and Jutland.

Dickinson flew over Oahu a few minutes after the Japanese. He was shot down, and saw at close range both the fifth column and its handiwork. He saw a nerve-racked American gunner shoot at his own superior officer, and later turn a withering barrage on a morning star. Then he flew for vengeance. He took it against a Japanese submarine, but the almost certain sinking is listed only as probable. He took further vengeance against enemy buildings on Roi Island and an aircraft tender at Kwajalein in the Marshalls. He helped to exact partial vengeance for Major Devereux's marines on Wake Island. He gave the coup de grâce to the aircraft carrier Kaga off Midway, and was forced to land in the ocean when he ran out of gas, as were many other American fliers that day. Dickinson was one who was saved to fight another day, and to supply this highly readable account of the history he made.

GILBERT CANT

## Literature of America South

*THE EPIC OF LATIN AMERICAN LITERATURE.* By Arturo Torres-Rioseco. Oxford University Press. \$3.

LATIN AMERICAN literature begins with great histories. Hard-handed, often uncultivated, soldiers manage somehow to rise to the events they report in their chronicles and contribute as well to the beginnings of modern geography, natural history, and anthropology. But though the New World may properly claim a share in their creations, these men are Portuguese and Spaniards. Their immediate successors, too, are scarcely less European for the accident of American birth. Yet despite Spain's adoption, for example, of Ruiz de Alarcón, the most exquisite comic author of his day, one can already discern in his work the effects of a Mexican upbringing. At a later period the influence of French thinkers helps mold the revolutionary temper and marks the beginning of a trend away from Peninsular models. But such authentically American masterpieces as Sarmiento's "Facundo" notwithstanding, these models remain European. Not until late in the last century does the cosmopolitan genius of Rubén Darío emerge from Nica-



ragua, the unlikelyst of places, to win for American letters the tribute of imitation by Europeans. These letters since his day, in the field of the novel especially, serenely specialize in the native scene and confidently but without blatancy invite consideration on their own merits.

The story is absorbing. The fact that, *mutatis mutandis*, it parallels in broad outline the evolution of literature in the United States adds a peculiar incentive to American readers. Refusal to yield to the temptation to be encyclopedic permits longer discussion of outstanding writers, while progressively fuller treatment of more recent and original periods gives the work a momentum and readability most unusual in histories of literature. Its title, "The Epic of Latin American Literature," which at first glance appears somewhat pretentious, thus surprisingly acquires real appropriateness. It is gratifying that Professor Torres-Rioseco, one of the most eminent critics in his field, is so auspiciously introduced to English-speaking Americans.

A part of this public will disagree with occasional judgments. Professor Torres-Rioseco is among those who see in Rómulo Gallegos's "Doña Bárbara" not merely a competent piece of fiction but a landmark. To others, as to the writer, it may seem diffuse and melodramatic. One may find something unaccountable, too, in the reputation of Benito Lynch. The Argentine novelist is an acute observer and gifted storyteller, but I find him too sentimentally susceptible to the charms of the child-woman heroines he draws so well and so often. It is the outstanding merit of Professor Torres-Rioseco's book, however, that readers will look forward to judging for themselves. They will also find bibliographies that facilitate their exploration.

EDWIN S. MORBY

## At It Again

**THE BEST POEMS OF 1941.** Edited by Thomas Moul. Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$2.

**ANTHOLOGY OF MAGAZINE VERSE, 1938-1942.** Edited by Alan F. Pater. The Paebar Company. \$10.

**AN AMERICAN ANTHOLOGY.** Edited by Tom Boggs. The Press of James A. Decker. \$2.

**T**HOMAS MOULT has been assembling "the year's best" for twenty years now, and—for the twentieth time?—he reminds readers that "the word 'best' is used only in the sense that the poems included are his own artistic preferences." Well, there are ways and ways of making a name, and perhaps an annual emasculation of the word "best" is not the worst. But in the ideal state editors would be told to say what they mean, even if it came to "My Favorite Lyrics" or "Preferences, 1941." Certainly Moul's latest preferences make it more than usually clear that he is as fallible as anyone else: he usually avoids the utterly bad, but now we get a stiff dose of it. Anxiety to show that England can still give off "war poetry" in the accepted, or corrupt, sense of the term is the only reason I can see for including a four-page outburst by Herbert Palmer which is probably the worst poem of this or any war, and an effort which diverted Lord Vansittart from making the nation's laws just long enough to delight us that he does not make its songs—a

communiqué in which the moon tells the earth, *inter alia*, that she would "sooner have no Man at all/than Huns who rape and rave and rack." War always casts up such miserable stuff, but to see it among "artistic preferences" raises the question whether Moul is not also using the word "artistic" in a strictly limited sense. Apart from these and similar lapses, his taste remains engagingly catholic. Although the younger English poets are not abundantly represented, Laurie Lee and Clifford Dyment voice fresh feelings about the war, strictly and purely expressed; and a Spender, The War God, finely furnishes that keenest pleasure of yearbooks, the sudden blaze of talent against the fuzz of competence. There are oddities, too, that a selector of stricter taste might spurn: among them Lord Derwent's Which Music? pleases by its accomplished dilettantism, modestly there among the strained solemnities. But on the whole this anthology—seventy-six poems, sixty-nine poets—confirms the impression made by its predecessors, that Moul roams the Anglo-American poetic fields chiefly to reassure us that through it all the Blunders still bumble, the Frosts still freeze, and the de la Mares still weave flowers in their hair.

A modest aim, and unavowed. Mr. Pater's is neither. His preface to this colossal collection, his second—376 poets, so there must be around 500 poems—reads like a wild parody of the newer utterances of Van Wyck Brooks. The familiar wails about obscurity, neuroticism, violence, cynicism, etc., lead up to the apocalyptic statement that we need poets who can "transcend Shakespeare, Dante, Homer, and Goethe." How? By "living more nobly than Shakespeare," by practicing the "ideal love that Goethe lacked." Then a burst into verse: "Write, when glows your ecstasy; Art, like God, shoulde perfect be!" Thus warned, we slip easily through a chatty meaningless introduction by John Holmes to find, of

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course, that the poetry is a ton of safety to an ounce of daring. Examples: Stevens 1, Hillyer 4; Yeats 1, Coffin 8; and among the Moores, Virginia 3, Rosalie 2, Nicholas 1, Mari-  
anne 0. But sandwiched between the favored writers, who must live very beautifully indeed, are names and sources surprising in the circumstances: Auden, Rukeyser, both Williamses; and the *New Masses* jostles the *New Yorker*. It is all very bewildering for your money, but at least part of it would be well spent on the best thing in the book, a "List of Magazines Publishing Poetry" which omits at least five ranking media but includes *Religious Telescope*, *Ideal Love*, *Our Dumb Animals*, and *Skating*.

The Pater dwarfs the Moulton, but both commit the cardinal sin of anthologists, spreading the net too wide. There has to be some unifying factor: an honest bad taste is better than none. I think Tom Boggs's taste good, and surely anyone will admit that it exists. This, his third selection, ranges over the last twenty years' work in America to find sixty-seven poems not previously appearing in an anthology, by twenty-eight poets, and thus redeems names like Cummings, Bishop, and Winters from the oblivion Pater seems to intend for them. Most of Boggs's choices are well worth including; a welcome number of names are relatively unfamiliar; and in theme, technique, and attitude the poems stand solidly for the vigorous independence that blew through our between-wars poetry like a fresh wind and is found even now, despite the new conformism, in several crannies of the ramparts we watch.

FRANK JONES

## John Rice of Black Mountain

*I CAME OUT OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.* By John Andrew Rice. Harper and Brothers. \$3.

IF JOHN ANDREW RICE had to be born again, he would choose for his birthplace his native state and for his century the eighteenth. To this century he believes, rightly or wrongly, belonged all the things that made visits to his grandmother the happiest part of childhood: long, clockless days, homespun furnishings, violence touched with grace, simple faith in simple words, and faith in man, to mention only a few. Again he would wish a man of God for father, and not to be born a gentleman. The last requisite is significant, for more than half the autobiography is concerned with his internal battle against class consciousness. The rest relates his battle against educational authority.

Uneasiness about his social status had nothing to do with one grandmother's habit of smoking a pipe and little connection with the poverty that forced his aunts on the other side to work in the cotton fields. Both families were planters, and in South Carolina being "well-born" meant being born on a plantation. His sense of inferiority sprang chiefly from an inheritance of Methodism, inescapable since his father was a preacher. Not until he had been abroad as a Rhodes scholar does he seem to have gained enough perspective to feel at home in America.

His father was a violent Puritan. Whenever he preached he worked himself into such a lather that his clothes had to be changed before dinner. He was singularly inept with his hands, not so much because he lived in a world of ideas

as because he regarded everything as potentially hostile. His car refused to run from malice and must be shaken and kicked into submission. Honorable, and at the same time ambitious, he was continually enraged by the advancement of ecclesiastical scoundrels, and at meal time dissected them so dextrously that his children themselves became expert. "I listened with delight, not knowing that some day I should be plagued with my then acquired skill in detecting another's weaknesses, nor that, when it comes to people, clarity unwed to charity can be an evil thing."

The portraits of the men under whom Mr. Rice taught the classics at Nebraska and Rollins College have amazing clarity. Perhaps they are charitable; we do not know what is left unsaid, and there is restraint, at least in the account of his journey through the valley of humiliation at the foot of Black Mountain.

The judges of the Harper Award have done well to indicate the literary value of this desperately honest attempt at self-analysis. A gift of perception, so acute that it notices whether the whole face tells the same story as the eyes, is joined to a gift for words. One can well believe that oratory was a perfected art in the South. It is here again, vigorous, persuasive, and epigrammatic.

HARRIET SAMPSON

## CONTRIBUTORS

PAUL WINKLER is a French journalist and publisher now in this country. He has been working on a book called "The Thousand-Year Conspiracy," to be published by Scribner's.

KURT R. GROSSMANN, at one time secretary general of the League of Human Rights, is coauthor of a forthcoming book dealing with refugees.

HOWARD CLARKE, born on Mindanao in the Philippines and educated at Dartmouth, was in defense work before Pearl Harbor. Later he worked for the Army Engineer Corps, but finding a desk job distasteful in war time he enlisted in the merchant marine.

IRWIN EDMAN is professor of philosophy at Columbia University.

A. J. AYER is the author of "Language, Truth, and Logic" and "The Foundations of Empirical Knowledge."

GILBERT CANT is war editor of the *New York Post* and author of "The War at Sea."

EDWIN S. MORBY is assistant professor of Spanish in the University of California at Berkeley. He has published numerous articles on Spanish and Spanish-American literature in the *Hispanic Review* and the *Revista Iberoamericana*.

FRANK JONES, who teaches the classics at Yale, has contributed articles, poems, and reviews to the *Partisan Review* and the *New Republic*.

JAMES AGEE is coauthor with Walker Evans of "Let Us Now Praise Famous Men." He will contribute a monthly article on films to *The Nation*.



## FILMS

I WOULD like so to use this column about moving pictures as to honor and discriminate the subject through interesting and serving you who are reading it. Whether I am qualified to do this is an open question to which I can give none of the answers. But I can begin by describing my condition as a would-be critic.

I suspect that I am, far more than not, in your own situation: deeply interested in moving pictures, considerably experienced from childhood on in watching them and thinking and talking about them, and totally, or almost totally, without experience or even much second-hand knowledge of how they are made. If I am broadly right in this assumption, we start on the same ground, and under the same handicaps, and I qualify to be here, if at all, only by two means. It is my business to conduct one end of a conversation, as an amateur critic among amateur critics. And I will be of use and of interest only in so far as my amateur judgment is sound, stimulating, or illuminating.

That my own judgment, and yours, is that of an amateur, is only in part a handicap. It is also a definition. It can even be an advantage, of a sort, in so far as a professional's preoccupation with technique, with the box-office, with bad traditions, or simply with work, can blur, or alter the angle of, his own judgment. I would talk to even so good a director as John Ford, for instance, with deep respect for him as a technician and as a serious man, but I might at the same time regret ninety-nine feet in every hundred of "The Grapes of Wrath," and be able to specify my regret; and it would be a question entirely of the maturity of my judgment, and not in the least of my professional or amateur standing, whether I were right or wrong. If I were a professional, on the other hand, my realization of the complexity of making any film would be so much clarified that I would be much warier than most critics can be in assigning either credit or blame. Indeed, if you could follow out all the causes of that sort of high-serious failure, you would be involved as much in the analysis of an industry, a form of government, and the temper of a civilization, as in the analysis of a film.

As an amateur, then, I must as well as I can simultaneously recognize my own ignorance and feel no apology

for what my eyes tell me as I watch any given screen, where the proof is caught irrelevant to excuse, and available in proportion to the eye which sees it, and the mind which uses it.

If only I had seen enough of the candidates I would like, now, to make some of the customary seasonal comments on the ten best films of the year. Not having seen even "Mrs. Miniver," I have nothing to say, beyond mentioning that one look at the "Miniver" stills was enough to keep me away.

The best picture I saw this year was "The Gold Rush." Next to that were various non-fiction shots of war. Next to them was "In Which We Serve," which sets its limits so discreetly and fills them so nearly perfectly, and thus so likably, that my qualifying remarks must seem ungrateful.

They are that a blend, no matter how successful, of high-mediocre cinematic realism with Noel Coward's unexcelled particular kind of theatrical skill and tact cannot achieve anything first-rate but only one of the few next-best things, and that good as it is, it is a hollow filled with persuasive shadows and echoes where full excellence is solid, if transfigured, flesh and blood. I think the chief lack and the outstanding talent of such a man as Coward have the same root: a peculiarly sentimental kind of sensitiveness which is common to many witty, sad, able, and fastidious men. Their feeling for phenomena, whether human or inanimate, is at the same time sensuously sharp, shy, and critical, without either great energy or vulgarity or depth; so that when they are confronted with simple people, toward whom they feel remote and tender, or with a powerful and simple subject, they are at an essential loss, against which, on a secondary level, they have excellently equipped themselves.

In that sense of loss they retreat to two forts: that of "kitsch," used gently and with the severe withdrawal of irony of which ironists are best capable; and that of the taste, the devices, the exquisite sense of detail, the regard for form, by which they rectify and perfect the kitsch, refine their essential sentimentality, and set up defenses against any attack on it. This reverent and just evaluation of kitsch takes the place of that depth of heart and mind from which a first-rate artist works; and taste, tricks, detail, a dancer's delight in form, are the deft and of themselves respectable substitutes for a first-rate artist's perfecting of his perception. The

result is that it is almost too elegantly geared for almost too many "effects." It has been so subtly used by the fingertips, rather than born out of the whole of the body, that discriminating watchers, in turn, are liable to find it merely touching, and pleasing to touch, whereas the indiscriminating watcher, taking this delicate imitation of power for power itself, is subtly hornsoggled.

I rather regret having used this space so generally, and would like at least to say that Coward himself is exceedingly good in the film, that Bernard Miles, whose chief petty officer looks like a Gothic angel, is even better, and that Coward's farewell to his crew is a really remarkable and moving tour de force. I would like also to recommend "Random Harvest" to those who can stay interested in Ronald Colman's amnesia for two hours and who could with pleasure eat a bowl of Yardley's shaving soap for breakfast, and "Life Begins at 8:30" to those who can still be tickled by Monty Wooley's beard and Nunnally Johnson's lines (both good things in moderation), at the end of what seems hours. I also urge that "Ravaged Earth," which is made up of Japanese atrocities, be withdrawn until, if ever, careful enough minds, if any, shall have determined whether or not there is any morally responsible means of turning it loose on the public.

JAMES AGEÉ

## ART

JOSEPH CORNELL AND LAURENCE VAIL: Objects and Bottles.

At the Art of This Century Museum, until December 31.

Any free-standing object can be a work of art in its own right and for its own sake. Surrealism continues what Dada was the first to teach by actual examples. Dada stemmed, no matter how deviously, from art for art's sake, which asserted that works of art are self-sufficient and not required inevitably to be either mirrors of reality or decoration. In Vail's bottles and even in Cornell's objects surrealism encourages a tendency it often opposes—the abstract. The bottles do not owe their beauty to the things represented on the scraps of pictures Vail cuts out of magazines and pastes around the glass, but rather to the way the bottle shape is married to the color and design of the collage. One of Vail's best bottles is a Rhine shape merely daubed with cobalt paint



and solidified chalk to which petrified sponges cling. Obviously, this art derives from modern French painting, post-cubism in particular. The stuffed birds, thimbles, bells, cardboard cut-outs, and so forth which Cornell puts into boxes faced with glass please by their arrangement and the unspecified associations they call up, but mean or represent nothing not themselves. They too derive from modern painting, from Chirico and Ernst—and Kurt Schwitters's "trash" objects. (Cornell's only unsuccessful compositions, those relying on thimbles, have an emptiness resembling the duller canvases of Chirico.)

Vail's bottles do not appear at their best in a gallery. They are too intimate as yet and belong rather to one's private surroundings; there they lose all associations of ornament and become, even more than Chinese vases, autonomous and dramatic, competing with pictures and sculpture. Put one of them next to the piece that won Jose de Creeft the first sculpture prize at the Metropolitan's contemporary show (of which more next week), and it would make the De Creeft look a little phony. Cornell's boxes could be well used to electrify some of the blatantly dull galleries at the Metropolitan's extravaganza.

Both artists have only begun to explore their new mediums; an infinite prospect lies ahead. Vail could put his collage around an equestrian statue, as he has around a screen; Cornell could construct landscapes ten feet square inside his boxes. I am in dead earnest. For besides being explorers, both of them are greatly gifted artists.

CLEMENT GREENBERG

## MUSIC

ENGLISH B1 (M., W., F. at 10), which Lionel Trilling discussed in *The Nation* a few weeks ago, has its parallel in Music B1 (M., W., F. at 12); and its textbook, the "Survey-History of English Literature" which undertook to give the student "all the useful facts and necessary opinions about English literature," also has its musical equivalents. Mr. Trilling was disturbed by the badness of the material which the book pumped into the student's mind; but if all the judgments in the book were sound there would still be the necessity of those judgments that would disturb me. The education of a young man of college age includes making him acquainted with the great ideas that have been thought, the great

literature that has been written; and it is right that it should do so, even though a great many young men of college age are not equipped or ready to appreciate the greatness of the ideas or the literature. Or rather, it would be right if the young men were brought into contact with the material, if everything were done to facilitate the involvement of their minds with it, and if then the minds were left free to become involved or not, to get from the material some meaning and value that it had for them or to get none. There are, no doubt, places where this procedure is followed; but in many colleges the requirements of academic bookkeeping do not permit a young man to get nothing or the "wrong" thing from the philosophy or the literature he has read. To earn his three credits he must get something—if not his own idea, then somebody else's; and not his own "wrong" idea but somebody else's "right" one—in other words, the necessary opinions that are fed to him for four months by someone's survey-history of philosophy or literature, and that he hands back after four months on an examination paper.

This, I say, has its musical equivalent. It is right to bring those young students into contact with the music of Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert, Haydn—literally, almost, to establish contact between the music and their ears, with the help, let us say, of some explanation of its special procedures and principles of organization—and then to let the music make what effect it can, let it become for some of the students a moving communication and for others a bore. But if students merely experience Mozart's G minor Symphony and are either moved or bored, if they are inarticulate about their experience, if they do not acquire something which they can hand back on an examination paper, there is no course for the purposes of academic bookkeeping. And so for these purposes the students in Music B1, a survey course in history and appreciation of music, are given "all the useful facts and necessary opinions" about the lives of the composers and their music. These facts and opinions are useful and necessary for the students to get credit for the course, but not for them to get a moving experience from the arrangement of sounds that is Mozart's G minor Symphony; and included often are trivialities, vulgarities, and misrepresentations like those which disturbed Mr. Trilling.

On the way to the New York Philharmonic-Symphony Society's perform-

ance of Berlioz's "Damnation of Faust"—the first since the Schola Cantorum's performance more than fifteen years ago—I happened to be reading Carl Van Vechten's discussion of Nijinsky, reprinted in the latest issue of *Dance Index*, and encountered a passage which turned out to be relevant to the performance of Berlioz's work. "Its precision alone is noteworthy," said Mr. Van Vechten of the detail of one of Nijinsky's performances. "Indeed, precision is a quality we see exposed so seldom in the theater that when we find it we are almost inclined to hail it as genius."

Precision comes with mastery of a medium; and in the case of the precision of the Philadelphia Orchestra conducted by Toscanini or Stokowski, or the Boston Symphony conducted by Koussevitzky, the relation between the movement with which the conductor indicates his wish and the orchestra's response is unmistakable. Now if the New York Philharmonic-Symphony Orchestra had played the beginning of "The Damnation of Faust" as Rodzinski's series of tense, spasmodic, sforzato beats indicated, it would have produced a series of sforzato accents in what is a lyric, flowing passage. Actually, then, the orchestra followed his beat as an indicator of pace—a pace that was excessively slow and stolid—and ignored it as an indicator of the character of the music. There was, in other words, no complete control of the orchestra by the conductor; and there was, as a result, a lack of precision in timing and in values of sonority, hence a lack of clean, sharp definition and correct balance, in the orchestral sound. The lack of control extended to the soloists, who sang as well or as badly as their own musicality or rhythmic sense determined—Pinza superbly (though with only the shreds of a voice in his upper range), Novotna and Robofsky well, but Jagel with no regard for the prescribed rhythmic outlines of the phrases that his brassy voice produced. In addition Rodzinski set a pace that was now too slow, now too fast (Mephistopheles's Serenade), and always without plasticity. And yet the music, though imperfectly realized, was something astoundingly beautiful and astoundingly original in its turns of melody, its progressions of harmony, its instrumental colorings, all the product of an individual mind, an individual sense for the medium, and all produced with economy, delicacy, finesse—which is to say with honesty in the relation of means to artistic end.

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